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CONSTITUTION

of the

American Federation of Labor and

Congress of Industrial Organizations

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CONTENTS

CONSTITUTION OF THE AMERICAN FED-ERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

(This table of contents is limited to the specific provisions of the Constitution embraced within the Articles mentioned and does not attempt a specification of the provisions of the attached AFL-CIO Merger Agreement which has been nade a part of the Constitution).

icle	age
PREAMBLE	1
I. NAME	2
II. OBJECTS AND PRINCIPLES	2
III. AFFILIATES	5
 Sec. Composition of Federation. Retention of charter by affiliates of former AFL or CIO. Retention of organizing jurisdiction by affiliates of former AFL or CIO; Conflicting and duplicating jurisdictions of such affiliates. 	5
 Preservation and maintenance of integrity of affiliates; respect for established collective bargaining relationship and methods for en- forcement 	
 Status of State and Territorial Federations of Labor, Local Central Bodies, State and Local Industrial Councils affiliated with former 	

Article	III Continued Page
	AFL or CIO, and provisions for merger of these groups
	6. Provisions for continuance of Departments of AFL
	7. Issuance of charters to new affiliates
	8. Suspension and revocation of charters of affiliates
	 Ineligibility as affiliates of organization dominated by subversive influence
	 Elimination of conflicts and dupli- cations in organizing and jurisdic- tion through voluntary action
IV.	CONVENTION
	Sec.
	1. Supreme governing body
	2. Time of regular conventions 1
	3. Special conventions 1
	4. Delegates, number of1
	5. Delegates, time for designation by affiliates1
	6. Organizations ineligible for representation or recognition in Federation1
	7. Requisites for representation and recognition1
	8. Basis for recognition of number of delegates1
	9. Convention committees, appointment of1
	10. Resolution, petitions and memorials1

Article	IV	Continued Pa	ige
	11.	Credentials, time for distribution by Secretary-Treasurer and sub- mission by affiliates	
	10	Credentials Committee	
		Status of Executive Council mem-	
	13.	bers as delegates	
	14.	Fraternal delegates	16
	15.	Presiding Officer	16
	16.	Quorum	16
	17.	Basis and manner of voting	16
	18.	Rules and order of business	16
	19.	Convention actions, time for taking effect	17
V.	OF	FICERS	17
	Sec		
	1.	Executive Officers and Vice-Presidents	17
	2.	Eligibility requirements	17
	3.	Elections	17
	4.	Term of office	17
	5.	Vacancy in office of President or Secretary-Treasurer	17
	6.	Vacancy in office of Vice-President	18
		National Headquarters	
	8.	Trustees, title to real estate	18
	9.	Retirement of Executive Officers	18
	10.	Ineligibility to hold office if member or supporter of a subversive	
		group	19
VI.	DU	TIES OF PRESIDENT	19
	1.	Chief Executive Officer	19

Article V	I Continued P	age
2.	Constitution, interpretation of	19
3.	Compensation	20
4.	Employees of Federation, control by President	
E	Report to conventions	
		40
	UTIES OF SECRETARY-	
TR	CEASURERc.	. 20
1.	Chief financial officer	20
2.	Custodial responsibilities	. 20
3.	. Convention responsibilities	20
4.	Duty of affiliates to submit data to Secretary-Treasurer	
5.	Bond furnished by Secretary-Treas- urer; Report to biennial conven- tion; Compensation	
6.	Financial statements	
7.	. Audits	. 21
8.	. Investment of funds	. 22
VIII. EX	KECUTIVE COUNCIL	. 22
Se		
	. Composition	
	. Status	
	. Meetings	
4	. Duties with respect to legislative matters	
5	. Report to Convention	. 23
6	. Rules, power to make	. 23
	. Power to investigate corrupt of subversive influence, including au- thority to suspend	

ticle VI	II Continued Pa	age
8.	Assistance in organizing activities (See Article XI)	24
	Recognition of equality of status of craft and industrial unions as methods of organization and of fact that all workers shall share in full benefits of organization	
10.	Quorum	25
11.	Hearing and report with respect to charges against Executive Officers or members of Executive Council	25
12.	Power to refuse to seat or to remove officers	26
13.	Termination of suspension of af- filiate	26
14.	Approval necessary to effect change of name or title of affiliate	26
15.	Reimbursement for necessary expenses of Executive Council members	26
IX. EX	ECUTIVE COMMITTEE	27
	NERAL BOARD	2
Sec 1.	Composition	2
	Meeting	
	Function of General Board	
	Method of and basis for voting	
	PARTMENT OF ORGANIZATION	
	Authority to conduct organizing	
	work under supervision of President	25

Article		ıge
	TRADE AND INDUSTRIAL DEPARTMENTS	29
	Sec.	
	1. Composition of Departments; status; affiliation open to appro- priate affiliates	29
	2. Department affiliates must remain in affiliation with Federation	29
	3. Local Unions, requirements for membership in local councils or railway system Federations of De- partments	29
	4. Compliance by Departments with Constitution and Rules of Federation	29
	 Affiliation of eligible organizations to Departments; compliance with its actions and decisions; per capita tax payments to Departments 	30
	6. Report of Department Officers to Executive Council	30
	7. Executive Officer of Department to appear at Executive Council	
	8. Location of Department offices	31
XIII.	COMMITTEE AND STAFF DEPARTMENTS	31
	Sec.	
	1. Appointment and combination of committees by President; list of standing committees and their functions	31
	2. Provisions for establishment of staff departments	34

Article XIII Continued P	age
 Committees and staff departments to have adequate staff subject to direction of President 	
XIV. STATE AND LOCAL CENTRAL BODIES Sec.	
 Establishment and composition of State and Local Central Bodies 	
2. Instructions to local unions with respect to their affiliation with Lo- cal Central Labor Bodies	
Authorization to Executive Councito issue Rules governing Central Labor Bodies	i
 Status of funds and property of State and Local Central Bodies upon dissolution, suspension, or revocation of charter; reimburse- ment to Federation for expenses in recovering such funds and prop- erty 	
Merger of existing State and Loca Central Bodies and status pending such merger	3
XV. LOCAL UNIONS DIRECTLY AFFIL IATED TO THE FEDERATION, OR GANIZING COMMITTEES AND NA- TIONAL COUNCILS	
Sec. 1. Issuance of charters and certificates of affiliation to organizing committees and directly affiliated local unions	3
 Authorization to Executive Counci to issue rules governing directly 	1

Article XV	Continued Pa	ge
	Affiliated Unions, Organizing Committees, National Councils; status of funds and properties upon dissolution, suspension or revocation of charter; reimbursement to Federation for expenses in recovering such funds and property	37
	Duty of Executive Council to combine directly affiliated local unions in related fields into National and International Unions or National Councils; status of organizing committees	39
4.	Per capita payment	39
	Status in Federation of Local Trade, Federal Labor Unions and Local Industrial Unions	39
6.	Continuance of defense fund and conditions attached thereto	-
ME	R CAPITA TAX AND ASSESS-	40
Sec.		
	Per capita tax payment to be paid upon full paid up membership of affiliated National or International Union, Organizing Committee or Directly Affiliated Local Union	40
	National and International Union per capita tax; account of, and time for payment, of per capita tax by National or International Union or Organizing Committee	40
3.	Provisions for payment of per capita initiation fee by Directly Affiliated Local Unions	

Article	XVI Continued Pa	ge
	4. Assessments	41
	 Suspension of affiliated organiza- tions in arrears in payment of per capita tax assessments; reinstate- ment 	41
	6. Fee for certificate of affiliation	41
	7. Annual fee for State and Local Central Bodies	42
	8. Exoneration from payment of per capita tax and assessments; status of exonerated members	42
XVII.	AMENDMENTS	42
XVIII.	EXISTING AGREEMENTSSec.	42
	1. AFL-CIO Merger Agreement made a part of Constitution	42
	 Provisions for preservation, extension and amendment of AFL-CIO No-Raiding Agreement; maintenance of CIO Organizational Disputes Agreement and AFL Internal Disputes Plan; provision for establishment of joint committee to formulate means for incorporating these agreements into a combined no-raiding and organizational and jurisdictional disputes agreement 	
XIX.	INITIAL CONVENTIONSec.	43
	 Initial convention governed by provisions of this Constitution except as otherwise provided in this act 	4:
	2. Calling and setting time and place	
	for initial convention	43

Article XIX Continued Page
3. Credentials Committees, accredit- ing of delegates
 Basis of determining total number of votes at initial convention
5. Authority of Joint AFL-CIO Unity Committee with respect to conduct of initial convention
XX. EFFECTIVE DATE OF CONSTITU- TION AND AFL-CIO MERGER AGREEMENT 4
AGREEMENT FOR THE MERGER OF THI AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR ANI THE CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGAN IZATIONS.
Pag
Agreement to Merge 4
Principles of Merger4
Government and Structure4
Finances5
Existing Agreements 5
Methods of Merger5

PREAMBLE

The establishment of this Federation through the merger of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations is an expression of the hopes and aspirations of the working people of America.

We seek the fulfillment of these hopes and aspirations through democratic processes within the framework of our constitutional government and consistent with our institutions and tradi-

tions.

At the collective bargaining table, in the community, in the exercise of the rights and responsibilities of citizenship, we shall responsibly serve the interests of all the American people.

We pledge ourselves to the more effective organization of working men and women; to the securing to them of full recognition and enjoyment of the rights to which they are justly entitled; to the achievement of ever higher standards of living and working conditions; to the attainment of security for all the people; to the enjoyment of the leisure which their skills make possible; and to the strengthening and extension of our way of life and the fundamental freedoms which are the basis of our democratic society.

We shall combat resolutely the forces which seek to undermine the democratic institutions of our nation and to enslave the human soul. We shall strive always to win full respect for the dignity of the human individual whom our unions serve.

With Divine guidance, grateful for the fine traditions of our past, confident of meeting the challenge of the future, we proclaim this constitution.

ARTICLE I

NAME

This Federation shall be known as the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations. It is established pursuant to and as a result of a merger agreement between the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations. It shall consist of such affiliates as shall conform to its constitution and the rules and regulations adopted thereunder.

ARTICLE II OBJECTS AND PRINCIPLES

The objects and principles of this Federation are:
1. To aid workers in securing improved wages, hours and working conditions with due regard for the autonomy, integrity and jurisdiction of

affiliated unions.

2. To aid and assist affiliated unions in extending the benefits of mutual assistance and collective bargaining to workers and to promote the organization of the unorganized into unions of their own choosing for their mutual aid, protection and advancement, giving recognition to

ARTICLE II—Objects and Principles

the principle that both craft and industrial unions are appropriate, equal and necessary as methods of union organization.

- 3. To affiliate national and international unions with this Federation and to establish such unions; to form organizing committees and directly affiliated local unions and to secure their affiliation to appropriate national and international unions affiliated with or chartered by the Federation; to establish, assist and promote state and local central bodies composed of local unions of all affiliated organizations and directly affiliated local unions; to establish and assist trade departments composed of affiliated national and international unions and organizing committees.
- To encourage all workers without regard to race, creed, color, national origin or ancestry to share equally in the full benefits of union organization.
- 5. To secure legislation which will safeguard and promote the principle of free collective bargaining, the rights of workers, farmers and consumers, and the security and welfare of all the people and to oppose legislation inimical to these objectives.
- 6. To protect and strengthen our democratic institutions, to secure full recognition and enjoyment of the rights and liberties to which we are justly entitled, and to preserve and perpetuate the cherished traditions of our democracy.
- 7. To give constructive aid in promoting the cause of peace and freedom in the world and to

ARTICLE II-Objects and Principles

aid, assist and cooperate with free and democratic labor movements throughout the world.

- 8. To preserve and maintain the integrity of each affiliated union in the organization to the end that each affiliate shall respect the established bargaining relationships of every other affiliate and that each affiliate shall refrain from raiding the established bargaining relationship of any other affiliate and, at the same time, to encourage the elimination of conflicting and duplicating organizations and jurisdictions through the process of voluntary agreement or voluntary merger in consultation with the appropriate officials of the Federation, to preserve, subject to the foregoing, the organizing jurisdiction of each affiliate.
- 9. To aid and encourage the sale and use of union made goods and union services through the use of the union label and other symbols; to promote the labor press and other means of furthering the education of the labor movement.
- 10. To protect the labor movement from any and all corrupt influences and from the undermining efforts of communist agencies and all others who are opposed to the basic principles of our democracy and free and democratic unionism.
- 11. To safeguard the democratic character of the labor movement and to protect the autonomy of each affiliated national and international union.
 - 12. While preserving the independence of the

ARTICLE II-Objects and Principles

labor movement from political control, to encourage workers to register and vote, to exercise their full rights and responsibilities of citizenship, and to perform their rightful part in the political life of the local, state and national communities.

ARTICLE III

Section 1. The Federation shall be composed of (1) affiliated national and international unions and organizing committees, (2) directly affiliated local unions (such as Local Trade Unions, Federal Labor Unions, and Local Industrial Unions) and national councils thereof, (3) state and local central bodies (such as State and Territorial Federations, City Central Labor Unions and Industrial Union Councils), and (4) trade and industrial departments.

Sec. 2. Each national and international union and each federal labor union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor at the time of the adoption of this constitution by reason of a charter or certificate of affiliation granted by that federation and each national and international union, organizing committee and local industrial union affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organizations at the time of the adoption of this constitution by reason of a charter or certificate of affiliation granted by that federation shall retain its charter or certificate.

ARTICLE III-Affiliates

which shall become and be a charter or certificate of this Federation and, by virtue of the same and as a result of the merger between the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, shall be an affiliate of this Federation and subject to its rules and regulations.

Sec. 3. Each such affiliate shall retain and enjoy the same organizing jurisdiction in this Federation which it had and enjoyed by reason of its prior affiliation with either the American Federation of Labor or the Congress of Industrial Organizations. In cases of conflicting and duplicating jurisdictions involving such affiliates the President and the Executive Council of this Federation shall seek to eliminate such conflicts and duplications through the process of voluntary agreement or voluntary merger between the affiliates involved.

Sec. 4. The integrity of each such affiliate of this Federation shall be maintained and preserved. Each such affiliate shall respect the established collective bargaining relationship of every other affiliate and no affiliate shall raid the established collective bargaining relationship of any other affiliate. When a complaint has been filed with the President by an affiliate alleging a violation of this section by another affiliate, that has not been settled under the provisions of the No-Raiding Agreement referred to in Article XVIII, the President shall endeavor, by consultation with the appropriate officers of

ARTICLE III—Affiliates

both affiliates, to settle the matter by voluntary agreement between such affiliates. In the event no such voluntary agreement is reached within a reasonable time the President shall report to the Executive Council with such recommendations as he may deem appropriate. Upon such report being submitted, the Executive Council shall consider the same, shall hear the appropriate officers of the affiliates involved, and shall make such decision as it believes to be necessary and proper to carry out the provisions of this section. In the event an affiliate shall fail to comply with such decision, the Executive Council shall submit the matter to the convention for such action as the convention may deem appropriate under the provisions of this constitution.

Sec. 5. State and Territorial Federations of Labor and Local Central Bodies affiliated with the American Federation of Labor at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, and State and Local Industrial Union Councils affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organizations at the time of the adoption of this constitution. shall become and be affiliates of this Federation and shall, as such, continue to exist as state. territorial and local central bodies, each representing the respective federal labor unions or local industrial unions now affiliated to such central body and such local unions now affiliated to such central body as are affiliated with a national or international union or organizing committee affiliated with this Federation.

ARTICLE III—Affiliates

vided, however: That a merger of these state, territorial and local central bodies, heretofore affiliated with the American Federation of Labor or the Congress of Industrial Organizations, shall be effected within two years after the adoption of this constitution, through the process of negotiation and agreement under the guidance of the President of this Federation and its Executive Council.

Sec. 6. Existing departments of the American Federation of Labor at the time of the adoption of this constitution shall continue as trade departments of this Federation with the rights of and subject to the rules governing trade and industrial departments provided in Article XII.

Sec. 7. The Executive Council shall have power to issue charters or certificates of affiliation to organizations desiring to affiliate with this Federation. This power may be delegated to the President. Subject to the provisions of Sections 2 and 3 of this Article, charters or certificates of affiliation shall not be issued to national or international unions, organizing committees, or directly affiliated local unions in conflict with the jurisdiction of affiliated national or international unions, except with the written consent of such unions, and shall be based upon a strict recognition that both craft and industrial unions are equal and necessary as methods of trade union organization, and that each affiliated national and international union is entitled to have its

ARTICLE III—Affiliates

autonomy, integrity and jurisdiction protected and preserved.

Sec. 8. Except as otherwise provided in this constitution no national or international union chartered by or affiliated with this Federation may be suspended from membership in the Federation except by a majority roll-call vote at the convention. No such national or international union shall have its charter or certificate of affiliation with the Federation revoked except by a two-thirds majority roll-call vote at the convention.

Sec. 9. No organization officered, controlled or dominated by communists, fascists, or other totalitarians, or whose policies and activities are consistently directed toward the achievement of the program or purposes of the Communist Party, any fascist organization, or other totalitarian movement, shall be permitted as an affiliate of this Federation or any of its state or local central bodies.

Sec. 10. Affiliates of the Federation shall be encouraged to eliminate conflicts and duplications in organization and jurisdictions through the process of voluntary agreement or voluntary merger in consultation with the appropriate officials of the Federation.

ARTICLE IV

Section 1. The convention shall be the supreme governing body of the Federation and, ex-

cept as otherwise provided in this Constitution, its decisions shall be by a majority vote.

Sec. 2. The regular conventions of the Federation shall be held every two years, beginning in 1955, at a time during the last four months of the year. The time and the place for holding the regular conventions shall be designated by the Executive Council which shall give at least 90 days' notice of the time and place designated.

Sec. 3. (a) Special conventions may be called by direction of a regular convention, by order of the Executive Council, or on request of national and international unions representing a majority of the total membership of the Federation, as evidenced by the records of the Secretary-Treasurer to the last convention.

(b) In the event a special convention has been called all affiliated organizations shall be given at least 30 days' notice, together with a statement of the particular subject or subjects to be considered at such convention.

(c) Representation to special conventions shall be on the same basis and subject to like qualifications and procedure governing regular conventions.

(d) A special convention shall be clothed with like authority and power conferred upon regular conventions, its decisions shall be equally binding and it shall be governed by the same procedure applicable to regular conventions; however, such special conventions shall be limited solely to the subject or subjects specifically and

definitely indicated in the call for such special convention.

Sec. 4. Each national or international union and organizing committee shall be entitled to the number of delegates indicated in the following scale:

Less than	4,000	members	1	delegate
Over	4,000	44	2	delegates
44	8,000	44	3	64
44	12,000	66	4	66
44	25,000	44	5	46
64	50,000	44	6	66
60	75,000	66	7	46
68	125,000	61	8	44
66	175,000	44	9	46

plus one additional delegate for each 75,000 members over 175,000.

Each directly affiliated local union and each national trade and industrial department shall be entitled to one delegate. Each industrial union council and each state or local central body shall be entitled to one delegate. Directly affiliated local unions, with the approval of the President, may combine with other such unions within a reasonable distance to elect a single delegate to represent such unions.

Sec. 5. Delegates to a regular convention of the Federation shall be elected or otherwise designated by the affiliate at least 30 days prior to the convention, except in cases in which the convention of the affiliate meets within this 30-day

period. The names of the delegates shall be forwarded to the Secretary-Treasurer of the Federation immediately after their selection.

Sec. 6. No organization that has seceded or has been suspended or expelled by this Federation, the American Federation of Labor, or the Congress of Industrial Organizations, or by any national or international union or organizing committee affiliated with this Federation shall, while under such penalty, be allowed representation or recognition in the Federation, or in any subordinate body thereof, or in any national or international union or organizing committee affiliated with this Federation, under the penalty of the suspension of the body violating this section. No affiliate which, at the opening date of the convention, is in arrears to the Federation for per capita tax or assessments for two months or more, shall be entitled to recognition or representation in the convention.

Sec. 7. No organization shall be entitled to representation unless such organization has applied for and obtained a certificate of affiliation at least one month prior to the convention, and no person shall be recognized as a delegate who is not a member in good standing of the organization he is selected to represent.

Sec. 8. The number of members of each national and international union, organizing committee and directly affiliated local unions for the purpose of selecting delegates and for roll-call votes at the convention shall be the average monthly

number on which per capita tax is paid for the 24-month period prior to and including the second month preceding the month of the opening date of the convention. Where affiliation has occurred during this 24-month period, the average shall be computed from the month of affiliation, and the number of members shall be deemed to be one twenty-fourth of such average for each month for which per capita tax has been paid. The Secretary-Treasurer shall prepare for the use of the convention and submit to it a printed list showing the number of votes and the number of delegates to which each affiliate is entitled.

Sec. 9. The President shall appoint, in consultation with the Executive Council, prior to the opening date of the convention and subject to the approval of the convention, such committees as are necessary to conduct the affairs of the convention. Such committees may meet before the opening date of the convention and shall proceed to consider all resolutions, appeals, reports, and constitutional amendments submitted to the convention, and shall report thereon to the convention.

Sec. 10. (a) All resolutions, petitions, memorials and appeals to be considered by any convention of the Federation must be received by the Secretary-Treasurer at headquarters in Washington, D. C., 30 days immediately preceding the opening of the convention; except in instances where such matters have been acted

upon and approved at a regular convention of a national or international union, or state central body, or national trade and industrial department held during this 30-day period in which event such proposals shall be received up to the opening date of the convention.

(b) All resolutions, petitions, memorials and appeals received or submitted after the time stipulated above or during the convention shall be referred to the Executive Council, and the Executive Council shall refer all such proposal or proposals to the convention with the understanding that consideration of such proposal or proposals is dependent upon the unanimous consent of the convention.

(c) Any or all proposals emanating from directly affiliated local unions shall be referred to the Executive Council for consideration and disposition. The Executive Council shall in turn advise the convention of the disposition made of such proposal or proposals.

(d) Proposals emanating from state central bodies to receive consideration of a convention must first have received the approval of the previous convention of the state central body involved. In the case of local central bodies any proposal or proposals to be considered must have first received the approval of such central labor body at a regularly constituted meeting of such organization.

(e) Each resolution, memorial, petition, or appeal properly received for consideration by

the convention, as soon as practical after receipt thereof, shall be classified by the President as to nature, contents and subject matter and referred by him to an appropriate committee, which committee shall make a report thereon to the convention prior to consideration of any such matter by the convention. He shall cause to be distributed copies of such resolutions, petitions, memorials or appeals to the delegates of the convention at the opening session thereof or as soon thereafter as practical, but before any such matters are considered by the convention.

Sec. 11. Not less than 60 days prior to the opening of each regular convention, the Secretary-Treasurer shall furnish each affiliate with credential blanks in duplicate, which must be attested as required on the blanks. The duplicates shall be retained by the delegate, and the original sent to the Secretary-Treasurer. Subject to the provisions of Section 5 of this Article, no credentials shall be accepted later than 20 days prior to the opening date of the convention.

Sec. 12. Prior to the opening date of the convention, the Executive Council shall meet and constitute itself or a subcommittee as the Credentials Committee for the convention. Appeals from its decisions may be made to the floor of the convention. The convention shall not be constituted for business until after the Credentials Committee shall have examined and reported on credentials of all delegates present at the scheduled time on the opening date of the convention.

Sec. 13. All members of the Executive Council who are not elected as delegates shall be exofficio delegates to the convention with all the rights and privileges of elected delegates, but without vote.

Sec. 14. Fraternal delegates attending conventions of the Federation shall be entitled to all the rights of delegates but shall not be entitled to vote.

Sec. 15. At the opening of the convention the President shall take the chair and call the convention to order, and preside during its sessions.

Sec. 16. One-fourth of the delegates seated at any convention shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

Sec. 17. Questions may be decided by division or a show of hands, but a call of the roll may be demanded by 30 percent of the delegates present. Upon such roll-call each delegate representing affiliated national or international unions, organizing committees and directly affiliated local unions shall be entitled to cast one vote for every member whom he represents. Each state and local central body and national trade and industrial department shall be entitled to one vote.

Sec. 18. The rules and order of business governing the preceding convention shall be enforced from the opening of any convention of the Exteration until new rules have been adopted by action of the convention.

Sec. 19. Unless otherwise specified, any action taken by the convention shall take effect immediately upon adoption.

ARTICLE V

Section 1. The officers shall consist of a President and a Secretary-Treasurer, who shall be the Executive Officers, and 27 Vice Presidents.

Sec. 2. Each officer shall be a member of an affiliated organization.

Sec. 3. The officers shall be elected by the convention by majority vote. Such election shall take place on the last day of the convention, unless otherwise determined by the convention. In the event that more than two candidates are nominated for any office and no one candidate receives a majority of the votes cast, all except the two candidates receiving the highest votes shall be eliminated from the list of candidates and a second vote taken.

Sec. 4. Each officer elected at the convention shall take office immediately upon his election and shall serve until his successor is elected at the next regular convention.

Sec. 5. In the event of a vacancy in the office of either the President or the Secretary-Treasurer by reason of death, resignation or otherwise, the remaining executive officer shall perform the duties of the vacant office until a successor is elected. It shall be the duty of

ARTICLE V-Officers

such executive officer to issue, within ten days of the date of the vacancy, a call for a meeting of the Executive Council of this Federation, upon ten days' notice, for the purpose of electing an executive officer to fill said vacancy for the unexpired term.

Sec. 6. In the event of a vacancy in the office of Vice President by reason of death, resignation or otherwise, the Executive Council shall have the power to fill the vacancy by majority vote of all its members for the period of the unexpired term.

Sec. 7. The national headquarters of the Federation shall be maintained by the Executive Officers at Washington, D. C.

Sec. 8. The Executive Officers shall, by virtue of their office, hold title to the real estate of the Federation as trustees for the Federation.

Sec. 9. The President and Secretary-Treasurer of the Federation or either of them may retire after reaching age 65 years, and after having served 20 years. Time served as an officer of any organization affiliated with the Federation, or with the American Federation of Labor or the Congress of Industrial Organizations, shall be included in determining length of service hereunder. In the event of retirement such officers shall have the title of President Emeritus, or Secretary-Treasurer Emeritus and shall render service to the Federation in an advisory and consultative status. They shall be compensated for such service by the Federation for

ARTICLE V-Officers

life in an amount, payable weekly, equal to 75 percent of the annual salary paid to the corresponding Executive Officer of this Federation.

Sec. 10. No individual shall be eligible to serve either as an Executive Officer or as a member of the Executive Council who is a member of the Communist Party, any fascist organization, or other totalitarian movement, or who consistently pursues policies and activities directed toward the achievement of the program or the purposes of the Communist Party, any fascist organization or other totalitarian movement.

ARTICLE VI

DUTIES OF THE PRESIDENT

Section 1. The President shall function as the chief executive officer of the Federation. He shall exercise supervision of the affairs of the Federation, sign all official documents and preside at regular and special conventions, and at meetings of the Executive Council, Executive Committee and General Board. He shall call meetings of the Executive Council at least three times each year and a meeting of the General Board at least once each year.

Sec. 2. The President shall have authority to interpret the constitution between meetings of the Executive Council and his interpretation shall be conclusive and in full force and effect unless reversed or changed by the Executive Council or a convention.

ARTICLE VI-Duties of the President

- Sec. 3. The President shall receive for his services a salary of \$35,000 per annum payable weekly.
- Sec. 4. The appointment and compensation, direction, suspension and removal of organizers, representatives, agents and employees of the Federation shall be under the direction of the President.
- Sec. 5. The President shall make a report of the administration of his office and of the affairs of the Federation to the convention through the report of the Executive Council.

ARTICLE VII

DUTIES OF THE SECRETARY-TREASURER

- Section 1. The Secretary-Treasurer shall be the chief financial officer of the Federation and shall receive and collect all moneys due the Federation which moneys shall be paid out only on the approval of the President.
- Sec. 2. The Secretary-Treasurer shall be in charge of and preserve all moneys, properties, securities and other evidences of investment, books, documents, files and effects of the Federation which shall at all times be subject to the inspection of the President and Executive Council.
- Sec. 3. The Secretary-Treasurer shall issue the call for and act as secretary at conventions, and shall cause the proceedings of all conventions

ARTICLE VII—Duties of the Secretary-Treasurer

and all sessions of the Executive Council and General Board to be recorded.

Sec. 4. It shall be the duty of each national and international union, organizing committee, each trade and industrial department, state and local central bodies and each directly affiliated local union, to furnish the Secretary-Treasurer a copy of all official reports issued by such affiliated organizations together with a statement of their membership in good standing and to furnish such additional statistical data in their possession relating to the membership of such organizations as may be called for by the Secretary-Treasurer of this Federation.

Sec. 5. The Secretary-Treasurer shall give a bond for the faithful performance of his duties in such amount as may be determined by the Executive Council and shall report to the biennial convention of the Federation through the report of the Executive Council, and for his services he shall receive \$33,000 per annum, payable weekly.

Sec. 6. The Secretary-Treasurer shall print quarterly, as a separate document, a financial statement of the Federation and forward a copy thereof to all affiliated national and international unions, organizing committees, directly affiliated local unions and state and local central bodies.

Sec. 7. The Secretary-Treasurer shall be required, from time to time, but no less than semi-annually, to provide for an audit of all books,

ARTICLE VII—Duties of the Secretary-Treasurer

accounts, records and financial transactions of the Federation by an independent public accountant. Such audits shall be furnished to the Executive Council and a biennial audit shall be furnished to the Convention.

Sec. 8. The Secretary-Treasurer shall, under the direction and instructions of the Executive Council, invest the surplus funds of the Federation in sound securities or deposit the same in a bank or banks.

ARTICLE VIII

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

Section 1. The Executive Council shall consist of the President, the Vice Presidents and the Secretary-Treasurer.

Sec. 2. The Executive Council shall be the governing body of this Federation between conventions. It is authorized and empowered to take such action and render such decisions as may be necessary to carry out fully and adequately the decisions and instructions of the conventions and to enforce the provisions contained in this constitution. Between conventions it shall have the power to direct the affairs of the Federation and to take such actions and render such decisions as are necessary and appropriate to safeguard and promote the best interests of the Federation and its affiliated unions, including the organization of unorgan-

ARTICLE VIII—Executive Council

ized industries by means most appropriate for that purpose.

Sec. 3. The Executive Council shall meet upon the call of the President at least three times within each year at a time and place designated by the President.

Sec. 4. It shall be the duty of the Executive Council to watch legislative measures directly affecting the interests of working people, and to initiate, wherever necessary, such legislative action as the convention may direct.

Sec. 5. The Executive Council shall prepare and present to the convention in printed form a statement of all matters of interest to the convention and of the activities of the Federation between conventions.

Sec. 6. The Executive Council shall have power to make rules to govern matters consistent with this constitution and shall report accordingly to the Federation.

Sec. 7. It is a basic principle of this Federation that it must be and remain free from any and all corrupt influences and from the undermining efforts of communist, fascist or other totalitarian agencies who are opposed to the basic principles of our democracy and of free and democratic trade unionism. The Executive Council, when requested to do so by the President or by any other member of the Executive Council, shall have the power to conduct an investigation, directly or through an appropriate

ARTICLE VIII—Executive Council

standing or special committee appointed by the President, of any situation in which there is reason to believe that any affiliate is dominated. controlled or substantially influenced in the conduct of its affairs by any corrupt influence, or that the policies or activities of any affiliate are consistently directed toward the advocacy, support, advancement or achievement of the program or of the purposes of the Communist Party. any fascist organization or other totalitarian movement. Upon the completion of such an investigation, including a hearing if requested, the Executive Council shall have the authority to make recommendations or give directions to the affiliate involved and shall have the further authority, upon a two-thirds vote, to suspend any affiliate found guilty of a violation of this section. Any action of the Executive Council under this section may be appealed to the convention, provided, however, that such action shall be effective when taken and shall remain in full force and effect pending any appeal.

Sec. 8. Subject to the provisions of Article III, Section 7, the Executive Council shall use every possible means to assist affiliated unions in the organization of the unorganized and to organize new national and international unions, organizing committees, and directly affiliated local unions.

Until such time as it is feasible to form a new national or international union composed of directly affiliated local unions or to affiliate such

ARTICLE VIII—Executive Council

unions with an existing affiliated national or international union within whose jurisdiction they might properly come, the Executive Council may group such directly affiliated local unions, in a particular craft or industry, into national councils or organizing committees which shall be under the direct supervision and control of the Executive Council and the President.

Sec. 9. In carrying out the provisions of this Article the Executive Council shall recognize that both craft and industrial unions are appropriate, equal and necessary as methods of trade union organization and that all workers whatever their race, color, creed or national origin are entitled to share in the full benefits of trade union organization.

Sec. 10. A majority of the members of the Executive Council shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of the business of the Council.

Sec. 11. The Executive Council shall have the power to file charges and conduct hearings on such charges against any Executive Officer of the Federation or other member of the Executive Council on the ground that such person is guilty of malfeasance or maladministration, and to make a report to the convention recommending appropriate action. The Executive Council must serve such officer with a copy of the written charges a reasonable time before the hearing.

ARTICLE VIII-Executive Council

Sec. 12. The Executive Council shall have the further power to refuse to seat or to remove from office any member of the Executive Council, or to remove from office any officer, who is found by the Council, by a two-thirds vote after notice and hearing, to be ineligible to serve under the provisions of Article V, Section 10. Any action of the Executive Council under this section may be appealed to the convention, provided, however, that such action shall be effective when taken and shall remain in full force and effect pending any appeal.

Sec. 13. In any case in which an affiliate has been suspended from membership in the Federation by the convention, or by a two-thirds vote of the Executive Council in the cases set forth in Section 7 of this Article, and in which it is shown that the cause for such suspension no longer exists, the Executive Council shall have the power, upon a two-thirds vote, to terminate such suspension.

Sec. 14. No affiliated national or international union or organizing committee shall be permitted to change its title or name without first having obtained the consent and approval of the Executive Council or the convention.

Sec. 15. The Executive Council shall be authorized to reimburse members of the Council for necessary expenses in performing their duties for the Federation.

ARTICLE IX

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

There shall be an Executive Committee which shall consist of the President and the Secretary-Treasurer and six Vice Presidents to be selected by the Executive Council. The Executive Committee shall meet every two months and shall advise and consult with the President and Secretary-Treasurer on policy matters.

ARTICLE X

GENERAL BOARD

Section 1. The General Board of the Federation shall consist of all of the members of the Executive Council of the Federation and the president or other principal officer of each of the affiliated national or international unions and each trade and industrial department.

Sec. 2. The General Board shall meet upon the call of the President of the Federation, but such meeting shall be called at least once each year.

Sec. 3. The General Board shall decide all policy questions referred to it by the Executive Officers or by the Executive Council.

Sec. 4. Questions coming before the General Board shall be decided in accordance with the applicable provisions of Section 17 of Article IV of this Constitution with the president or other principal officer of each affiliated national or international union casting the vote of such union

ARTICLE X-General Board

and with the president or other principal officer of each department casting the one vote of such department. The number of members of each national or international union on a roll-call vote of the General Board shall be deemed to be the number of members represented at the last preceding convention except in the case where affiliation has occurred subsequent to such convention or within a 24-month period prior to and including the second month preceding such convention. In such cases the number of members of such affiliate shall be deemed to be one twenty-fourth of the average membership for which per capita tax was paid for each month, prior to the meeting of the General Board, for which such tax was paid.

ARTICLE XI

DEPARTMENT OF ORGANIZATION

Section 1. The organizing work of this Federation as set forth in Article VIII, Section 8, shall be conducted by the Department of Organization under the general supervision of the President. The Department of Organization shall be provided the staff and resources necessary to conduct such activities.

Sec. 2. The Department of Organization shall be headed by a Director of Organization who shall be appointed by the President after consultation with the Executive Committee, subject to the approval of the Executive Council.

ARTICLE XII

TRADE AND INDUSTRIAL DEPARTMENTS

Section 1. The Trade and Industrial Departments shall be subordinate to the Federation and shall consist of the following: Building and Construction Trades Department: Metal Trades Department: Union Label and Service Trades Department; Maritime Trades Department; Railway Employees Department; and a department of industrial organizations to be known as Industrial Union Department, and such other departments as may be established by the Executive Council or the convention. Each department is to manage and finance its own affairs and may establish local councils or railway system federations of departments. Affiliation to the departments in the Federation shall be open to all appropriate affiliated national and international unions and organizing committees.

- Sec. 2. To be entitled to representation in any department, international unions and organizing committees eligible to join it must first be and remain in affiliation to the Federation.
- Sec. 3. To be entitled to representation in local councils or railway system federations of Departments, local unions are required to be part of affiliated national and international unions and organizing committees affiliated to departments or to be directly affiliated to the Federation.
- Sec. 4. The fundamental laws and procedure of each department are to conform to and be

ARTICLE XII—Trade and Industrial Departments

administered in the same manner as the laws and procedure governing the Federation. No department, local council or railway system federation of the same shall enact laws, rules or regulations in conflict with the laws and procedure of the Federation, and in the event of change of laws, rules, regulations and procedures of the latter, departments, local councils and railway system federations are to change their laws, rules, and regulations to conform thereto.

Sec. 5. Each department is to be considered an official method of the Federation for transacting the portion of its business indicated by the name of the department, in consequence of which affiliated and eligible organizations should be part of their respective departments and should comply with the actions and decisions of such departments, subject to appeal therefrom to the Executive Council and the conventions of the Federation. An organization affiliated with one or more departments shall pay per capita tax to each such department upon the number of members whose occupation comes under such department.

Sec. 6. The officers of the various departments shall submit a quarterly report to the Executive Council of the Federation of the work done by their department and its general conditions.

Sec. 7. At all regular meetings of the Ex-

ARTICLE XII—Trade and Industrial Departments

present, during some period of the Council meeting, the executive officer or officers of each department, to take up with the Council matters that may be of mutual interest.

Sec. 8. Departments of the Federation shall have their headquarters in Washington, D. C., and in the headquarters of the Federation unless permitted to locate elsewhere.

ARTICLE XIII

COMMITTEES AND STAFF DEPARTMENTS

Section 1. The President of the Federation shall appoint the following standing committees and such other committees as may from time to time be necessary. The President with the approval of the Executive Council may combine standing committees. The committees, under the direction of the President, and subject to the authority of the Executive Council and the Convention, shall carry out their functions as described herein:

- (a) The Committee on Legislation shall undertake to carry out the policies and programs of the Federation in the Congress and in the legislatures of state and local governments:
- (b) The Committee on Civil Rights shall be vested with the duty and responsibility to assist the Executive Council to bring about at the earliest possible date the effective im-

ARTICLE XIII—Committees and Staff Departments

plementation of the principle stated in this constitution of non-discrimination in accordance with the provisions of this constitution:

- (c) The Committee on Political Education shall be vested with the duty and responsibility to assist the Executive Council in meeting the need for sound political education and in bringing about the effective implementation of the objectives stated in this constitution of encouraging workers to register and vote, to exercise their full rights and responsibilities of citizenship and to perform their rightful part in the political life of the city, state, and national communities;
- (d) The Committee on Ethical Practices shall be vested with the duty and responsibility to assist the Executive Council in carrying out the constitutional determination of the Federation to keep the Federation free from any taint of corruption or communism, in accordance with the provisions of this constitution:
- (e) The Committee on International Affairs shall be concerned with international developments facing our nation and the Federation's relationships with the international trade union movement;
- (f) The Committee on Education shall promote the widest possible understanding among union members of the aims of the Federation, shall assist affiliated unions in develop-

ARTICLE XIII—Committees and Staff Departments

ing their own educational programs and shall implement the Federation's interest in providing the nation with the highest standard of education at all levels:

- (g) The Committee on Social Security shall have the responsibility of providing guidance and information in the fields of social insurance and welfare:
- (h) The Committee on Economic Policy shall undertake to recommend programs and policies toward the end of promoting prosperity, full employment and full utilization of our resources;
- (i) The Committee on Community Services shall stimulate the active participation by members and affiliated unions in the affairs of their communities and the development of sound relationships with social agencies in such communities;
- (j) The Committee on Housing shall advise on all matters relating to housing programs and policies;
- (k) The Committee on Research shall have the responsibility of reviewing and appraising the research activities of the Federation to the end that adequate research facilities are available to the Federation;
- The Committee on Public Relations shall review and appraise the needs of the Federation in keeping the general public informed of the goals and policies of the Federation,

ARTICLE XIII—Committees and Staff Departments

the extent to which these needs are being met and shall make recommendations in this field:

- (m) The Committee on Safety and Occupational Health shall be vested with the responsibility of recommending and promoting ways in which the work places of our nation can be made safe and healthful;
- (n) The Committee on Veterans Affairs shall keep all affiliates informed of the rights and benefits available to veterans under federal and state laws and shall propose measures to protect such rights and benefits;

(o) All other committees shall have the function vested in them by the President, the Executive Council, or the convention, consistent with this constitution.

Sec. 2. Staff departments shall be established where appropriate under the direction of the President to function in the fields of activity described above and in such other fields as may be determined by the President, the Executive Council or the convention.

Sec. 3. The Committees and staff departments shall have adequate staff which shall be under the general direction of the President of the Federation.

ARTICLE XIV

STATE AND LOCAL CENTRAL BODIES

Section 1. Central bodies subordinate to the Federation may be established upon a city, state

ARTICLE XIV-State and Local Central Bodies

or other regional basis as may be deemed advisable by the Executive Council and shall be composed exclusively of locals of national and international unions and organizing committees affiliated with the Federation, directly affiliated local unions, local central bodies within the geographical limits of state and regional bodies, and such other subordinate bodies as the Executive Council may determine are eligible for affiliation.

Sec. 2. It shall be the duty of all national and international unions and organizing committees affiliated with the Federation to instruct their local unions to join affiliated central labor bodies in their vicinity where such exist. Similar instructions shall be given by the Federation to all local unions affiliated directly to it.

Sec. 3. The Executive Council of the Federation shall issue rules governing the conduct, activities, affairs, finances and property of central labor bodies and providing procedures for the discipline, including suspension and expulsion, of such bodies or their officers. Such rules shall define the powers of the President, or his designee, with respect to disciplinary action against central labor bodies, or their officers. They shall provide for notice and hearing in all cases in which such action is taken, but shall permit emergency action (including the authority to suspend officers and establish a trusteeship over such central bodies and their property) prior to hearing where in the opinion of the

ARTICLE XIV-State and Local Central Bodies

President the interests of the Federation so require. The rules shall further provide for appeals to the Executive Council and to the convention, but shall provide that decisions appealed from shall remain in full force and effect pending any appeal.

Sec. 4. Upon the dissolution, suspension or revocation of the charter of any state or local central body, all funds and property of any character shall revert to the Federation to be held in trust until such time that the suspended or defunct organization may be reorganized and be able to confine its activities and actions to conform with the constitution and laws of this Federation. It shall be the duty of the officers of a state or local central body which has been dissolved or whose charter has been suspended or revoked, or which has been placed under trusteeship under Section 3 of this Section, to deliver all funds and property to the President of the Federation or his designated representative. In the event of a failure or refusal to so deliver such funds and property, all expenses incurred by the Federation in recovering such funds and property shall be a lawful charge upon the funds and property involved and, on recovery thereof. the Federation shall reimburse itself from the funds and property recovered.

Sec. 5. Merger of existing state and local central bodies of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations

ARTICLE XIV-State and Local Central Bodies

shall be accomplished as provided in Article III, Section 5. Pending such merger state and local central bodies of both the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations shall be permitted to continue to exist as state and local central bodies representing the respective local unions or organizations now affiliated to such central bodies.

ARTICLE XV

LOCAL UNIONS DIRECTLY AFFILIATED TO THE FEDERATION, ORGANIZING COMMIT-TEES AND NATIONAL COUNCILS

Section 1. Subject to the provisions of Article III, Section 7, the Federation is authorized to issue charters and certificates of affiliation to organizing committees and directly affiliated local unions.

Sec. 2. The Executive Council of the Federation shall issue rules governing the conduct, activities, affairs, finances and property of organizing committees, national councils, and directly affiliated local unions, and governing the suspension, expulsion and termination of such organizations. Such rules shall define the powers of the President, or his designee, with respect to disciplinary action against such organizations, or their officers. They shall provide for notice and hearing in all cases in which such action is taken with respect to directly affiliated local unions, but shall permit emergency action (including the

ARTICLE XV—Local Unions Directly Affiliated to the Federation, Organizing Committees and National Councils

authority to suspend officers and establish a trusteeship over such local unions and their property) prior to hearing where in the opinion of the President the interests of the Federation so require. The rules shall further provide for appeals to the Executive Council and to the convention, but shall provide that decisions appealed from shall remain in full force and effect pending any appeal.

Upon the dissolution, suspension or revocation of the charter of any such organizations, all funds and property of any character shall revert to the Federation, which shall to the extent appropriate hold such funds and property in trust until such time that the suspended or defunct organization may be reorganized and be able to confine its activities and actions to conform with the constitution and laws of this Federation. It shall be the duty of the officers of any such organization which has been dissolved or whose charter has been suspended or revoked to deliver all funds and property to the President of the Federation or his designated representative. In the event of a failure or refusal to so deliver such funds and property, all expenses incurred by the Federation in recovering such funds and property shall be a lawful charge upon the funds and property involved and, on recovery thereof, the Federation shall reimburse itself from the funds and property recovered.

ARTICLE XV—Local Unions Directly Affiliated to the Federation, Organizing Committees and National Councils

Sec. 3. It shall be the duty of the Executive Council to combine directly affiliated local unions in related fields into national or international unions, organizing committees or national councils when such action appears to be appropriate. Any local union directly affiliated to the Federation or a group of such local unions may request the Executive Council to authorize such combination.

When directly affiliated local unions are grouped into an organizing committee they shall become locals of the organizing committee. The organizing committee shall have the same status as a national or international union under this constitution except that it shall be under the direct supervision and control of this Federation, as provided herein.

When directly affiliated local unions are grouped into a national council they shall remain local unions directly affiliated with this Federation.

Sec. 4. The per capita payment to the Federation by local unions directly affiliated to it shall be determined by the Executive Council but shall not be less than eighty cents per month.

Sec. 5. Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions and Local Industrial Unions which are affiliated with this Federation pursuant to Article III, Section 2, of this constitution shall be for all purposes local unions directly affiliated to the

ARTICLE XV—Local Unions Directly Affiliated to the Federation, Organizing Committees and National Councils

Federation under this and all other sections of the constitution.

Sec. 6. The Defense Fund for Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions of the American Federation of Labor, created under its constitution, shall be continued as a defense fund for local unions directly affiliated with this Federation, subject to the rules provided for in Section 2 of this Article and subject to such provisions concerning contributions by and the eligibility of Local Industrial Unions formerly affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organizations as may be determined by the Executive Council.

ARTICLE XVI

PER CAPITA TAX AND ASSESSMENTS

Section 1. A per capita tax shall be paid upon the full paid up membership of each affiliated national or international union, organizing committee and directly affiliated local union.

Sec. 2. Each national or international union and organizing committee shall pay on or before the fifteenth day of each month, for the preceding month, a per capita tax of 4 cents per member per month.

Sec. 3. Each directly affiliated local union shall pay on or before the fifteenth day of each month, for the preceding month, a per capita tax of not less than 80 cents per member per

ARTIC) E XVI-Per Capita Tax and Assessments

month, as provided for in the rules governing the organization and activities of such directly affiliated local unions. Each directly affiliated local union shall also pay to the Federation a portion, to be fixed by the Executive Council, of the initiation fee received by such union from its members, but such payment to the Federation shall in no case be less than \$1.00 per member.

Sec. 4. Revenue may also be derived from assessments when and as ordered by a majority vote of a convention. The Executive Council may also declare an assessment of not to exceed 4 cents per member per month on all affiliated unions for a period not to exceed six months in any one year when the interests of the Federation require and when funds available from per capita tax are insufficient to meet the needs of the Federation.

Sec. 5. Any affiliated organization which does not pay its per capita tax on or before the fifteenth of each month, and assessment or assessments when due and payable, shall be notified of that fact by the Secretary-Treasurer of the Federation. Any affiliated organization three months in arrears in payment of per capita tax or assessments automatically becomes suspended from membership in the Federation and can be reinstated only after such arrearages are paid in full.

Sec. 6. Each affliate, upon the issuance of a certificate of afflia ion, shall pay to the Federation the sum of 315. 0.

ARTICLE XVI—Per Capita Tax and Assessments

Sec. 7. Each state and local central body affiliated with the Federation shall pay to the Federation an annual fee of \$20.00.

Sec. 8. The Executive Council may exonerate any national or international union, organizing committee and directly affiliated local union from the payment of per capita tax or assessments due to the Federation for any month upon a proper showing that, in the opinion of the Executive Council, good cause therefor exists. Exonerated members shall be regarded, for the purposes of this constitution, as paid up members for the period of exoneration.

ARTICLE XVII

AMENDMENTS

This constitution can be amended or altered only by the convention, by a two-thirds vote of those present and voting, either by a show of hands, or, if a roll-call is properly demanded as provided in this constitution, by such roll-call.

ARTICLE XVIII

EXISTING AGREEMENTS

Section 1. The agreement for the merger of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, as approved by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Board of the Congress of Industrial Organizations and the

ARTICLE XVIII—Existing Agreements

conventions of both federations is incorporated herein and made a part of this constitution.

Sec. 2. The AFL-CIO No-Raiding Agreement shall be preserved and, with the consent of the signatories, shall be extended for a period of two years from its present expiration date and amended to make it effective as between all unions signatory to it irrespective of their former affiliation. The CIO Organizational Disputes Agreement shall be maintained in force for its term as between the unions which have adhered to it. The AFL Internal Disputes Plan shall be maintained in force for its term with respect to the unions which have adhered to it. A Joint Committee shall be established by the Executive Council to formulate the means for incorporating these three agreements into a combined no-raiding and organizational and jurisdictional disputes agreement which can be effective as between all of the unions becoming signatory to it irrespective of their former affiliation and for the purpose of extending, by voluntary agreement, such provisions to all affiliates of this Federation.

ARTICLE XIX

INITIAL CONVENTION

Section 1. The provisions of this constitution shall govern the initial convention of the Federation except as otherwise provided in this Article.

Sec. 2. The initial convention shall be called,

ARTICLE XIX-Initial Convention

and the time and place determined, by the Joint AFL-CIO Unity Committee, subject to the approval of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Board of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, and the conventions of the two federations.

Sec. 3. The Joint AFL-CIO Unity Committee shall act as the credentials committee for the initial convention and shall be empowered to accredit as delegates to such convention all of the delegates who have been duly accredited to the conventions of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations which approved this constitution. Where the total number of such delegates of any affiliated organization is less than the number of delegates to which such organization is entitled under Article IV, Section 4, the Joint AFL-CIO Unity Committee shall be empowered to accredit additional delegates from such organization up to such number.

Sec. 4. Delegations representing national and international unions, organizing committees and directly affiliated local unions shall each be entitled to a total number of votes based upon the membership represented by such delegation at the conventions of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations approving this constitution. State and local central bodies and national departments shall each be represented by one delegate and shall each be entitled to one vote.

ARTICLE XIX-Initial Convention

Sec. 5. The Joint AFL-CIO Unity Committee shall report to the convention, designate temporary officers for the convention, appoint all convention committees, and take such other action with respect to the conduct of the convention as may become necessary by virtue of the fact that it is an initial convention.

ARTICLE XX EFFECTIVE DATE

This constitution and the Merger Agreement between the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations shall become effective upon approval by the separate conventions of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations and shall govern the affairs of the Federation beginning with the first convention of the Federation.

AGREEMENT FOR THE MERGER OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND THE CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

Signed February 9, 1955

1. AGREEMENT TO MERGE

The American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations agree to create a single trade union center in America, through the process of merger which will preserve the integrity of each affiliated national and international union. They further agree upon the following principles and procedures to accomplish this end.

2. PRINCIPLES OF MERGER

- (a) It is recognized, as a fundamental basis for the merger of the AFL and CIO, that each national and international union, federal labor union, local industrial union and organizing committee (hereafter referred to as affiliated union) holding a charter or certificate of affiliation granted by either federation shall retain its charter or certificate and become, by virtue of the merger, an affiliate of the merged federation.
- (b) It is further recognized and agreed that the integrity of each affiliated union in the merged federation shall be maintained and preserved. In order to effectuate this principle, the Constitution of the merged federation shall contain a constitutional declaration for respect by

each affiliate of the established bargaining relationship of every other affiliate and against raiding by any affiliate of the established collective bargaining relationship of any other affiliate. The merged federation shall provide appropriate machinery to implement this constitutional declaration.

- (c) The parties further agree that, subject to the foregoing, each affiliated union shall have the same organizing jurisdiction in the merged federation as it had in its respective prior organization.
- (d) The parties recognize that the above provisions may result in conflicting and duplicating organizations and jurisdictions. Where such is the case, affiliates of the merged federation will be encouraged to eliminate conflicts and duplications through the process of agreement, merger, or other means, by voluntary agreement in consultation with the appropriate officials of the merged federation.
- (e) The merged federation shall be based upon a constitutional recognition that both craft and industrial unions are appropriate, equal and necessary as methods of trade union organization.
- (f) The merged federation shall constitutionally recognize the right of all workers, without regard to race, creed, color or national origin to share in the full benefits of trade union organization in the merged federation. The merged federation shall establish appropriate internal machinery to bring about, at the earl-

iest possible date, the effective implementation of this principle of non-discrimination.

(g) The merged federation shall constitutionally affirm its determination to protect the American trade union movement from any and all corrupt influence and from the undermining efforts of communist agencies and all others who are opposed to the basic principles of our democracy and of free and democratic trade unionism.

The merged federation shall establish appropriate internal machinery with authority effectively to implement this constitutional determination to keep the merged federation free from any taint of corruption or communism.

3. GOVERNMENT AND STRUCTURE OF THE MERGED FEDERATION

- (a) There shall be established within the merged federation a Department to be known as the Council of Industrial Organizations. Such Department shall have the status of, and, in general, be comparable to, the existing Departments of the American Federation of Labor, which Departments shall be continued within the merged federation. This Department shall be open to all industrial unions within the merged federation. All other Departments in the merged federation shall be open to all appropriate unions.
- (b) The executive officers of the merged federation shall be a President and a Secretary-Treasurer, who shall be elected at the regular

conventions of the merged federation. Initially, the President and Secretary-Treasurer shall be elected from the unions now affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

(c) The Department of Organization of the merged federation shall be headed by a Director of Organization who shall be appointed by the President, after consultation with the Executive Committee, subject to the approval of the Executive Council.

Initially, the Director of Organization shall be selected from a union now affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organizations. The Department of Organization shall be provided the staff and resources necessary to conduct organizational activities in cooperation with the various affiliated unions, in the common effort to organize the unorganized into collective bargaining units which experience has shown to be the most effective and appropriate for the protection of such workers.

(d) The Convention of the merged federation shall be its supreme governing body. The convention shall meet regularly every two years. The delegates of affiliated unions to such convention shall vote the per capita membership of the unions which they represent. State and local central bodies shall be entitled to one vote each at conventions.

(e) In addition to the officers set forth in paragraph (b), there shall be twenty-seven Vice Presidents, to be elected at the regular conventions of the merged federation. The Vice Presidents shall, with the executive officers, constitute the Executive Council. The Executive Council shall meet not less than three times each year. It shall be authorized and empowered to take such action and render such decisions as will be necessary to carry out fully and adequately the decisions and instructions of the conventions and between conventions shall have the power to direct the affairs of the federation and to take such actions and render such decisions as are necessary and appropriate to safeguard and promote the best interests of the federation and its affiliated unions, including the organization of unorganized industries by means most appropriate for that purpose. At the first convention of the merged federation, seventeen of the Vice Presidents shall be elected from unions now affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and ten shall be elected from unions now affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

(f) There shall be an Executive Committee which shall consist of the Executive Officers and six of the Vice Presidents to be selected by the Executive Council. The Executive Committee shall meet bi-monthly and shall advise and consult with the executive officers on policy matters. Initially, three of the Vice Presidents constituting the Executive Committee shall be selected from unions now affiliated with the AFL and three of the Vice Presidents shall be selected from unions now affiliated with the CIO.

(g) There shall be a body known as the General Board which shall consist of the members of the Executive Council and the President or

other principal officer of each of the national or international unions affiliated with the merged federation. The General Board shall meet at least once each year and shall decide all policy questions referred to it by the executive officers, and the Executive Council. The rules of the convention as to voting shall govern the General Board.

- (h) The constitution of the merged federation shall provide for standing committees of the federation in appropriate fields of action. These committees shall have appropriate staffs and due recognition shall be given to unions now affiliated with the AFL and the CIO in determining the chairmanships of, and in staffing, such committees.
- (i) The constitution shall provide for state and local central bodies of the merged federation. In addition, the constitution shall permit the Council of Industrial Organizations to maintain subordinate councils, as now provided for departments of the American Federation of Labor. Existing state and local bodies of the AFL and CIO shall be merged as provided for in paragraph 6(g) of this Agreement.

4. FINANCES

(a) The merged federation shall succeed to all the assets of the American Federation of Labor and shall assume all of its liabilities and contractual obligations. The merged federation shall succeed to that part of the net assets of the Congress of Industrial Organizations which bears the same relationship to the membership of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (as measured by per capita tax paid as of the date of the 1954 Congress of Industrial Organizations Convention) as the net assets of the American Federation of Labor as of the date of merger bear to the membership of the American Federation of Labor (similarly measured as of the date of the 1954 American Federation of Labor Convention). The Council of Industrial Organizations to be established within the merged federation shall succeed to the balance of the assets of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, after all of its liabilities, both accrued and potential, have been provided for. The term assets shall include real estate held in trust for the respective federations.

(b) The per capita tax payable to the merged federation by national, international unions and organizing committees shall be 4 cents per member per month. The per capita tax of federal labor unions and local industrial unions shall be not less than 80 cents per member per month. The Council of Industrial Organizations, acting as a department of the merged federation, shall establish its own per capita tax, as shall all other departments of the merged federation.

5. EXISTING AGREEMENTS

The AFL-CIO No-Raiding Agreement shall be preserved and, with the consent of the signatories, shall be extended for a period of two years from its present expiration date and amended to make it effective as between all unions signatory to it irrespective of their former affiliation.

The CIO Organizational Disputes Agreement shall be maintained in force as between the unions which have adhered to it. The AFL Internal Disputes Plan shall be maintained in force with respect to the unions which have adhered to it. A Joint Committee shall be established to formulate the means for incorporating these three agreements into a combined no-raiding and organizational and jurisdictional disputes agreement which can be effective as between all of the unions becoming signatory to it irrespective of their former affiliation and for the purpose of extending, by voluntary agreement, such provisions to all affiliates of the merged federation.

6. METHODS OF MERGER

The merger shall be effected by the following procedure:

- (a) This agreement shall be submitted for approval to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Board of the Congress of Industrial Organizations.
- (b) Upon approval by them, a proposed constitution for the merged federation, reflecting the provisions of the merger agreement and containing such other necessary and appropriate provisions as may be agreed to, shall be drafted by the Joint AFL-CIO Unity Committee. The proposed constitution of the merged federation shall, consistent with the merger agreement, pre-

serve the essential features of the present AFL and CIO constitutions and the basic rights and obligations of the affiliates of both federations.

(c) The proposed Constitution shall be submitted for approval to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Board of the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

(d) Upon approval by them, this Agreement and the proposed Constitution, and such other agreements as are necessary to accomplish the merger shall be submitted to separate conventions of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

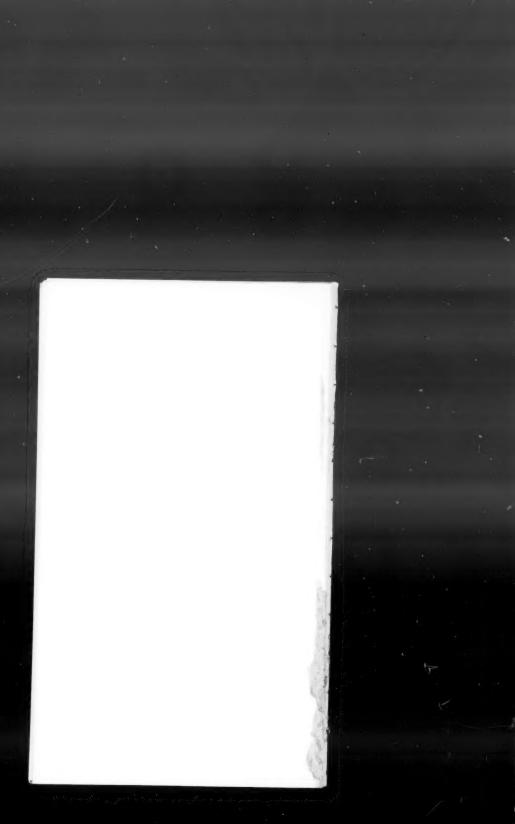
(e) Upon approval by the separate conventions of the two federations of the Merger Agreement and the proposed Constitution of the merged federation, a joint convention shall be held. Such joint convention shall constitute the first regular biennial convention of the merged federation.

(f) Initially, the headquarters and field staff of the AFL and the CIO shall be retained as the staff of the merged federation. A special committee shall be established of the present executive officers of the AFL and the CIO which shall, in conjunction with the executive officers of the merged federation, make just, fair and equitable provision for the integration of the staffs of the AFL and the CIO into a single staff for the merged federation.

(g) Merger of existing state and local central bodies of the AFL and CIO shall be accomplished within two years after the date of the merger of the two national federations by the process of negotiation and agreement under the guidance of the officers of the merged federation. Pending the conclusion of such agreements state and local central bodies of both the AFL and CIO shall be permitted to continue to exist as state and local central bodies representing the respective local unions now affiliated to such central bodies.







Constitution

of the

AFL-CIO

And Other Official Documents Relating to the Achievement of Labor Unity



AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR
AND
CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

Published by the

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR and CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

GEORGE MEANY President WILLIAM F. SCHNITZLER
Secretary-Treasurer

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

P	age
Constitution of the AFL-CIO	3
Agreement for the Merger of the AFL and the CIO	26
Implementation Agreement	31
AFL-CIO No-Raiding Agreement	35
Memorandum of Understanding Supplementary to the No-Raiding Agreement	
Instrument of Extension and Amendment of the AFL-CIO No-Raiding Agreement	
Resolution on the Achievement of Labor Unity	
Report of the Joint AFL-CIO Unity Committee	48

CONSTITUTION OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

PREAMBLE

The establishment of this Federation through the merger of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations is an expression of the hopes and aspirations of the working people of America.

We seek the fulfillment of these hopes and aspirations through democratic processes within the framework of our constitutional government and consistent with our institutions and traditions.

At the collective bargaining table, in the community, in the exercise of the rights and responsibilities of citizenship, we shall responsibly serve the interests of all the American people.

We pledge ourselves to the more effective organization of working men and women; to the securing to them of full recognition and enjoyment of the rights to which they are justly entitled; to the achievement of ever higher standards of living and working conditions; to the attainment of security for all the people; to the enjoyment of the leisure which their skills make possible; and to the strengthening and extension of our way of life and the fundamental freedoms which are the basis of our democratic society.

We shall combat resolutely the forces which seek to undermine the democratic institutions of our nation and to enslave the human soul. We shall strive always to win full respect for the dignity of the human individual whom our unions serve.

With Divine guidance, grateful for the fine traditions of our past, confident of meeting the challenge of the future, we proclaim this constitution.

ARTICLE I

Name

This Federation shall be known as the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations. It is established pursuant to and as a result of a merger agreement between the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations. It shall consist of such affiliates as shall conform to its constitution and the rules and regulations adopted thereunder.

ARTICLE II

Objects and Principles

The objects and principles of this Federation are:

- 1. To aid workers in securing improved wages, hours and working conditions with due regard for the autonomy, integrity and jurisdiction of affiliated unions.
- 2. To aid and assist affiliated unions in extending the benefits of mutual assistance and collective bargaining to workers and to promote the organization of the unorganized into unions of their own choosing for their mutual aid, protection and advancement, giving recognition to the principle that both craft and industrial unions are appropriate, equal and necessary as methods of union organization.
- 3. To affiliate national and international unions with this Federation and to establish such unions; to form organizing committees and directly affiliated local unions and to secure their affiliation to appropriate national and international unions affiliated with or chartered by the Federation; to establish, assist and promote state and local central bodies composed of local unions of all affiliated organizations and directly affiliated local unions; to establish and assist trade departments composed of affiliated national and international unions and organizing committees.
- 4. To encourage all workers without regard to race, creed, color, national origin or ancestry to share equally in the full benefits of union organization.
- 5. To secure legislation which will safeguard and promote the principle of free collective bargaining, the rights of workers, farmers and consumers, and the security and welfare of all the people and to oppose legislation inimical to these objectives.
- 6. To protect and strengthen our democratic institutions, to secure full recognition and enjoyment of the rights and liberties to which we are justly entitled, and to preserve and perpetuate the cherished traditions of our democracy.
- 7. To give constructive aid in promoting the cause of peace and freedom in the world and to aid, assist and cooperate with free and democratic labor movements throughout the world.
- 8. To preserve and maintain the integrity of each affiliated union in the organization to the end that each affiliate shall respect the established bargaining relationships of every other affiliate and that each affiliate shall refrain from raiding the established bargaining relationship of any other affiliate and, at the same time, to encourage the elimination of conflicting and duplicating organizations and jurisdictions through the process of voluntary agreement or voluntary merger in consultation with the appropriate officials

of the Federation, to preserve, subject to the foregoing, the organizing jurisdiction of each affiliate.

9. To aid and encourage the sale and use of union made goods and union services through the use of the union label and other symbols; to promote the labor press and other means of furthering the education of the labor movement.

10. To protect the labor movement from any and all corrupt influences and from the undermining efforts of communist agencies and all others who are opposed to the basic principles of our democracy and free and democratic unionism.

11. To safeguard the democratic character of the labor movement and to protect the autonomy of each affiliated national and international union.

12. While preserving the independence of the labor movement from political control, to encourage workers to register and vote, to exercise their full rights and responsibilities of citizenship, and to perform their rightful part in the political life of the local, state and national communities.

ARTICLE III

Affiliates

Section 1. The Federation shall be composed of (1) affiliated national and international unions and organizing committees, (2) directly affiliated local unions (such as Local Trade Unions, Federal Labor Unions, and Local Industrial Unions) and national councils thereof, (3) state and local central bodies (such as State and Territorial Federations, City Central Labor Unions and Industrial Union Councils), and (4) trade and industrial departments.

Sec. 2. Each national and international union and each federal labor union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor at the time of the adoption of this constitution by reason of a charter or certificate of affiliation granted by that federation and each national and international union, organizing committee and local industrial union affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organizations at the time of the adoption of this constitution by reason of a charter or certificate of affiliation granted by that federation shall retain its charter or certificate, which shall become and be a charter or certificate of this Federation and, by virtue of the same and as a result of the merger between the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, shall be an affiliate of this Federation and subject to its rules and regulations.

Sec. 3. Each such affiliate shall retain and enjoy the same organizing jurisdiction in this Federation which it had and enjoyed by reason of its prior affiliation with either the American Federation of Labor or the Congress of Industrial Organizations. In cases

of conflicting and duplicating jurisdictions involving such affiliates the President and the Executive Council of this Federation shall seek to eliminate such conflicts and duplications through the process of voluntary agreement or voluntary merger between the affiliates involved.

Sec. 4. The integrity of each such affiliate of this Federation shall be maintained and preserved. Each such affiliate shall respect the established collective bargaining relationship of every other affiliate and no affiliate shall raid the established collective bargaining relationship of any other affiliate. When a complaint has been filed with the President by an affiliate alleging a violation of this section by another affiliate, that has not been settled under the provisions of the No-Raiding Agreement referred to in Article XVIII, the President shall endeavor, by consultation with the appropriate officers of both affiliates, to settle the matter by voluntary agreement between such affiliates. In the event no such voluntary agreement is reached within a reasonable time the President shall report to the Executive Council with such recommendations as he may deem appropriate. Upon such report being submitted, the Executive Council shall consider the same, shall hear the appropriate officers of the affiliates involved, and shall make such decision as it believes to be necessary and proper to carry out the provisions of this section. In the event an affiliate shall fail to comply with such decision, the Executive Council shall submit the matter to the convention for such action as the convention may deem appropriate under the provisions of this constitution.

Sec. 5. State and Territorial Federations of Labor and Local Central Bodies affiliated with the American Federation of Labor at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, and State and Local Industrial Union Councils affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organizations at the time of the adoption of this constitution, shall become and be affiliates of this Federation and shall, as such, continue to exist as state, territorial and local central bodies, each representing the respective federal labor unions or local industrial unions now affiliated to such central body and such local unions now affiliated to such central body as are affiliated with a national or international union or organizing committee affiliated with this Provided, however: That a merger of these state. territorial and local central bodies, heretofore affiliated with the American Federation of Labor or the Congress of Industrial Organizations, shall be effected within two years after the adoption of this constitution, through the process of negotiation and agreement under the guidance of the President of this Federation and its Executive Council.

Sec. 6. Existing departments of the American Federation of Labor at the time of the adoption of this constitution shall continue as trade departments of this Federation with the rights of and subject to the rules governing trade and industrial departments provided in Article XII.

Sec. 7. The Executive Council shall have power to issue charters or certificates of affiliation to organizations desiring to affiliate with this Federation. This power may be delegated to the President. Subject to the provisions of Sections 2 and 3 of this Article, charters or certificates of affiliation shall not be issued to national or international unions, organizing committees, or directly affiliated local unions in conflict with the jurisdiction of affiliated national or international unions, except with the written consent of such unions, and shall be based upon a strict recognition that both craft and industrial unions are equal and necessary as methods of trade union organization, and that each affiliated national and international union is entitled to have its autonomy, integrity and jurisdiction protected and preserved.

Sec. 8. Except as otherwise provided in this constitution no national or international union chartered by or affiliated with this Federation may be suspended from membership in the Federation except by a majority roll-call vote at the convention. No such national or international union shall have its charter or certificate of affiliation with the Federation revoked except by a two-thirds majority roll-call vote at the convention.

Sec. 9. No organization officered, controlled or dominated by communists, fascists, or other totalitarians, or whose policies and activities are consistently directed toward the achievement of the program or purposes of the Communist Party, any fascist organization, or other totalitarian movement, shall be permitted as an affiliate of this Federation or any of its state or local central bodies.

Sec. 10. Affiliates of the Federation shall be encouraged to eliminate conflicts and duplications in organization and jurisdictions through the process of voluntary agreement or voluntary merger in consultation with the appropriate officials of the Federation.

ARTICLE IV

Convention

Section 1. The convention shall be the supreme governing body of the Federation and, except as otherwise provided in this Constitution, its decisions shall be by a majority vote.

Sec. 2. The regular conventions of the Federation shall be held every two years, beginning in 1955, at a time during the last four months of the year. The time and the place for holding the regular conventions shall be designated by the Executive Council which shall give at least 90 days' notice of the time and place designated.

Sec. 3. (a) Special conventions may be called by direction of a regular convention, by order of the Executive Council, or on request of national and international unions representing a majority of the total membership of the Federation, as evidenced by the records of the Secretary-Treasurer to the last convention.

(b) In the event a special convention has been called all affiliated organizations shall be given at least 30 days' notice, together with a statement of the particular subject or subjects to be considered

at such convention.

(c) Representation to special conventions shall be on the same basis and subject to like qualifications and procedure governing

regular conventions.

(d) A special convention shall be clothed with like authority and power conferred upon regular conventions, its decisions shall be equally binding and it shall be governed by the same procedure applicable to regular conventions; however, such special conventions shall be limited solely to the subject or subjects specifically and definitely indicated in the call for such special convention.

Sec. 4. Each national or international union and organizing committee shall be entitled to the number of delegates indicated

in the following scale:

Less than	4,000	members	1	delegate
Over	4,000	66	2	delegates
44	8,000	66	3	66
66	12,000	46	4	44
44	25,000	66	5	44
44	50,000	64	6	44
44	75,000	68	7	44
46	125,000	66	8	44
66	175,000	46	9	46

plus one additional delegate for each 75,000 members over 175,000.

Each directly affiliated local union and each national trade and industrial department shall be entitled to one delegate. Each industrial union council and each state or local central body shall be entitled to one delegate. Directly affiliated local unions, with the approval of the President, may combine with other such unions within a reasonable distance to elect a single delegate to represent such unions.

Sec. 5. Delegates to a regular convention of the Federation shall be elected or otherwise designated by the affiliate at least 30 days prior to the convention, except in cases in which the convention of the affiliate meets within this 30-day period. The names of the delegates shall be forwarded to the Secretary-Treasurer of the Federation immediately after their selection.

Sec. 6. No organization that has seceded or has been suspended or expelled by this Federation, the American Federation of Labor,

or the Congress of Industrial Organizations, or by any national or international union or organizing committee affiliated with this Federation shall, while under such penalty, be allowed representation or recognition in the Federation, or in any subordinate body thereof, or in any national or international union or organizing committee affiliated with this Federation, under the penalty of the suspension of the body violating this section. No affiliate which, at the opening date of the convention, is in arrears to the Federation for per capita tax or assessments for two months or more, shall be entitled to recognition or representation in the convention.

Sec. 7. No organization shall be entitled to representation unless such organization has applied for and obtained a certificate of affiliation at least one month prior to the convention, and no person shall be recognized as a delegate who is not a member in good standing of the organization he is selected to represent.

Sec. 8. The number of members of each national and international union, organizing committee and directly affiliated local unions for the purpose of selecting delegates and for roll-call votes at the convention shall be the average monthly number on which per capita tax is paid for the 24-month period prior to and including the second month preceding the month of the opening date of the convention. Where affiliation has occurred during this 24-month period, the average shall be computed from the month of affiliation, and the number of members shall be deemed to be one twenty-fourth of such average for each month for which per capita tax has been paid. The Secretary-Treasurer shall prepare for the use of the convention and submit to it a printed list showing the number of votes and the number of delegates to which each affiliate is entitled.

Sec. 9. The President shall appoint, in consultation with the Executive Council, prior to the opening date of the convention and subject to the approval of the convention, such committees as are necessary to conduct the affairs of the convention. Such committees may meet before the opening date of the convention and shall proceed to consider all resolutions, appeals, reports, and constitutional amendments submitted to the convention, and shall report thereon to the convention.

Sec. 10. (a) All resolutions, petitions, memorials and appeals to be considered by any convention of the Federation must be received by the Secretary-Treasurer at headquarters in Washington, D. C., 30 days immediately preceding the opening of the convention; except in instances where such matters have been acted upon and approved at a regular convention of a national or international union, or state central body, or national trade and industrial department held during this 30-day period in which event such proposals shall be received up to the opening date of the convention.

- (b) All resolutions, petitions, memorials and appeals received or submitted after the time stipulated above or during the convention shall be referred to the Executive Council, and the Executive Council shall refer all such proposal or proposals to the convention with the understanding that consideration of such proposal or proposals is dependent upon the unanimous consent of the convention.
- (c) Any or all proposals emanating from directly affiliated local unions shall be referred to the Executive Council for consideration and disposition. The Executive Council shall in turn advise the convention of the disposition made of such proposal or proposals.
- (d) Proposals emanating from state central bodies to receive consideration of a convention must first have received the approval of the previous convention of the state central body involved. In the case of local central bodies any proposal or proposals to be considered must have first received the approval of such central labor body at a regularly constituted meeting of such organization.
- (e) Each resolution, memorial, petition, or appeal properly received for consideration by the convention, as soon as practical after receipt thereof, shall be classified by the President as to nature, contents and subject matter and referred by him to an appropriate committee, which committee shall make a report thereon to the convention prior to consideration of any such matter by the convention. He shall cause to be distributed copies of such resolutions, petitions, memorials or appeals to the delegates of the convention at the opening session thereof or as soon thereafter as practical, but before any such matters are considered by the convention.
- Sec. 11. Not less than 60 days prior to the opening of each regular convention, the Secretary-Treasurer shall furnish each affiliate with credential blanks in duplicate, which must be attested as required on the blanks. The duplicates shall be retained by the delegate, and the original sent to the Secretary-Treasurer. Subject to the provisions of Section 5 of this Article, no credentials shall be accepted later than 20 days prior to the opening date of the convention.
- Sec. 12. Prior to the opening date of the convention, the Executive Council shall meet and constitute itself or a subcommittee as the Credentials Committee for the convention. Appeals from its decisions may be made to the floor of the convention. The convention shall not be constituted for business until after the Credentials Committee shall have examined and reported on credentials of all delegates present at the scheduled time on the opening date of the convention.
- Sec. 13. All members of the Executive Council who are not elected as delegates shall be ex-officio delegates to the convention

with all the rights and privileges of elected delegates, but without vote.

Sec. 14. Fraternal delegates attending conventions of the Federation shall be entitled to all the rights of delegates but shall not be entitled to vote.

Sec. 15. At the opening of the convention the President shall take the chair and call the convention to order, and preside during its sessions.

Sec. 16. One-fourth of the delegates seated at any convention shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

Sec. 17. Questions may be decided by divisions or a show of hands, but a call of the roll may be demanded by 30 percent of the delegates present. Upon such roll-call each delegate representing affiliated national or international unions, organizing committees and directly affiliated local unions shall be entitled to cast one vote for every member whom he represents. Each state and local central body and national trade and industrial department shall be entitled to one vote.

Sec. 18. The rules and order of business governing the preceding convention shall be enforced from the opening of any convention of the Federation until new rules have been adopted by action of the convention.

Sec. 19. Unless otherwise specified, any action taken by the convention shall take effect immediately upon adoption.

ARTICLE V

Officers

Section 1. The officers shall consist of a President and a Secretary-Treasurer, who shall be the Executive Officers, and 27 Vice Presidents.

Sec. 2. Each officer shall be a member of an affiliated organization.

Sec. 3. The officers shall be elected by the convention by majority vote. Such election shall take place on the last day of the convention, unless otherwise determined by the convention. In the event that more than two candidates are nominated for any office and no one candidate receives a majority of the votes cast, all except the two candidates receiving the highest votes shall be eliminated from the list of candidates and a second vote taken.

Sec. 4. Each officer elected at the convention shall take office immediately upon his election and shall serve until his successor is elected at the next regular convention.

Sec. 5. In the event of a vacancy in the office of either the President or the Secretary-Treasurer by reason of death, resignation or otherwise, the remaining executive officer shall perform the

duties of the vacant office until a successor is elected. It shall be the duty of such executive officer to issue, within ten days of the date of the vacancy, a call for a meeting of the Executive Council of this Federation, upon ten days' notice, for the purpose of electing an executive officer to fill said vacancy for the unexpired term.

Sec. 6. In the event of a vacancy in the office of Vice President by reason of death, resignation or otherwise, the Executive Council shall have the power to fill the vacancy by majority vote of all its members for the period of the unexpired term.

Sec. 7. The national headquarters of the Federation shall be maintained by the Executive Officers at Washington, D. C.

Sec. 8. The Executive Officers shall, by virtue of their office, hold title to the real estate of the Federation as trustees for the Federation.

Sec. 9. The President and Secretary-Treasurer of the Federation or either of them may retire after reaching age 65 years, and after having served 20 years. Time served as an officer of any organization affiliated with the Federation, or with the American Federation of Labor or the Congress of Industrial Organizations, shall be included in determining length of service hereunder. In the event of retirement such officers shall have the title of President Emeritus, or Secretary-Treasurer Emeritus and shall render service to the Federation in an advisory and consultative status. They shall be compensated for such service by the Federation for life in an amount, payable weekly, equal to 75 percent of the annual salary paid to the corresponding Executive Officer of this Federation.

Sec. 10. No individual shall be eligible to serve either as an Executive Officer or as a member of the Executive Council who is a member of the Communist Party, any fascist organization, or other totalitarian movement, or who consistently pursues policies and activities directed toward the achievement of the program or the purposes of the Communist Party, any fascist organization or other totalitarian movement.

ARTICLE VI

Duties of the President

Section 1. The President shall function as the chief executive officer of the Federation. He shall exercise supervision of the affairs of the Federation, sign all official documents and preside at regular and special conventions, and at meetings of the Executive Council, Executive Committee and General Board. He shall call meetings of the Executive Council at least three times each year and a meeting of the General Board at least once each year.

Sec. 2. The President shall have authority to interpret the constitution between meetings of the Executive Council and his in-

terpretation shall be conclusive and in full force and effect unless reversed or changed by the Executive Council or a convention.

Sec. 3. The President shall receive for his services a salary of

\$35,000 per annum payable weekly.

Sec. 4. The appointment and compensation, direction, suspension and removal of organizers, representatives, agents and employees of the Federation shall be under the direction of the President.

Sec. 5. The President shall make a report of the administration of his office and of the affairs of the Federation to the convention

through the report of the Executive Council.

ARTICLE VII

Duties of the Secretary-Treasurer

Section 1. The Secretary-Treasurer shall be the chief financial officer of the Federation and shall receive and collect all moneys due the Federation which moneys shall be paid out only on the approval of the President.

Sec. 2. The Secretary-Treasurer shall be in charge of and preserve all moneys, properties, securities and other evidences of investment, books, documents, files and effects of the Federation which shall at all times be subject to the inspection of the President and Executive Council.

Sec. 3. The Secretary-Treasurer shall issue the call for and act as secretary at conventions, and shall cause the proceedings of all conventions and all sessions of the Executive Council and General

Board to be recorded.

Sec. 4. It shall be the duty of each national and international union, organizing committee, each trade and industrial department, state and local central bodies and each directly affiliated local union, to furnish the Secretary-Treasurer a copy of all official reports issued by such affiliated organizations together with a statement of their membership in good standing and to furnish such additional statistical data in their possession relating to the membership of such organizations as may be called for by the Secretary-Treasurer of this Federation.

Sec. 5. The Secretary-Treasurer shall give a bond for the faithful performance of his duties in such amount as may be determined by the Executive Council and shall report to the biennial convention of the Federation through the report of the Executive Council, and for his services he shall receive \$33,000 per annum, pay-

able weekly.

Sec. 6. The Secretary-Treasurer shall print quarterly, as a separate document, a financial statement of the Federation and forward a copy thereof to all affiliated national and international unions, organizing committees, directly affiliated local unions and state and local central bodies.

Sec. 7. The Secretary-Treasurer shall be required, from time to time, but no less than semi-annually, to provide for an audit of all books, accounts, records and financial transactions of the Federation by an independent public accountant. Such audits shall be furnished to the Executive Council and a biennial audit shall be furnished to the Convention.

Sec. 8. The Secretary-Treasurer shall, under the direction and instructions of the Executive Council, invest the surplus funds of the Federation in sound securities or deposit the same in a bank or banks.

ARTICLE VIII

Executive Council

Section 1. The Executive Council shall consist of the President, the Vice Presidents and the Secretary-Treasurer.

Sec. 2. The Executive Council shall be the governing body of this Federation between conventions. It is authorized and empowered to take such action and render such decisions as may be necessary to carry out fully and adequately the decisions and instructions of the conventions and to enforce the provisions contained in this constitution. Between conventions it shall have the power to direct the affairs of the Federation and to take such actions and render such decisions as are necessary and appropriate to safeguard and promote the best interests of the Federation and its affiliated unions, including the organization of unorganized industries by means most appropriate for that purpose.

Sec. 3. The Executive Council shall meet upon the call of the President at least three times within each year at a time and place designated by the President.

Sec. 4. It shall be the duty of the Executive Council to watch legislative measures directly affecting the interests of working people, and to initiate, wherever necessary, such legislative action as the convention may direct.

Sec. 5. The Executive Council shall prepare and present to the convention in printed form a statement of all matters of interest to the convention and of the activities of the Federation between conventions.

Sec. 6. The Executive Council shall have power to make rules to govern matters consistent with this constitution and shall report accordingly to the Federation.

Sec. 7. It is a basic principle of this Federation that it must be and remain free from any and all corrupt influences and from the undermining efforts of communist, fascist or other totalitarian agencies who are opposed to the basic principles of our democracy and of free and democratic trade unionism. The Executive Council, when requested to do so by the President or by any other mem-

ber of the Executive Council, shall have the power to conduct an investigation, directly or through an appropriate standing or special committee appointed by the President, of any situation in which there is reason to believe that any affiliate is dominated, controlled or substantially influenced in the conduct of its affairs by any corrupt influence, or that the policies or activities of any affiliate are consistently directed toward the advocacy, support, advancement or achievement of the program or of the purposes of the Communist Party, any fascist organization or other totalitarian movement. Upon the completion of such an investigation, including a hearing if requested, the Executive Council shall have the authority to make recommendations or give directions to the affiliate involved and shall have the further authority, upon a two-thirds vote, to suspend any affiliate found guilty of a violation of this section. Any action of the Executive Council under this section may be appealed to the convention, provided, however, that such action shall be effective when taken and shall remain in full force and effect pending any appeal.

Sec. 8. Subject to the provisions of Article III, Section 7, the Executive Council shall use every possible means to assist affiliated unions in the organization of the unorganized and to organize new national and international unions, organizing committees, and directly affiliated local unions.

Until such time as it is feasible to form a new national or international union composed of directly affiliated local unions or to affiliate such unions with an existing affiliated national or international union within whose jurisdiction they might properly come, the Executive Council may group such directly affiliated local unions, in a particular craft or industry, into national councils or organizing committees which shall be under the direct supervision and control of the Executive Council and the President.

Sec. 9. In carrying out the provisions of this Article the Executive Council shall recognize that both craft and industrial unions are appropriate, equal and necessary as methods of trade union organization and that all workers whatever their race, color, creed or national origin are entitled to share in the full benefits of trade union organization.

Sec. 10. A majority of the members of the Executive Council shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of the business of the Council.

Sec. 11. The Executive Council shall have the power to file charges and conduct hearings on such charges against any Executive Officer of the Federation or other member of the Executive Council on the ground that such person is guilty of malfeasance or maladministration, and to make a report to the convention recommending appropriate action. The Executive Council must serve

such officer with a copy of the written charges a reasonable time before the hearing.

Sec. 12. The Executive Council shall have the further power to refuse to seat or to remove from office any member of the Executive Council, or to remove from office any officer, who is found by the Council, by a two-thirds vote after notice and hearing, to be ineligible to serve under the provisions of Article V, Section 10. Any action of the Executive Council under this section may be appealed to the convention, provided, however, that such action shall be effective when taken and shall remain in full force and effect pending any appeal.

Sec. 13. In any case in which an affiliate has been suspended from membership in the Federation by the convention, or by a two-thirds vote of the Executive Council in the cases set forth in Section 7 of this Article, and in which it is shown that the cause for such suspension no longer exists, the Executive Council shall have the power, upon a two-thirds vote, to terminate such suspension.

Sec. 14. No affiliated national or international union or organizing committee shall be permitted to change its title or name without first having obtained the consent and approval of the Executive Council or the convention.

Sec. 15. The Executive Council shall be authorized to reimburse members of the Council for necessary expenses in performing their duties for the Federation.

ARTICLE IX

Executive Committee

There shall be an Executive Committee which shall consist of the President and the Secretary-Treasurer and six Vice Presidents to be selected by the Executive Council. The Executive Committee shall meet every two months and shall advise and consult with the President and Secretary-Treasurer on policy matters.

ARTICLE X

General Board

Section 1. The General Board of the Federation shall consist of all of the members of the Executive Council of the Federation and the president or other principal officer of each of the affiliated national or international unions and of each trade and industrial department.

Sec. 2. The General Board shall meet upon the call of the President of the Federation, but such meeting shall be called at least once each year.

Sec. 3. The General Board shall decide all policy questions referred to it by the Executive Officers or by the Executive Council.

Sec. 4. Questions coming before the General Board shall be decided in accordance with the applicable provisions of Section 17 of Article IV of this Constitution with the president or other principal officer of each affiliated national or international union casting the vote of such union and with the president or other principal officer of each Department casting the one vote of such department. The number of members of each national or international union on a roll-call vote of the General Board shall be deemed to be the number of members represented at the last preceding convention except in the case where affiliation has occurred subsequent to such convention or within a 24-month period prior to and including the second month preceding such convention. In such cases the number of members of such affiliate shall be deemed to be one twentyfourth of the average membership for which per capita tax was paid for each month, prior to the meeting of the General Board, for which such tax was paid.

ARTICLE XI

Department of Organization

Section 1. The organizing work of this Federation as set forth in Article VIII, Section 8, shall be conducted by the Department of Organization under the general supervision of the President. The Department of Organization shall be provided the staff and resources necessary to conduct such activities.

Sec. 2. The Department of Organization shall be headed by a Director of Organization who shall be appointed by the President after consultation with the Executive Committee, subject to the

approval of the Executive Council.

ARTICLE XII

Trade and Industrial Departments

Section 1. The Trade and Industrial Departments shall be subordinate to the Federation and shall consist of the following: Building and Construction Trades Department; Metal Trades Department; Union Label and Service Trades Department; Maritime Trades Department; Railway Employees Department; and a department of industrial organizations to be known as Industrial Union Department, and such other departments as may be established by the Executive Council or the convention. Each department is to manage and finance its own affairs and may establish local councils or railway system federations of departments. Affiliation to the departments in the Federation shall be open to all appropriate affiliated national and international unions and organizing committees.

- Sec. 2. To be entitled to representation in any department, international unions and organizing committees eligible to join it must first be and remain in affiliation to the Federation.
- Sec. 3. To be entitled to representation in local councils or railway system federations of Departments, local unions are required to be part of affiliated national and international unions and organizing committees affiliated to departments or to be directly affiliated to the Federation.
- Sec. 4. The fundamental laws and procedure of each department are to conform to and be administered in the same manner as the laws and procedure governing the Federation. No department, local council or railway system federation of the same shall enact laws, rules or regulations in conflict with the laws and procedure of the Federation, and in the event of change of laws, rules, regulations and procedures of the latter, departments, local councils and railway system federations are to change their laws, rules, and regulations to conform thereto.
- Sec. 5. Each department is to be considered an official method of the Federation for transacting the portion of its business indicated by the name of the department, in consequence of which affiliated and eligible organizations should be part of their respective departments and should comply with the actions and decisions of such departments, subject to appeal therefrom to the Executive Council and the conventions of the Federation. An organization affiliated with one or more departments shall pay per capita tax to each such department upon the number of members whose occupation comes under such department.
- Sec. 6. The officers of the various departments shall submit a quarterly report to the Executive Council of the Federation of the work done by their department and its general conditions.
- Sec. 7. At all regular meetings of the Executive Council of the Federation, there shall be present, during some period of the Council meeting, the executive officer or officers of each department, to take up with the Council matters that may be of mutual interest.
- Sec. 8. Departments of the Federation shall have their headquarters in Washington, D. C., and in the headquarters of the Federation unless permitted to locate elsewhere.

ARTICLE XIII

Committees and Staff Departments

Section 1. The President of the Federation shall appoint the following standing committees and such other committees as may from time to time be necessary. The President with the approval of the Executive Council may combine standing committees. The committees, under the direction of the President, and subject to the

authority of the Executive Council and the Convention, shall carry out their functions as described herein:

- (a) The Committee on Legislation shall undertake to carry out the policies and programs of the Federation in the Congress and in the legislatures of state and local governments;
- (b) The Committee on Civil Rights shall be vested with the duty and responsibility to assist the Executive Council to bring about at the earliest possible date the effective implementation of the principle stated in this constitution of non-discrimination in accordance with the provisions of this constitution;
- (c) The Committee on Political Education shall be vested with the duty and responsibility to assist the Executive Council in meeting the need for sound political education and in bringing about the effective implementation of the objectives stated in this constitution of encouraging workers to register and vote, to exercise their full rights and responsibilities of citizenship and to perform their rightful part in the political life of the city, state, and national communities;
- (d) The Committee on Ethical Practices shall be vested with the duty and responsibility to assist the Executive Council in carrying out the constitutional determination of the Federation to keep the Federation free from any taint of corruption or communism, in accordance with the provisions of this constitution;
- (e) The Committee on International Affairs shall be concerned with international developments facing our nation and the Federation's relationships with the international trade union movement;
- (f) The Committee on Education shall promote the widest possible understanding among union members of the aims of the Federation, shall assist affiliated unions in developing their own educational programs and shall implement the Federation's interest in providing the nation with the highest standard of education at all levels;
- (g) The Committee on Social Security shall have the responsibility of providing guidance and information in the fields of social insurance and welfare;
- (h) The Committee on Economic Policy shall undertake to recommend programs and policies toward the end of promoting prosperity, full employment and full utilization of our resources;
- (i) The Committee on Community Services shall stimulate the active participation by members and affiliated unions in the affairs of their communities and the development of sound relationships with social agencies in such communities;
- The Committee on Housing shall advise on all matters relating to housing programs and policies;

- (k) The Committee on Research shall have the responsibility of reviewing and appraising the research activities of the Federation to the end that adequate research facilities are available to the Federation;
- The Committee on Public Relations shall review and appraise the needs of the Federation in keeping the general public informed of the goals and policies of the Federation, the extent to which these needs are being met and shall make recommendations in this field;
- (m) The Committee on Safety and Occupational Health shall be vested with the responsibility of recommending and promoting ways in which the work places of our nation can be made safe and healthful:
- (n) The Committee on Veterans Affairs shall keep all affiliates informed of the rights and benefits available to veterans under federal and state laws and shall propose measures to protect such rights and benefits;
- (o) All other committees shall have the function vested in them by the President, the Executive Council, or the convention, consistent with this constitution.
- Sec. 2. Staff departments shall be established where appropriate under the direction of the President to function in the fields of activity described above and in such other fields as may be determined by the President, the Executive Council or the convention.
- Sec. 3. The Committees and staff departments shall have adequate staff which shall be under the general direction of the President of the Federation.

ARTICLE XIV

State and Local Central Bodies

Section 1. Central bodies subordinate to the Federation may be established upon a city, state or other regional basis as may be deemed advisable by the Executive Council and shall be composed exclusively of locals of national and international unions and organizing committees affiliated with the Federation, directly affiliated local unions, local central bodies within the geographical limits of state and regional bodies, and such other subordinate bodies as the Executive Council may determine are eligible for affiliation.

Sec. 2. It shall be the duty of all national and international unions and organizing committees affiliated with the Federation to instruct their local unions to join affiliated central labor bodies in their vicinity where such exist. Similar instructions shall be given by the Federation to all local unions affiliated directly to it.

Sec. 3. The Executive Council of the Federation shall issue rules governing the conduct, activities, affairs, finances and property of

central labor bodies and providing procedures for the discipline, including suspension and expulsion, of such bodies or their officers. Such rules shall define the powers of the President, or his designee, with respect to disciplinary action against central labor bodies, or their officers. They shall provide for notice and hearing in all cases in which such action is taken, but shall permit emergency action (including the authority to suspend officers and establish a trustee-ship over such central bodies and their property) prior to hearing where in the opinion of the President the interests of the Federation so require. The rules shall further provide for appeals to the Executive Council and to the convention, but shall provide that decisions appealed from shall remain in full force and effect pending any appeal.

Sec. 4. Upon the dissolution, suspension or revocation of the charter of any state or local central body, all funds and property of any character shall revert to the Federation to be held in trust until such time that the suspended or defunct organization may be reorganized and be able to confine its activities and actions to conform with the constitution and laws of this Federation. It shall be the duty of the officers of a state or local central body which has been dissolved or whose charter has been suspended or revoked, or which has been placed under trusteeship under Section 3 of this Section, to deliver all funds and property to the President of the Federation or his designated representative. In the event of a failure or refusal to so deliver such funds and property, all expenses incurred by the Federation in recovering such funds and property shall be a lawful charge upon the funds and property involved and, on recovery thereof, the Federation shall reimburse itself from the funds and property recovered.

Sec. 5. Merger of existing state and local central bodies of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations shall be accomplished as provided in Article III, Section 5. Pending such merger state and local central bodies of both the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations shall be permitted to continue to exist as state and local central bodies representing the respective local unions or organizations now affiliated to such central bodies.

ARTICLE XV

Local Unions Directly Affiliated to the Federation, Organizing Committees and National Councils

Section 1. Subject to the provisions of Article III, Section 7, the Federation is authorized to issue charters and certificates of affiliation to organizing committees and directly affiliated local unions.

Sec. 2. The Executive Council of the Federation shall issue rules

governing the conduct, activities, affairs, finances and property of organizing committees, national councils, and directly affiliated local unions, and governing the suspension, expulsion and termination of such organizations. Such rules shall define the powers of the President, or his designee, with respect to disciplinary action against such organizations, or their officers. They shall provide for notice and hearing in all cases in which such action is taken with respect to directly affiliated local unions, but shall permit emergency action (including the authority to suspend officers and establish a trusteeship over such local unions and their property) prior to hearing where in the opinion of the President the interests of the Federation so require. The rules shall further provide for appeals to the Executive Council and to the convention, but shall provide that decisions appealed from shall remain in full force and effect pending any appeal.

Upon the dissolution, suspension or revocation of the charter of any such organizations, all funds and property of any character shall revert to the Federation, which shall to the extent appropriate hold such funds and property in trust until such time that the suspended or defunct organization may be reorganized and be able to confine its activities and actions to conform with the constitution and laws of this Federation. It shall be the duty of the officers of any such organization which has been dissolved or whose charter has been suspended or revoked to deliver all funds and property to the President of the Federation or his designated representative. In the event of a failure or refusal to so deliver such funds and property, all expenses incurred by the Federation in recovering such funds and property shall be a lawful charge upon the funds and property involved and, on recovery thereof, the Federation shall reimburse itself from the funds and property recovered.

Sec. 3. It shall be the duty of the Executive Council to combine directly affiliated local unions in related fields into national or international unions, organizing committees or national councils when such action appears to be appropriate. Any local union directly affiliated to the Federation or a group of such local unions may request the Executive Council to authorize such combination.

When directly affiliated local unions are grouped into an organizing committee they shall become locals of the organizing committee. The organizing committee shall have the same status as a national or international union under this constitution except that it shall be under the direct supervision and control of this Federation, as provided herein.

When directly affiliated local unions are grouped into a national council they shall remain local unions directly affiliated with this Federation.

Sec. 4. The per capita payment to the Federation by local unions

directly affiliated to it shall be determined by the Executive Council but shall not be less than eighty cents per month.

- Sec. 5. Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions and Local Industrial Unions which are affiliated with this Federation pursuant to Article III, Section 2, of this constitution shall be for all purposes local unions directly affiliated to the Federation under this and all other sections of the constitution.
- Sec. 6. The Defense Fund for Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions of the American Federation of Labor, created under its constitution, shall be continued as a defense fund for local unions directly affiliated with this Federation, subject to the rules provided for in Section 2 of this Article and subject to such provisions concerning contributions by and the eligibility of Local Industrial Unions formerly affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organizations as may be determined by the Executive Council.

ARTICLE XVI

Per Capita Tax and Assessments

- Section 1. A per capita tax shall be paid upon the full paid up membership of each affiliated national or international union, organizing committee and directly affiliated local union.
- Sec. 2. Each national or international union and organizing committee shall pay on or before the fifteenth day of each month, for the preceding month, a per capita tax of 4 cents per member per month.
- Sec. 3. Each directly affiliated local union shall pay on or before the fifteenth day of each month, for the preceding month, a per capita tax of not less than 80 cents per member per month, as provided for in the rules governing the organization and activities of such directly affiliated local unions. Each directly affiliated local union shall also pay to the Federation a portion, to be fixed by the Executive Council, of the initiation fee received by such union from its members, but such payment to the Federation shall in no case be less than \$1.00 per member.
- Sec. 4. Revenue may also be derived from assessments when and as ordered by a majority vote of a convention. The Executive Council may also declare an assessment of not to exceed 4 cents per member per month on all affiliated unions for a period not to exceed six months in any one year when the interests of the Federation require and when funds available from per capita tax are insufficient to meet the needs of the Federation.
- Sec. 5. Any affiliated organization which does not pay its per capita tax on or before the fifteenth of each month, and assessment or assessments when due and payable, shall be notified of that fact by the Secretary-Treasurer of the Federation. Any affiliated

organization three months in arrears in payment of per capita tax or assessments automatically becomes suspended from membership in the Federation and can be reinstated only after such arrearages are paid in full.

Sec. 6. Each affiliate, upon the issuance of a certificate of affiliation, shall pay to the Federation the sum of \$15.00.

Sec. 7. Each state and local central body affiliated with the Federation shall pay to the Federation an annual fee of \$20.00.

Sec. 8. The Executive Council may exonerate any national or international union, organizing committee and directly affiliated local union from the payment of per capita tax or assessments due to the Federation for any month upon a proper showing that, in the opinion of the Executive Council, good cause therefor exists. Exonerated members shall be regarded, for the purposes of this constitution, as paid up members for the period of exoneration.

ARTICLE XVII

Amendments

This constitution can be amended or altered only by the convention, by a two-thirds vote of those present and voting, either by a show of hands, or, if a roll-call is properly demanded as provided in this constitution, by such roll-call.

ARTICLE XVIII

Existing Agreements

Section 1. The agreement for the merger of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, as approved by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Board of the Congress of Industrial Organizations and the conventions of both federations is incorporated herein and made a part of this constitution.

Sec. 2. The AFL-CIO No-Raiding Agreement shall be preserved and, with the consent of the signatories, shall be extended for a period of two years from its present expiration date and amended to make it effective as between all unions signatory to it irrespective of their former affiliation. The CIO Organizational Disputes Agreement shall be maintained in force for its term as between the unions which have adhered to it. The AFL Internal Disputes Plan shall be maintained in force for its term with respect to the unions which have adhered to it. A Joint Committee shall be established by the Executive Council to formulate the means for incorporating these three agreements into a combined no-raiding and organizational and jurisdictional disputes agreement which can be effective as between all of the unions becoming signatory to it irrespective of their for-

mer affiliation and for the purpose of extending, by voluntary agreement, such provisions to all affiliates of this Federation.

ARTICLE XIX

Initial Convention

Section 1. The provisions of this constitution shall govern the initial convention of the Federation except as otherwise provided in this Article.

Sec. 2. The initial convention shall be called, and the time and place determined, by the Joint AFL-CIO Unity Committee, subject to the approval of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Board of the Congress of Industrial

Organizations, and the conventions of the two federations.

Sec. 3. The Joint AFL-CIO Unity Committee shall act as the credentials committee for the initial convention and shall be empowered to accredit as delegates to such convention all of the delegates who have been duly accredited to the conventions of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations which approved this constitution. Where the total number of such delegates of any affiliated organization is less than the number of delegates to which such organization is entitled under Article IV, Section 4, the Joint AFL-CIO Unity Committee shall be empowered to accredit additional delegates from such organization up to such number.

Sec. 4. Delegations representing national and international unions, organizing committees and directly affiliated local unions shall each be entitled to a total number of votes based upon the membership represented by such delegation at the conventions of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations approving this constitution. State and local central bodies and national departments shall each be represented by one delegate and shall each be entitled to one vote.

Sec. 5. The Joint AFL-CIO Unity Committee shall report to the convention, designate temporary officers for the convention, appoint all convention committees, and take such other action with respect to the conduct of the convention as may become necessary by virtue

of the fact that it is an initial convention.

ARTICLE XX

Effective Date

This constitution and the Merger Agreement between the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations shall become effective upon approval by the separate conventions of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations and shall govern the affairs of the Federation beginning with the first convention of the Federation.

AGREEMENT FOR THE MERGER OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND THE CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

1. Agreement to Merge.

The American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations agree to create a single trade union center in America, through the process of merger which will preserve the integrity of each affiliated national and international union. They further agree upon the following principles and procedures to accomplish this end.

2. Principles of Merger.

(a) It is recognized, as a fundamental basis for the merger of the AFL and CIO, that each national and international union, federal labor union, local industrial union and organizing committee (hereafter referred to as affiliated union) holding a charter or certificate of affiliation granted by either federation shall retain its charter or certificate and become, by virtue of the merger, an affiliate of the merged federation,

(b) It is further recognized and agreed that the integrity of each affiliated union in the merged federation shall be maintained and preserved. In order to effectuate this principle, the Constitution of the merged federation shall contain a constitutional declaration for respect by each affiliate of the established bargaining relationship of every other affiliate and against raiding by any affiliate of the established collective bargaining relationship of any other affiliate. The merged federation shall provide appropriate machinery to implement this constitutional declaration.

(c) The parties further agree that, subject to the foregoing, each affiliated union shall have the same organizing jurisdiction in the merged federation as it had in its respective prior organization.

(d) The parties recognize that the above provisions may result in conflicting and duplicating organizations and jurisdictions. Where such is the case, affiliates of the merged federation will be encouraged to eliminate conflicts and duplications through the process of agreement, merger, or other means, by voluntary agreement in consultation with the appropriate officials of the merged federation.

(e) The merged federation shall be based upon a constitutional recognition that both craft and industrial unions are appropriate, equal and necessary as methods of trade union organization.

(f) The merged federation shall constitutionally recognize the

MERGER AGREEMENT—Continued

right of all workers, without regard to race, creed, color or national origin to share in the full benefits of trade union organization in the merged federation. The merged federation shall establish appropriate internal machinery to bring about, at the earliest possible date, the effective implementation of this principle of non-discrimination.

(g) The merged federation shall constitutionally affirm its determination to protect the American trade union movement from any and all corrupt influence and from the undermining efforts of communist agencies and all others who are opposed to the basic principles of our democracy and of free and democratic trade unionism.

The merged federation shall establish appropriate internal machinery with authority effectively to implement this constitutional determination to keep the merged federation free from any taint of corruption or communism.

3. Government and Structure of the Merged Federation.

- (a) There shall be established within the merged federation a Department to be known as the Council of Industrial Organizations. Such Department shall have the status of, and, in general, be comparable to, the existing Departments of the American Federation of Labor, which Departments shall be continued within the merged federation. This Department shall be open to all industrial unions within the merged federation. All other Departments in the merged federation shall be open to all appropriate unions.
- (b) The executive officers of the merged federation shall be a President and a Secretary-Treasurer, who shall be elected at the regular conventions of the merged federation. Initially, the President and Secretary-Treasurer shall be elected from the unions now affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.
- (c) The Department of Organization of the merged federation shall be headed by a Director of Organization who shall be appointed by the President, after consultation with the Executive Committee, subject to the approval of the Executive Council.

Initially, the Director of Organization shall be selected from a union now affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organizations. The Department of Organization shall be provided the staff and resources necessary to conduct organizational activities in cooperation with the various affiliated unions, in the common effort to organize the unorganized into collective bargaining units which experience has shown to be the most effective and appropriate for the protection of such workers.

(d) The Convention of the merged federation shall be its supreme governing body. The convention shall meet regularly every two years. The delegates of affiliated unions to such convention shall

MERGER AGREEMENT-Continued

vote the per capita membership of the unions which they represent. State and local central bodies shall be entitled to one vote each at conventions.

- (e) In addition to the officers set forth in paragraph (b), there shall be twenty-seven Vice Presidents, to be elected at the regular conventions of the merged federation. The Vice Presidents shall, with the executive officers, constitute the Executive Council. The Executive Council shall meet not less than three times each year. It shall be authorized and empowered to take such action and render such decisions as will be necessary to carry out fully and adequately the decisions and instructions of the conventions and between conventions shall have the power to direct the affairs of the federation and to take such actions and render such decisions as are necessary and appropriate to safeguard and promote the best interests of the federation and its affiliated unions, including the organization of unorganized industries by means most appropriate for that purpose. At the first convention of the merged federation, seventeen of the Vice Presidents shall be elected from unions now affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and ten shall be elected from unions now affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organizations.
- (f) There shall be an Executive Committee which shall consist of the Executive Officers and six of the Vice Presidents to be selected by the Executive Council. The Executive Committee shall meet bi-monthly and shall advise and consult with the executive officers on policy matters. Initially, three of the Vice Presidents constituting the Executive Committee shall be selected from unions now affiliated with the AFL and three of the Vice Presidents shall be selected from unions now affiliated with the CIO.
- (g) There shall be a body known as the General Board which shall consist of the members of the Executive Council and the President or other principal officer of each of the national or international unions affiliated with the merged federation. The General Board shall meet at least once each year and shall decide all policy questions referred to it by the executive officers, and the Executive Council. The rules of the convention as to voting shall govern the General Board.
- (h) The constitution of the merged federation shall provide for standing committees of the federation in appropriate fields of action. These committees shall have appropriate staffs and due recognition shall be given to unions now affiliated with the AFL and the CIO in determining the chairmanships of, and in staffing, such committees.
- (i) The constitution shall provide for state and local central bodies of the merged federation. In addition, the constitution shall permit the Council of Industrial Organizations to maintain sub-

MERGER AGREEMENT-Continued

ordinate councils, as now provided for departments of the American Federation of Labor. Existing state and local bodies of the AFL and CIO shall be merged as provided for in paragraph 6(g) of this Agreement.

4. Finances.

- (a) The merged federation shall succeed to all the assets of the American Federation of Labor and shall assume all of its liabilities and contractual obligations. The merged federation shall succeed to that part of the net assets of the Congress of Industrial Organizations which bears the same relationship to the membership of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (as measured by per capita tax paid as of the date of the 1954 Congress of Industrial Organizations Convention) as the net assets of the American Federation of Labor as of the date of merger bear to the membership of the American Federation of Labor (similarly measured as of the date of the 1954 American Federation of Labor Convention). The Council of Industrial Organizations to be established within the merged federation shall succeed to the balance of the assets of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, after all of its liabilities, both accrued and potential, have been provided for. The term assets shall include real estate held in trust for the respective federations.
- (b) The per capita tax payable to the merged federation by national, international unions and organizing committees shall be 4 cents per member per month. The per capita tax of federal labor unions and local industrial unions shall be not less than 80 cents per member per month. The Council of Industrial Organizations, acting as a department of the merged federation, shall establish its own per capita tax, as shall all other departments of the merged federation.

5. Existing Agreements.

The AFL-CIO No-Raiding Agreement shall be preserved and, with the consent of the signatories, shall be extended for a period of two years from its present expiration date and amended to make it effective as between all unions signatory to it irrespective of their former affiliation.

The CIO Organizational Disputes Agreement shall be maintained in force as between the unions which have adhered to it. The AFL Internal Disputes Plan shall be maintained in force with respect to the unions which have adhered to it. A Joint Committee shall be established to formulate the means for incorporating these three agreements into a combined no-raiding and organizational and jurisdictional disputes agreement which can be effective as between all of the unions becoming signatory to it irrespective of their for-

MERGER AGREEMENT—Continued

mer affiliation and for the purpose of extending, by voluntary agreement, such provisions to all affiliates of the merged federation.

6. Method of Merger.

The merger shall be effected by the following procedure:

- (a) This agreement shall be submitted for approval to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Board of the Congress of Industrial Organizations.
- (b) Upon approval by them, a proposed constitution for the merged federation, reflecting the provisions of the merger agreement and containing such other necessary and appropriate provisions as may be agreed to, shall be drafted by the Joint AFL-CIO Unity Committee. The proposed constitution of the merged federation shall, consistent with the merger agreement, preserve the essential features of the present AFL and CIO constitutions and the basic rights and obligations of the affiliates of both federations.
- (c) The proposed Constitution shall be submitted for approval to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Board of the Congress of Industrial Organizations.
- (d) Upon approval by them, this Agreement and the proposed Constitution, and such other agreements as are necessary to accomplish the merger shall be submitted to separate conventions of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations.
- (e) Upon approval by the separate conventions of the two federations of the Merger Agreement and the proposed Constitution of the merged federation, a joint convention shall be held. Such joint convention shall constitute the first regular biennial convention of the merged federation.
- (f) Initially, the headquarters and field staff of the AFL and the CIO shall be retained as the staff of the merged federation. A special committee shall be established of the present executive officers of the AFL and the CIO which shall, in conjunction with the executive officers of the merged federation, make just, fair and equitable provision for the integration of the staffs of the AFL and the CIO into a single staff for the merged federation.
- (g) Merger of existing state and local central bodies of the AFL and CIO shall be accomplished within two years after the date of the merger of the two national federations by the process of negotiation and agreement under the guidance of the officers of the merged federation. Pending the conclusion of such agreements state and local central bodies of both the AFL and CIO shall be permitted to continue to exist as state and local central bodies representing the respective local unions now affiliated to such central bodies.

IMPLEMENTATION AGREEMENT

Made this 30th day of November, 1955, by and between the American Federation of Labor, sometimes referred to hereinafter as the AFL, and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, sometimes referred to hereinafter as the CIO.

WHEREAS, the AFL and the CIO, by their duly constituted executive bodies, have concluded an agreement entitled "Agreement for the Merger of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations" to combine and continue both organizations into a single organization, the "American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations" (sometimes referred to hereinafter as the AFL-CIO), and

WHEREAS, the executive bodies of the AFL and the CIO have approved a proposed constitution for such combined organization, and

WHEREAS, the agreement to combine and the proposed constitution will be submitted for approval to the forthcoming constitutional conventions of the AFL and of the CIO, and

WHEREAS, the combination of the AFL and the CIO into the AFL-CIO will become effective, in accordance with the agreement to combine and the proposed constitution of the AFL-CIO, on the effective date of the approval of such agreement and such constitution by the separate conventions of the AFL and of the CIO, and

WHEREAS, the duly constituted executive bodies of the AFL and the CIO have authorized the undersigned Officers of the respective organizations to enter into this agreement to implement the combination of the AFL and the CIO,

NOW, THEREFORE, the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations do hereby agree as follows:

1. The AFL-CIO shall be deemed, for all purposes, to be a combination and continuation of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations. Neither of such organizations shall be deemed, for any purpose, to be dissolved, terminated or discontinued, but upon the effective date of the combination they shall be combined and continued as a single organization, the AFL-CIO, to be governed by the constitution of the AFL-CIO, which shall be an amendment to and substitute for the present separate constitutions of the AFL and the CIO.

2. Immediately prior to the effective date of the combination of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, the CIO shall, in accordance with paragraph 4(a) of the "Agreement for the Merger of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations" transfer to an appropriate account or other depository, for the benefit of, and to be the sole property of, the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO, a sum in cash or securities estimated to be equal to the difference between the value of the net assets of the CIO and \$1,238,536.00. Any errors in this estimate of the amounts due to the AFL-CIO and to the Industrial Union Department under the said Paragraph 4(a) shall be corrected subsequently by an appropriate adjustment between the AFL-CIO and the Industrial Union Department.

- 3. On the effective date of the combination, all the property, real and personal and mixed and all right, title and interest, either legal or equitable, in any monies, funds or property, tangible and intangible, of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, and their respective separate names, trademarks, and emblems, and all debts due to each of them, and all the rights, privileges and powers and every other interest of each of them, of whatever nature, except for the sum transferred to the Industrial Union Department as provided in paragraph 2 of this Agreement, shall by virtue of the combination of the AFL and the CIO, be transferred to and vested in the AFL-CIO and all such rights and properties shall thereafter be as effectually the property of the AFL-CIO as they were of the AFL and the CIO. Title to any property, real, personal or mixed, legally or beneficially vested by deed or otherwise in the AFL or the CIO, shall not be in any way impaired by reason of the combination but shall in all respects be vested in the combined organization by virtue of the combina-The AFL-CIO shall, on and after the effective date of the combination, be responsible, by virtue of the combination, for all the debts, liabilities and obligations of the AFL and the CIO, and all such debts, liabilities and obligations shall from that time forth attach to the combined organization and may be enforced against it to the same extent as if the said debts, liabilities, and obligations were incurred or otherwise contracted by it.
- 4. The present executive officers, the present members of the Executive Council of the AFL and any trustee holding property for the AFL, and the present executive officers, the present members of the Executive Board of the CIO and any trustee holding property for the CIO shall be empowered to and shall from time to time after the effective date of the combination, execute and deliver or cause to be executed and delivered, upon request of the combined organization, all such deeds, authorizations, or other instruments as the combined organization may deem necessary or desirable in order to confirm the right and title of the combined organization to the property, rights and privileges referred to in paragraph 3

IMPLEMENTATION AGREEMENT—Continued

above, and shall take such further and other action as may be requested by the combined organization for such purposes.

- 5. In accordance with the provisions of Article III of the proposed constitution of the AFL-CIO, each national and international union and each Federal Labor and Local Trade Union and each State and Territorial Federation of Labor and Local Central Body affiliated with the AFL, and each department of the AFL and each national and international union, organizing committee and Local Industrial Union, and each State and Local Industrial Union Council affiliated with the CIO, and the Industrial Union Department provided for in Article XII of the constitution of the AFL-CIO, shall, on the effective date of the combination of the AFL and the CIO, and by virtue of such combination, be an affiliate of the AFL-CIO unless, in the case of a national or international union, it expressly disaffiliates therefrom.
- 6. The combination of the AFL and the CIO into the AFL-CIO shall not affect, interrupt or change in any way the continuing status, or the rights or duties with respect to third persons, of any organization affiliated with the AFL or the CIO, or any of their subordinate or affiliated bodies, whether such organization be a national or international union, organizing committee, national council, federal labor or local trade union, local industrial union, state or territorial federation, city central labor union, state or local industrial union council, or trade and industrial department, and, further, shall not impair the status of such organizations, or any of their subordinate or affiliated bodies, in any pending action or proceedings, or any right, title or interest in any property or arising from any deeds, bonds, mortgages, leases or contracts of any kind, or the continuity thereof; and, further, shall not impair any federal, state or territorial certification or any rights or obligations of such organizations, or any of their subordinate or affiliated bodies, under their existing collective bargaining agreements or checkoff authorizations.
- 7. The combination of the AFL and the CIO is not intended to affect any presently existing collective bargaining agreement or any federal, state or territorial certification of the AFL or the CIO, but all rights, privileges, duties and responsibilities vested in either the AFL or the CIO pursuant to such contracts or certifications are intended to be vested in the AFL-CIO by virtue of the combination.
- 8. The combination of the AFL and the CIO is not intended, nor shall it be deemed, in itself to terminate the employment of any employee of either the AFL or the CIO. All employees of the AFL and the CIO initially shall, upon the effective date of the combination, and by virtue thereof, be deemed to be employees of the AFL-CIO without interruption of their employment status.

IMPLEMENTATION AGREEMENT-Continued

9. The combination of the AFL and the CIO shall not terminate or affect in any way any existing pension or insurance plan which may be in effect with respect to the employees of the AFL or the CIO but such plans shall be maintained in force by the AFL-CIO with respect to the employees covered thereby on the effective date of the combination until such time as consolidated pension and insurance plans shall be substituted therefor.

10. This Agreement is subject to and shall not become effective unless the agreement to combine the AFL and the CIO and the proposed constitution of the AFL-CIO are approved and made effective by the separate conventions of the AFL and the CIO.

GEORGE MEANY,
President,
American Federation of Labor.

WILLIAM F. SCHNITZLER, Secretary-Treasurer, American Federation of Labor. WALTER P. REUTHER,
President,
Congress of Industrial Organizations.

JAMES B. CAREY, Secretary-Treasurer, Congress of Industrial Organizations.

THE NO-RAIDING AGREEMENT

Between the American Federation of Labor and Its Affiliates and the Congress of Industrial Organizations and Its Affiliates.

[Signed by the Presidents and Secretary-Treasurers of the AFL and of the CIO on December 16, 1953]

Whereas, the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations appointed representatives to a joint committee to explore the possibilities of organic unity between the two organizations; and

Whereas, this committee unanimously agreed upon the following Interim Report and Recommendations:

"Interim Report and Recommendations of the Joint Committee on Labor Unity

"The joint AFL-CIO Unity Committee is composed of nine representatives representing the AFL and eleven representatives representing the CIO. The members of the Committee were authorized by the respective federations to meet for the purpose of exploring the possibility of achieving organic unity between the two federations.

"The Committee met on April 7, 1953, in Washington, D. C. There was a general discussion of all phases of the problem. The Committee gave particular consideration to the problem of 'raiding' between the federations—attempts by unions affiliated with one of the federations to organize and represent employees as to whom a union affiliated with the other federation was already recognized or certified as the collective bargaining representative. It was unanimously agreed that the elimination of raiding constitutes a necessary first condition to the achievement of unity.

"At the meeting of April 7, the Committee appointed a subcommittee of six—three from each federation—to study the elimination of raiding between affiliates of the two federations as a prerequisite to the achievement of organic unity, and also to study the problems created by the structure and jurisdictional lines of the unions affiliated with the two organizations. The members of this subcommittee were President George Meany, Secretary-Treasurer William F. Schnitzler and Vice President Matthew Woll, for the American Federation of Labor, and President Walter P. Reuther, Secretary-Treasurer James B. Carey and President David J. McDonald of the United Steelworkers of America, for the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

"The subcommittee undertook a statistical study of all representation cases filed with the National Labr Relations Board within the last two years in which a collective bargaining relationship already existed with an AFL or CIO union at the time a petition for certification as a representative was filed by a union from the other federation. Detailed data were collected as to each such case and

a statistical summary prepared.

"On June 2, 1953, the statistical study prepared by the subcommittee was submitted to a meeting of the full committee. The study covered a total of 1,245 cases over a two-year period—1951-1952—involving 366,470 employees. In the labor board representation cases involving these 366,470 employees, the petitioning union was successful in gaining certification as the collective bargaining representative for approximately 62,000 employees, or only 17 percent of the total number of employees involved. Of these 62,000 employees, approximately 35,000 were won from a CIO union by a union affiliated with the AFL. Approximately 27,000 were won by a CIO union from a union affiliated with the AFL. The net change, therefore, of these raids involving 366,470 employees was 8,000 or only approximately 2 percent of the total number of employees involved.

'RAIDS ARE DESTRUCTIVE'

"The results of the study made by the subcommittee, as well as the experience and knowledge of the members of the full Committee, compel the conclusion that raids between AFL and CIO unions are destructive of the best interests of the unions immediately involved and also of the entire trade union movement. In addition to the antagonisms between unions created by such raids, the welfare of the workers and the public is damaged. The overwhelming majority of such attempted raids fail, creating unrest, dissatisfaction and disunity among the workers involved. Even in the small proportion of cases where such attempts are successful they involve a drain of time and money far disproportionate to the number of employees involved. They create industrial strain and conflict and they do nothing to add to the strength and capabilities of the trade union movement as a whole.

"There are still millions of working men and women who do not have the benefit of organization or collective bargaining. The members of all unions affiliated with both federations would be benefited if the energies devoted to raiding were devoted to the organization

of those yet unorganized.

"For these reasons the representatives of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations who constitute the Unity Committee have agreed that the elimination of raiding between unions affiliated with the American

Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, would contribute to the strength of the unions affiliated with both federations, would materially benefit the entire nation by eliminating a source of industrial unrest and conflict and would remove a serious barrier to ultimate organic unity between the two federations.

RECOMMENDED STEPS

"They have therefore further agreed to recommend to the governing bodies of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations that the following specific steps be taken to eliminate 'raiding' between themselves and between their affiliates.

"(1) Both the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations should adopt as a fundamental policy of both federations this principle: No union affiliated with either federation shall attempt to organize or to represent employees as to whom an established bargaining relationship exists between their employer and a union in the other federation.

"(2) This fundamental policy should be incorporated into the 'no-raiding' Agreement, attached hereto, entered into between the American Federation of Labor and its affiliates and the Congress

of Industrial Organizations and its affiliates.

"(3) Each federation should urge that its affiliated unions sub-

scribe and become parties to this 'no-raiding' Agreement."

Whereas, the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations have each accepted the report and recommendations of the Joint Committee and have each recommended to the unions affiliated with it that they subscribe to this no-raiding Agreement, which shall be enforceable by and against any union signatory thereton; and

Whereas, the parties hereto accept these recommendations, recognizing that definite, tangible and valuable advantages will accrue to each of them through the elimination of raids on their established

jurisdictions:

Now, Therefore, the parties signatory hereto, in consideration of the matters set forth above and the mutual promises set forth below, do hereby agree as follows:

1. As used herein the term "federation" means the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations; the term "union" means any national or international union affiliated with either the American Federation of Labor or the Congress of Industrial Organizations which is signatory hereto and each of the federations; the term "local" means any local union, council, joint board, or other organization engaged in the representation of employees, which is a part of, subsidiary to or chartered by a union

as herein defined, and also includes any Federal labor union, department, local industrial union, organizing committee or council engaged in the representation of employees which is chartered directly by either of the federations; the phrase "established bargaining relationship" means any situation in which a union or a local, as herein defined, either (a) has been recognized by the employer (which, for this purpose, shall include any governmental agency) as the collective bargaining representative for the employees involved for a period of one year or more, or (b) is certified by the National Labor Relations Board or other Federal or State agency having jurisdiction as the collective bargaining representative for the employees.

BASIS OF AGREEMENT

- 2. The American Federation of Labor and each union signatory hereto affiliated with it, and each of them, agrees that neither it nor any of its locals will, directly or indirectly, (a) organize or represent or attempt to organize or represent employees as to whom an established bargaining relationship exists with the Congress of Industrial Organizations or with any union which is signatory hereto affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organizations (including any of the locals of such union); (b) seek to represent, or obtain the right to represent, such employees or to disrupt the established bargaining relationship; or (c) engage in any cessation of work or refusal to transport, install or otherwise work on or with materials or any other form of concerted activity in support of an attempt to organize or represent such employees by a union other than the union which has the established bargaining relationship.
- 3. The Congress of Industrial Organizations and each union signatory hereto affiliated with it, and each of them, agrees that neither it nor any of its locals will, directly or indirectly, (a) organize or represent or attempt to organize or represent employees as to whom an established bargaining relationship exists with the American Federation of Labor or with any union which is signatory hereto affiliated with the American Federation of Labor (including any of the locals of such union); (b) seek to represent, or obtain the right to represent, such employees or to disrupt the established bargaining relationship; or (c) engage in any cessation of work or refusal to transport, install or otherwise work on or with materials or any other form of concerted activity in support of an attempt to organize or represent such employees by a union other than the union which has the established bargaining relationship.
- 4. Each of the parties signatory hereto agrees to file with the Secretary-Treasurer of the federation with which it is affiliated the name and address of a representative who is authorized to receive

all complaints of violation of this Agreement. The Secretary-Treasurer of each federation shall transmit such names and addresses to the Secretary-Treasurer of the other contracting federation, who shall make distribution of such information to each of the unions signatory hereto affiliated with his federation. If any party shall fail to comply with this provision, the President of that organization shall be deemed to be such representative.

PROCEDURES LISTED

5. Each of the parties hereto agrees to settle all disputes which may arise in connection with this Agreement in accordance with

the following procedure:

(a) Any union a party hereto which claims that any other union a party hereto (including any local of such a union) which is affiliated with the other federation has violated the provisions of this Agreement shall immediately notify in writing the representative of the union complained against, designated in accordance with paragraph 4 of this Agreement, and shall also notify the Secretary-Treasurer of the federation with which that union is affiliated.

(b) The authorized representatives of the unions involved shall

make every effort to settle the dispute.

(c) In the event the dispute is not settled within 15 days after the mailing of the notification provided for in paragraph (a), the Secretary-Treasurers of the federations or their designated representatives, shall meet to attempt to achieve compliance with this

Agreement.

(d) In the event that the authorized representatives of the unions involved are unable to settle the dispute within 15 days after the mailing of the notification provided for in paragraph (a), either union or the Secretary-Treasurer of either federation may, not earlier than 5 days thereafter, submit the dispute to the Impartial Umpire herein provided for.

(e) In any dispute submitted to him in accordance with the provisions of this paragraph, the Impartial Umpire shall have jurisdiction only to determine whether the acts complained of constitute

a violation of this Agreement.

(f) A complaining union may withdraw its complaint of violation of this Agreement at any time prior to decision by the Impartial Umpire, in which event the pending proceeding shall terminate.

ROLE OF THE UMPIRE

6. The parties hereto agree that the Impartial Umpire under this agreement shall be jointly appointed by the President of the Congress of Industrial Organizations and the President of the American Federation of Labor. The Impartial Umpire shall decide any case

referred to him within 30 days unless an extension of time is agreed to by the parties to the dispute or is requested by the Umpire and agreed to by the parties. The decision of the Impartial Umpire in any case referred or submitted to him under the term of this Agreement shall be final and binding.

- 7. Each of the parties signatory hereto agrees that, in any case in which it is found that it, or any of its locals, has violated the provisions of this Agreement, it will cease such violation and will not, directly or indirectly, during the term of this Agreement, represent or seek to represent the employees involved, and that it will, in addition, take the following remedial action upon request of the complaining union:
- (a) Any petition for representation rights filed with the National Labor Relations Board, or any other appropriate federal or state agency, will be immediately withdrawn.
- (b) Any claims for recognition which may have been submitted to the employer will be withdrawn immediately.
- 8. Each union signatory hereto agrees to be bound by the provisions of this Agreement with respect only to such unions affiliated with the other federation as are then signatory hereto or which may thereafter become signatory hereto. The parties further agree that any party to this Agreement to whom they are so bound shall have the right to institute such actions or proceedings as may be necessary to compel compliance with the terms of this Agreement only after exhausing all of the steps provided herein.
- 9. (a) The American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations agree that this Agreement will be submitted for approval to their respective conventions next forthcoming.
- (b) All of the parties signatory hereto agree that this Agreement shall not become effective unless both of such conventions approve the Agreement and that, if so approved, the Agreement shall then become effective on January 1, 1954, as to all parties then signatory to it; the Agreement shall become effective with respect to parties who become signatories to it subsequent to January 1, 1954, on the date of their signature.
- (c) This Agreement shall not apply to disputes in which representation proceedings are pending before the National Labor Relations Board, or other appropriate federal or state agency, on January 1, 1954, and so long as such proceedings are pending. Both organizations will exercise their best efforts in the interim, to minimize such disputes.

10. This Agreement shall expire on December 31, 1955.

11. This Agreement, and its faithful observance is the first and essential step toward the achievement of organic unity between the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, a goal to which both organizations wholeheartedly subscribe. It is the intention of both parties to continue their joint meetings in the endeavor to achieve this objective.

In Witness Whereof, the parties hereto by the authorized representatives have hereunder set thir hand and seals.

MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING

Supplementary to the No-Raiding Agreement Between the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations

June 9, 1954

Whereas, On December 16, 1953, the officers of the American Federation of Labor and the officers of the Congress of Industrial Organizations formally executed the No-Raiding Agreement on behalf of the respective federations; and

Whereas, thereafter the officers of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations have secured instruments of adherence and ratification executed by unions affil-

iated with the respective federations; and

Whereas, the representatives of both federations have met this 9th day of June, 1954, to deliver and make effective the instruments of adherence and ratification heretofore executed by the unions affiliated with the two federations; and

Whereas, it is essential that there be agreement as to the mechanics for the subsequent adherence to the No-Raiding Agree-

ment by unions affiliated with the two federations;

Now, Therefore, it is mutually agreed, this 9th day of June, 1954, 1. The American Federation of Labor hereby delivers and declares effective the instruments of adherence and ratification of the AFL-CIO No-Raiding Agreement which have been executed by the affiliates of the American Federation of Labor listed in Appendix

A hereto.

- 2. The Congress of Industrial Organizations hereby delivers and declares effective the instruments of adherence and ratification of the AFL-CIO No-Raiding Agreement which have been executed by the affiliates of the Congress of Industrial Organizations listed in Appendix B hereto.
- 3. The effective date of the No-Raiding Agreement with respect to the unions listed in Appendix A and Appendix B attached hereto shall be this 9th day of June, 1954, irrespective of the date which may appear on said instruments of adherence and ratification.
- 4. The date January 1, 1954, in paragraph (c) of Section 9 of the No-Raiding Agreement shall be understood, interpreted and applied, with respect to any of the unions listed in Appendix A and Appendix B attached hereto, as meaning June 9, 1954, the date on which the instruments of adherence and ratification of the un-

MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING-Continued

ions attached hereto have been delivered and declared effective.

5. The date January 1, 1954, in paragraph (c) of Section 9 of the No-Raiding Agreement shall be understood, interpreted and applied, with respect to any union hereafter adhering to the Agreement, as meaning the date on which such adherence shall become

effective, as provided for below.

6. Any union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor or the Congress of Industrial Organizations may hereafter adhere and become signatory to the No-Raiding Agreement by executing an appropriate instrument of ratification and adherence and by delivering said instrument to the Secretary-Treasurer of the federation with which it is affiliated, who shall thereupon notify the Secretary-Treasurer of the other federation and deliver to the Impartial Umpire, provided for under the Agreement, the executed instrument of adherence and a copy of its letter of notification.

7. The instrument of adherence shall only become effective 10 days following the receipt by the Impartial Umpire of the instrument of adherence and copy of the letter of notification, provided

for above.

8. The Impartial Umpire shall maintain at all times a current

list of the unions signatory to the No-Raiding Agreement.

In witness whereof the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations by their authorized representatives have hereto set their hands and seals this 9th day of June, 1954.

American Federation of Labor

[SEAL]

by (s) GEORGE MEANY President

Congress of Industrial Organizations [SEAL]

by (s) WALTER P. REUTHER President

INSTRUMENT OF EXTENSION AND AMENDMENT OF THE AFL-CIO NO-RAIDING AGREEMENT

The undersigned organization by this Instrument hereby agrees to the following extension and amendment of the AFL-CIO No-Raiding Agreement, in accordance with the merger agreement between the AFL and the CIO:

- (1) Upon the consummation of the merger between the AFL and the CIO, the AFL-CIO No-Raiding Agreement shall be know as the No-Raiding Agreement of the merged Federation, and the rights and obligations of the AFL and the CIO, and of signatory unions affiliated with the AFL and CIO, respectively, shall be construed as being the rights and obligations of the merged Federation and of unions affiliated with the merged Federation. The President and Secretary-Treasurer of the merged Federation shall succeed to the respective rights and duties of the Presidents and Secretary-Treasurers of the AFL and the CIO under the No-Raiding Agreement. The mediation functions of the Secretary-Treasurers of the AFL and CIO, as set forth in paragraph (c) of Section 5, shall be performed, after the merger, by a joint committee consisting of the Presidents and Secretary-Treasurers of the AFL and CIO prior to the merger. The Impartial Umpire heretofore appointed under the terms of the AFL-CIO No-Raiding Agreement shall be continued as the Impartial Umpire under the No-Raiding Agreement of the merged Federation.
- (2) The No-Raiding Agreement, upon consummation of the merger between the AFL and the CIO, shall be extended until December 31, 1957.
- (3) As of January 1, 1956, the No-Raiding Agreement of the merged Federation shall be effective as between all unions which have agreed to this extension and amendment, irrespective of their former affiliation.
- (4) Notwithstanding the above, the No-Raiding Agreement of the merged Federation shall not be applied to any dispute between unions which were affiliated with the same federation prior to the merger, with respect to which representation proceedings may be pending on January 1, 1956, before the National Labor Relations Board or other appropriate federal or state agency, and so long as such proceedings are pending.
 - (5) Any union affiliated with the merged Federation which

EXTENSION AND AMENDMENT-Continued

is not, on the date of the merger, a party signatory to the AFL-CIO No-Raiding Agreement may thereafter become a party to the No-Raiding Agreement of the merged Federation by complying with the procedures set forth in the memorandum of understanding between the AFL and the CIO of June 9, 1954, which is hereby confirmed as part of the No-Raiding Agreement of the merged Federation.

The execution of this Instrument has been duly authorized by the appropriate governing body of the undersigned organization.

RESOLUTION ON THE ACHIEVEMENT OF LABOR UNITY

[Adopted by the 74th Constitutional Convention of the American Federation of Labor, December 1, 1955; adopted by the 17th Constitutional Convention of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, December 2, 1955; effective, December 5, 1955.]

WHEREAS the combination of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations into a single labor federation is a long-cherished goal of the trade union move-

ment of this country, and

WHEREAS on February 9, 1955, the Joint AFL-CIO Unity Committee agreed upon and recommended to the two federations the adoption of the "Agreement for the Merger of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations" attached hereto as Annex A, and

WHEREAS the Agreement of February 9 was ratified by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor on February 10, 1955, and by the Executive Board of the Congress of Indus-

trial Organizations on February 24, 1955, and

WHEREAS, pursuant to the provisions of the Agreement of February 9, 1955, a proposed constitution for the combined federation was drafted by the Joint AFL-CIO Unity Committee for submission to the two federations, and

WHEREAS the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Board of the Congress of Industrial Organizations reviewed this draft constitution on several occasions.

and made various changes therein, and

WHEREAS the "Constitution of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations" attached hereto as Annex B was approved by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor on November 30, 1955, and by the Executive Board of the Congress of Industrial Organizations on November 30, 1955, and

WHEREAS the Agreement of February 9 provides that upon approval by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Board of the Congress of Industrial Organizations of that Agreement and of a Constitution for the combined federation, that the Agreement and the Constitution, and any other agreements necessary to accomplish the combination

RESOLUTION ON LABOR UNITY-Continued

of the two federations, shall be submitted to the separate conventions of the American Federation of Labor and of the Congress of Industrial Organizations; and that upon approval by the separate conventions of the Agreement and of the Constitution of the combined federation a joint convention shall be held and

bined federation, a joint convention shall be held, and

WHEREAS the Implementation Agreement dated November 30, 1955, attached hereto as Annex C, was approved by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor on November 30, 1955, and by the Executive Board of the Congress of Industrial Organizations on November 30, 1955, and is necessary and appropriate to dispose of various matters arising out of the combination of the two federations, and

WHEREAS the Constitution of the "American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations", attached hereto as Annex B, provides in Articles XIX and XX that it shall become effective upon approval by the separate conventions of the two federations and shall govern the joint convention of the combined federations,

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED:

1. The "Agreement for the Merger of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations", attached hereto as Annex A, is ratified, approved and adopted.

2. The Constitution of the "American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations" attached hereto as Annex B, is ratified, approved and adopted as the Constitution of the "American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations", and as an amendment to and substitute for the Constitution of this federation heretofore in effect.

3. The Implementation Agreement dated November 30, 1955, and attached hereto as Annex C, is ratified, approved and adopted.

4. The adoption of this Resolution by this convention is conditional upon the adoption of an identical Resolution by the present separate convention of the other federation; provided, however, that this Resolution, the Agreement for Merger, the Constitution of the "American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations" and the Implementation Agreement shall become effective upon the opening of the initial convention of the "American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations" on December 5, 1955.

[Annexes A, B and C referred to in the above resolution—the Agreement to Merge, the AFL-CIO Constitution and the Implementation Agreement—are reprinted earlier in this Report and are accordingly not repeated here.]

REPORT OF THE JOINT AFL-CIO UNITY COMMITTEE

To the First Constitutional Convention of The American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations

December 5, 1955

I

On behalf of more than 15 million organized working men and women in America, the Joint AFL-CIO Unity Committee is pleased to report to this First Constitutional Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations that honorable organic unity between the American Federation of Labor

and the Congress of Industrial Organizations is a reality.

On December 1, 1955, the convention of the American Federation of Labor and on December 2, 1955, the convention of the Congress of Industrial Organizations individually passed identical resolutions approving the Agreement for the Merger of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, the Implementation Agreement, and the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations. In so doing, they ratified the final steps toward labor unity. The opening of this convention of the AFL-CIO this morning made effective the unity resolutions previously passed by the American Federation of Labor and by the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

This report is made to you in accordance with the provisions of Section 5, Article XIX, of the Constitution of the AFL-CIO. It sets forth, in briefest outline, the steps by which unity was achieved.

Fundamentally, labor unity is the product of the spirit, the will, the sense of determination of these two organizations and their members. It is the product of their firm conviction that disunity was an obstacle to further progress for labor and the nation. It is a dynamic monument to the vision, the statesmanship, the trust of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, of the Executive Board of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, of the affiliates of the two federations, their leaders and members. Together they have written a noble chapter in the history of labor in America.

The road to unity was long and often difficult. The obstacles were many and formidable. But good faith and a widespread yearning for a single, united labor movement overcame these obstacles.

The first milestone along the road to unity was the negotiation and ratification, in 1953 and 1954, of the AFL-CIO No-Raiding Agreement. This Agreement substantially reduced disputes between signatory affiliates of the two federations. It constituted a first and essential prerequisite toward further progress toward unity. Initially accepted by this Joint AFL-CIO Unity Committee, the Agreement was thereafter approved by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Board of the Congress of Industrial Organizations and subsequently by the respective conventions of these two federations. More recently it has been extended for a further term as provided for in the Merger Agreement.

The second, tremendously important product of the spirit of unity was the approval by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Board of the Congress of Industrial Organizations of the Agreement for Merger, which had been reached by this Joint Unity Committee on February 9, 1955. At the time this Agreement was reached, President Meany of the American Federation of Labor and President Reuther of the Con-

gress of Industrial Organizations jointly stated:

"The agreement reached today by the AFL and CIO Unity Committee sets the course for the attainment of a merger of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations into a united trade union movement.

"This agreement—if accepted by the executive bodies of our two organizations, as we hope and expect—will mark the end of the division in the free trade union movement of our country

that has existed for almost 20 years.

"It is our belief that a united labor movement will be able to devote the talent and strength of our trade unions to greater

service to the people of the United States.

"At this time in our history, when this country and all the free world are beset by the challenge of Soviet Communist totalitarianism, a united labor movement will best be able to mobilize the working men and women of this country toward the defense of our free institutions, and toward the development of full employment and greater security for all the people.

"We pledge that, as unity develops, labor in America will place itself at the service of the American public; and will, by its responsibility and sense of dedication to our democratic ideals, help build a better nation and a stronger free world. . . .

"We feel confident that merger of the two union groups, which we represent, will be a boon to our nation and its people in this tense period. We are happy that, in our way, we have been able to help bring about unity of the American labor movement at a time when unity of all the American people is most urgently needed in the face of the Communist threat to world peace and civilization."

The members of this Committee confirm and reiterate these views.

The next step toward unity was the drafting and approval by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Board of the Congress of Industrial Organizations of the Constitution under which this Federation will function, and of the Implementation Agreement.

The final step that brought this AFL-CIO into being was the action taken by the separate conventions of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations in approving the Resolution on the Achievement of Labor Unity.

The basic documents representing each of these steps toward unity are attached to this Report:

- A. The AFL-CIO No-Raiding Agreement
- B. The Memorandum of Understanding Supplementing the No-Raiding Agreement
- C. Instrument of Extension and Amendment of the No-Raiding Agreement
- D. The Agreement for Merger
- E. The AFL-CIO Constitution
- F. Implementation Agreement
- G. Resolution on the Achievement of Labor Unity.

[The above-mentioned documents are printed earlier in this publication.]

And so today we must as a single body of labor, united not only in form but in a singleness of purpose and spirit. United, we are a more effective instrumentality for the national good. We have the magnificent opportunity through unity to build to new heights our democratic, responsible, united labor movement. Our AFL-CIO is based upon a full recognition and acceptance of the inherent dignity of the human personality; we are dedicated to the building of a better future for the people of our nation and for a stronger free world.

When this convention is concluded we of the Joint AFL-CIO Unity Committee will have completed the immediate task entrusted to us. We have, throughout, been deeply conscious of the grave and historic responsibility entrusted to us. We have sought to discharge that responsibility honorably and conscientiously. We believe that the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations together have provided a foundation upon which can be built a strong, democratic and responsible united labor movement.

The achievement of this objective is in your hands. We know that the leadership of the AFL-CIO will rest in capable and effective men. We have complete confidence in the devotion and loyalty of the membership to the principles of free and democratic trade

unionism enumerated in the constitution that has been adopted. We of the AFL-CIO, invoking divine guidance and mindful of the traditions of our past, look with assurance to meeting the challenge of the future.

п

The Joint AFL-CIO Unity Committee concludes its report by proposing the following resolution confirming and ratifying the achievement of labor unity:

"BE IT RESOLVED, That this initial constitutional convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations confirms and ratifies the action of the separate conventions of the American Federation of Labor and of the Congress of Industrial Organizations in ratifying, approving and adopting the Resolution on the Achievement of Labor Unity, the Agreement for the Merger of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, the Implementation Agreement and the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations."

Respectfully submitted,

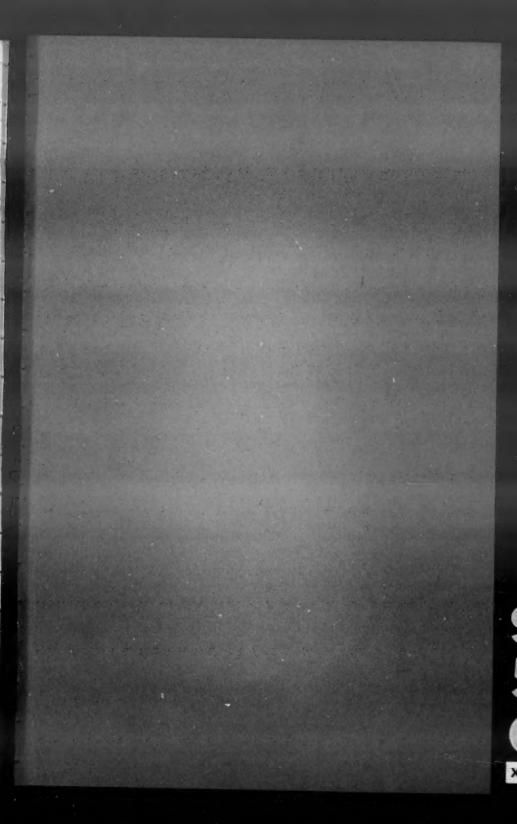
WALTER P. REUTHER JAMES B. CAREY

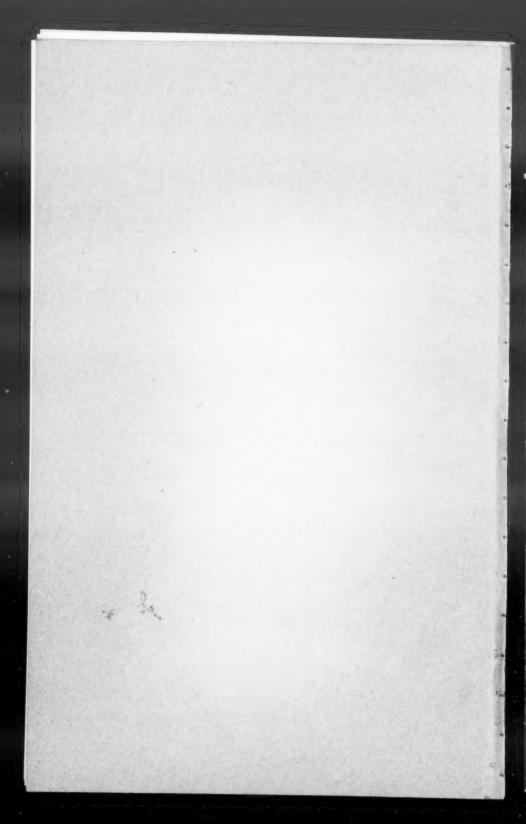
GEORGE MEANY WILLIAM SCHNITZLER

For the Joint AFL-CIO Unity Committee

* * *

[The above Report was accepted and the recommended Resolution was unanimously adopted by the First Constitutional Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations on December 5, 1955.]





Policy Resolutions

of the

AFL-CIO

Adopted December 1955 by the

FIRST CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION of the

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR
AND
CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS



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GEORGE MEANY President WILLIAM F. SCHNITZLER
Secretary-Treasurer

JANUARY, 1956

AFL-CIO Publication No. 8

Policy Resolutions

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AFL-CIO

Adopted by the

FIRST CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

or the

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

ANU

CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

December 1955

THE establishment of this Federation through the merger of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations is an expression of the hopes and aspirations of the working people of America.

We seek the fulfillment of these hopes and aspirations through democratic processes within the framework of our constitutional government and consistent with our institutions and traditions.

At the collective bargaining table, in the community, in the exercise of the rights and responsibilities of citizenship, we shall responsibly serve the interests of all the American people.

We pledge ourselves to the more effective organization of working men and women; to the securing to them of full recognition and enjoyment of the rights to which they are justly entitled; to the achievement of ever higher standards of living and working conditions; to the attainment of security for all the people; to the enjoyment of the leisure which their skills make possible; and to the strengthening and extension of our way of life and the fundamental freedoms which are the basis of our democratic society.

We shall combat resolutely the forces which seek to undermine the democratic institutions of our nation and to enslave the human soul. We shall strive always to win full respect for the dignity of the human individual whom our unions serve.

With Divine guidance, grateful for the fine traditions of our past, confident of meeting the challenge of the future, we proclaim this constitution.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Resolution	Page
Atomic Energy	89
Children and Youth	56
Civil Defense	21
Civil Liberties and Internal Security	18
Civil Rights	
Collective Bargaining	10
Community Services	94
Cooperatives	40
Distressed Areas and Industrial Migration	29
Economic Policy	25
Education	57
Electoral Reforms	87
Ethical Practices	87
Farmer-Labor Unity	37
Federal Flood Insurance	94
Federal Government Employees	101
Foreign Policy	
Government Statistical Programs	
Health and Welfare Plan Administration	
Health Programs	
Housing	
Immigration	
Manpower Policy for Full Mobilization	
Merchant Marine	
Migrant Farm Workers and Foreign Contract Labor	
Military Manpower Policies	
Natural Gas	
Occupational Safety and Health	
Old-Age and Survivors Insurance, Disability Insurance, and Public	
Assistance	
Organizing Fund Raising Committee	7
Organizing the Unorganized	5
Pay Television	106
Permanent Committee of Building and Construction Trades Department	
and Industrial Union Department to Resolve Differences	107
Physically Handicapped	61
Political Action	

Resolution	age
Power	92
Public Relations	99
Public Safety	64
Puerto Rico	74
Shipbuilding	82
State Anti-Union Laws	16
Statehood for Alaska and Hawaii and Home Rule for the District of	
Columbia	75
Support of Unions on Strike	8
Surplus Foods	39
Taft-Hartley Act and the NLRB	11
Taxation and Budget Policy	31
Taxes, State and Local	33
Unemployment Insurance and the Employment Service	43
Union Label	9
Veterans	100
Wage-Hour and Walsh-Healey Acts	34
Women's Political Activities	86
Women Workers	55
Workmen's Compensation	53

ORGANIZING THE UNORGANIZED

The new merged labor movement faces a great and challenging task: organization of the unorganized. The spirit of labor unity equips us to do a more effective job.

We must bring the benefits and protection of unionism to millions of unorganized workers who need, deserve and must have them. The task will require our most vigorous efforts. It will require the rallying of the combined members and resources of the trade union movement as never before. We must dedicate ourselves wholeheartedly to the fulfilling of this great mission.

In recent years, there have been some notable gains in union organization and we properly hail them. But frankness compels the conclusion that unionization of new areas of new industries during the past decade has not kept pace. The great gains recorded in the 1930's and 1940's have not been matched during the past few years. Growth in total union membership has come primarily from economic expansion in establishments and industries already organized.

Frankness also compels the admission that too great a portion of organizing effort in the last ten years has been devoted to recruiting workers previously organized by others. Fortunately, this development has been substantially slowed down in the period since the no-raiding agreement has been in effect, and will, it is hoped, be entirely eliminated in the years ahead.

The approximately 17 million workers who are organized today represent only one out of every three wage and salary workers employed in the United States. Some of those now unorganized are in supervision or in other such activities as will probably keep them outside the union movement. There is no sound economic reason why the remaining great bulk of those now unorganized should not have the aid and protection which only unionism can afford them.

The trade union movement's objective in the years immediately ahead must be at least the doubling of union membership. This is indeed a tremendous challenge, but through our combined efforts, we can and will help these unorganized workers achieve unionization.

We cannot afford to be satisfied with past gains alone. The significant gains won by trade unions in the last 20 years are always threatened as long as large pockets of unorganized workers remain.

Beyond this, the ability of organized labor to play its full role in the life of the nation, to advance standards of living for all, is limited by the numbers for which it is able to speak. The necessary support to an expanding economy is not available when only a third of the labor force is represented in collective bargaining.

Low standards prevailing among most unorganized workers are a depressing influence on the national economy. Organization would raise their standards and improve their purchasing power, thereby contributing notably to sound economic growth for the nation. We well recognize that the organizing job is a difficult assignment which will not be achieved overnight. There is no magic formula to hasten results, nor are eager intentions alone adequate to the task. It will require realistic appraisal of the obstacles, careful and imaginative planning, years of untiring effort and unfailing determination, and full use of our resources.

A growing part of the American labor force is engaged in "white collar", service and distribution activities. These are areas in which many workers have never known the benefits of unions and of collective bargaining. Many workers in these and other areas are not familiar with and do not understand the role of trade unions.

A promising area for organization and an area in which there is much need for organization, is in state and local government service. Our unions of state, county, and municipal employees have made substantial progress in this difficult area in the face of laws restricting rights of public employees and discriminatory practices engaged in by some public officials. Much more can be done if the labor movement will put force behind a campaign to remove barriers, to repeal restrictive laws and to correct anti-labor attitudes on the part of officials.

The message of democratic unionism must be brought to these workers to correct their lack of knowledge or lack of understanding. Successful organizing can be built among them on a foundation of concrete explanation and demonstration of the benefits of joining and supporting strong democratic trade unions.

There also remain substantial areas of the economy where organization has thus far been resisted, where employers actively have done their utmost to prevent organization. Although the size of this problem is greater in some areas and in some industries, it is present throughout the country and throughout the economy. A properly conducted organizing campaign can succeed despite the measures used to deprive workers of unionism in these areas.

A major obstacle to organization still exists in provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act. One of the consequences of the Act has been the enactment in 18 states of the vicious and mislabeled "right-to-work" laws. While many employers still resort to old-fashioned clear-cut threats and intimidation to frighten their workers out of joining unions, most anti-union employers now rely on more subtle, sophisticated means, particularly paternalistic devices and specially prepared newspaper and community pressures, to prevent their workers from organizing real unions.

But American labor has known difficulties before. It has made its way despite anti-conspiracy legislation, anti-trust acts, so-called "American Plans", spies and goons. It has demonstrated its ability to preserve its

strength in the face of Taft-Hartley.

It will not be daunted by the magnitude and hardships of the job of bringing unionism to unorganized American workers. It can and will meet the responsibility of organizing the unorganized; now therefore, be it

RESOLVED, The AFL-CIO and its affiliated unions hereby dedicate them-

selves, and will provide their fullest and most vigorous support, to an expanded organizing program equal to the task of overcoming the obstacles in the path of nationwide organization. We shall do everything in our power to further such organization of the unorganized.

ORGANIZING FUND RAISING COMMITTEE

The founding convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations should properly consider our weakness as well as our strength.

We are properly proud of the achievement that brings together under a single banner more than 15 million organized workers. But even in this hour of triun. h we must give thought to the 30 million industrial workers, all of whom come within the jurisdiction of our member unions, who as yet do not enjoy their legal and moral right to organize and bargain collectively.

The organization of these workers must and will be a primary concern of the great new federation that has been formed here.

We recognize that the task is not an easy one. Legal and illegal obstacles, many of them formidable, stand in the way of workers who seek to exercise the rights supposedly granted them by federal statute. The inadequate safeguards of the Wagner Act were largely nullified by the Taft-Hartley law which supplanted it, and have been wiped out almost entirely by those who presently are charged with administering and interpreting the law.

But these handicaps cannot be removed by complaining about them. They must be surmounted; for while they remain, the unorganized workers and the communities in which they live will suffer economic discrimination, to the peril of our national prosperity.

Nor is this an economic problem alone. The unorganized worker cannot assure himself of his full rights as an individual or his full equality as a free citizen. The liberty he enjoys outside his job vanishes the moment he enters his place of employment. If Americans are to enjoy the fruits of democracy 24 hours a day, they must have democracy on the job.

There is a general recognition among our members of the importance of this task. Already a number of international unions representing substantial membership have indicated their willingness to contribute voluntarily substantial sums of money so that the AFL-CIO organizing effort can be adequately financed.

Therefore this founding convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations instructs the President of our organization to appoint a committee, chosen from among the top officers of affiliated unions, to be known as the Organizing Fund Raising Committee.

And we call upon all organizations within the AFL-CIO to contribute to this fund and to devote to this vital objective their unstinting efforts, for the greater good of our member unions, the workers and the nation.

SUPPORT OF UNIONS ON STRIKE

American unions believe in peaceful collective bargaining. It is always our aim to reach agreement through peaceful negotiations, without resort to the strike weapon. We are well aware that the effects of a strike are felt not only by the employer, but pre-eminently by the striking workers themselves, and in lesser degree by the general public.

Our unions do not lightly decide to strike or engage in walk-outs for frivolous or trivial reasons. We do not strike until every other legitimate means of arriving at a satisfactory settlement has been exhausted.

In the final analysis, however, a strike is, in many situations, the workers' only weapon; and recourse to it their only hope of winning better wages, hours, and working conditions. This can be clearly seen in some of the bitter strikes in which our affiliates are now engaged.

Such a struggle is now being carried on by nearly 55,000 Westinghouse workers, represented by the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, who are now in the eighth week of the largest and longest nation-wide strike of 1955.

Westinghouse management ruthlessly and irresponsibly provoked this strike by attempting to tear up its present two-year contract with the IUE and impose a substandard wage-slashing and job-cutting five-year agreement. It has perpetuated the strike by autocratically refusing to negotiate in good faith, by bargaining only on an ultimatum basis of "take-it-or-leave-it," and by initiating strike-breaking and union-busting campaigns through the use of injunctions, back-to-work movements, bribery and scab-herding.

In paramount issue is the sanctity of collective bargaining agreements, honestly negotiated and solemnly signed, and the threat to all unions which lies in Westinghouse management's assumption that it has the unilateral right, without consultation, or negotiation, to alter work standards and to shift incentive jobs to day work while depriving workers of incentive pay scales.

Since April 13, more than 3,000 hotel employees of Miami and Miami Beach, Florida, members of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders' International Union, have been on strike against the major hotels in the Miami area. The objective of the employees has been simply to win the right to bargain collectively with their employers in order to correct intolerable conditions of wages, hours, and working conditions. Despite the fact that the union unquestionably has the support of the overwhelming majority of the hotel employees in the area, most of the employers have adamantly refused to recognize the union, although in recent weeks a few of the hotels have recognized and have signed satisfactory agreements with the Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union.

Although no agency in Florida has taken any jurisdiction whatsoever over this situation, the National Labor Relations Board has refused to assert its jurisdiction in this case. Thus the hotel workers have been denied any opportunity to obtain the redress which is their right under the law and now

find themselves in a legal no-man's land without protection from either the Florida courts or from the NLRB.

In another situation, the flight engineers of United Air Lines have been on strike for seven weeks against the stubborn refusal by the airline to accept job security conditions of employment that have been incorporated into the contracts with other major airlines. The importance of this strike transcends the relatively small number of workers who are involved, because on its success or failure is likely to hinge the future course of labor relations in the entire airline industry. The valiant fight which the Flight Engineers' International Association has been waging against this strongly entrenched employer deserves the wholehearted support of every international and local union of the trade union movement.

In Wisconsin, workers at the Kohler Co., members of Local 833, have been on strike longer than any other group of workers in the history of the UAW-CIO. Since April 5, 1954, they have manned their picketlines to win for themselves and their children benefits and working conditions which have become standard throughout the rest of industrial America. Twentyone years ago their employer broke a strike of a fine AFL Federal Labor Union with a private company army. Two men were killed, shot in the back, and 48 men, women and children injured by gunfire from inside the plant. The company still has tear gas and an arsenal available, still tries to conduct its relations with its workers with the same brutal methods which characterized its labor relations a generation ago. All members of organized labor are urged to help the courageous members of the United Automobile Workers striking at Kohler to win a fair and equitable contract by refusing to buy and urging all fair-minded people not to buy plumbingware and engines made by Kohler until the Kohler workers win a just contract.

These four strikes as well as all other legitimate strikes deserve the full, sympathetic, and sincere support of all union members. Furthermore, all union members are indirectly affected by the outcome of every strike, no matter what may be the immediate issue involved. For a lost strike anywhere tempts reactionary employers to take more intransigent positions in bargaining or to discard collective bargaining altogether in favor of unilaterally imposed wages and working conditions. In contrast, a successful strike may result in benefits being achieved by many thousands of workers not directly

involved in the strike.

In unity there is strength, and only if workers stand together can they hope to equate their strength to that of the powerful forces arrayed against them; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, The AFL-CIO and all its affiliates pledge their support and that of their members for all legitimate strikes.

UNION LABEL

The power of the worker's dollar has become one of organized labor's strongest answers to the great challenges to our security. Chief among these challenges are the millions of unorganized workers in every industry, whose

low wages endanger the union conditions we have fought so hard to win. In recent years, runaway shops have become an increasing threat to union standards in several industries, and growing monopoly, federal and state anti-labor laws and unfriendly governments hinder organization of the unorganized.

Union members themselves, with the strength of a united organization behind them, must meet these challenges and overcome these threats to their

hard-won working and living conditions.

One of the most potent tools available is the union label, shop card and button which channel labor's buying power to protect union standards.

The union member and the enlightened consumer has learned that a union label on a product and a union shop card for a service is a guarantee of good quality and decent working conditions. By insisting on union-made products, the union member can help protect his own working conditions, as well as those of union members in other industries, from the unfair competition of low-wage, sweat-shop manufacturers who seek to swell their profits by exploiting their workers.

At the same time, consumers generally have realized that the higher standard of living achieved by organized labor and symbolized by the union label benefits the entire community. For the community, the union label means an increased purchasing power, higher quality production, and better

business for everyone; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, We view the union label, the union shop card, and the union button as important weapons in labor's arsenal, which must be continually and vigorously promoted as widely as possible.

COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

Free collective bargaining through strong trade unions has provided working people with a meaningful voice in deciding the terms under which they work. It has functioned to translate the nation's potential for improvement into actual advances in working and living standards. It has thereby benefited immeasurably our nation as a whole.

Bargaining through trade unions has developed because individual workmen by themselves cannot bargain on an equal basis with their employers. It has grown despite only a slow and grudging acceptance by many employers and despite continued efforts of many other employers to do all in their power to resist it. We must do our best to assure its continued growth and to extend its benefits to the many workers still not represented

by effective trade unions.

In a democratic nation it is appropriate that collective bargaining, free of government control, be encouraged and strengthened in place of unilateral determination by employers. For free collective bargaining is the most equitable means of deciding workers' wages, hours and working conditions, of assuring reasonable protection for the rights of workers against arbitrary and unjustly discriminatory employer actions, and of resolving the many individual human problems which arise in everyday work situations.

In addition to the moral and social need for adequate worker representation, collective bargaining is important as a significant force for strength and improvement in the American economy. As a major instrument through which trade unions succeed in raising wage levels, reducing hours of work, gaining health and pension protection, and otherwise advancing American standards of living, it has contributed heavily to the economic welfare not only of workers but of the general public and of business itself.

We must remain alert to the dangers of government domination. Government interference and control of union bargaining activities can alter the character and destroy the advantages of the collective bargaining process. Collective bargaining by unions and employers must remain free of government control to function most soundly and effectively as a basic bulwark

of a free society.

The collective bargaining picture in the past year has seen significant forward strides in almost every industry in the land. Our affiliated unions are to be commended for the substantial wage increases and benefit improvements they have achieved. Their gains have served as a major factor contributing to the general economic upswing of the past year. Continued wage and benefit advances are now required to sustain continued economic growth in the year ahead; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, The AFL-CIO and its affiliated unions will continue to defend and nurture free collective bargaining as a major means in a democracy for gaining improved wages, hours, working conditions and job security for workers and thereby contributing to the well-being and advancement of

the nation as a whole.

The AFL-CIO and its affiliated unions will continue to fight for better wages, spurred by the knowledge that the nation's power to consume must keep pace with its growing power to produce. We will seek also in collective bargaining to reduce the workweek with no reduction in take-home pay; to provide greater protection for workers against the economic hazards of illness, old-age, and irregular employment through such programs as health and welfare plans, guaranteed employment plans, improved insurance and pension plans; to liberalize paid holiday and vacation provisions; and to improve working conditions. All of these measures are necessary basic elements in our efforts to gain continued improvement in American standards of living.

TAFT-HARTLEY ACT AND THE NLRB

The Taft-Hartley Act has been law for over eight years. The stated policy of this Act, carried over from the Wagner Act, is to encourage the organization of workers into unions of their own choosing and to promote collective bargaining. However, many of the detailed provisions of Taft-Hartley subvert these professed aims.

In actual operation, the Act has been used to block union organization, to weaken unions, and to interfere with free collective bargaining.

The organization of the unorganized has been greviously hampered.

Prior to Taft-Hartley the percentage of organized workers in the economy was steadily increasing. Since Taft-Hartley this rate of increase has been greatly reduced, and two-thirds of the workers who are eligible for union membership remain unorganized today. By impeding the unionization of unorganized workers who stand in need of it, the Act threatens the standards of all organized labor.

The Taft-Hartley Act places serious restrictions on the rights to strike and to picket. Strikes or picketing for various purposes which were legal long before the Wagner Act are entirely prohibited by Taft-Hartley, and some strikes which are legal even under Taft-Hartley may be enjoined on the

theory that they will create national emergencies.

The use of the labor injunction, which had been virtually stopped in the federal courts in 1932 by the Norris-LaGuardia Act, has been revived by Taft-Hartley. Under Taft-Hartley the government may seek an injunction in any unfair labor practice case prior to any hearing on the merits, and it is actually compelled by the Act to seek such injunctions in certain types of cases.

The Taft-Hartley Act injects the government into the writing of collective bargaining agreements. Under the Wagner Act unions and employers were generally free to make whatever collective bargaining contracts they thought appropriate. The Taft-Hartley Act, however, restricts the benefits unions may achieve through collective bargaining agreements in numerous respects including union security, welfare funds, check-off arrangements, strike notices, etc.

The Taft-Hartley Act itself places restrictions on union security arrangements which are wholly unworkable in industries with shifting employment patterns, such as construction, maritime trades, and the canning industry. In addition, by Section 14(b), it legalizes state anti-union-security laws, in defiance of the principle that national legislation normally overrides conflicting state laws.

A host of other restrictive provisions are also contained in the Act.

The vicious anti-labor character of Taft-Hartley was expressly recognized by President Eisenhower during the 1952 election campaign. At that time he made solemn promises to eliminate these provisions and bring about a fair law. Thus, in a speech to the Convention of the American Federation of Labor, the President stated:

"I have talked about the Taft-Hartley Act with both labor and industry people. I know the law might be used to break unions. That must be changed. America wants no law licensing union-busting. Neither

do I."

In this same speech he proclaimed:

"I will not support any amendments which might weaken the rights

of the working men and women."

He praised the Norris-LaGuardia Act which limited labor injunctions, and boasted that it was passed under a Republican Administration. He spoke out specifically on this subject, saying that injunctions "will not settle the underlying fundamental problems which cause a strike." He spoke in defense of the right to strike, saying "there are some things worse, much worse, than strikes—one of them is the loss of freedom."

The President declared that he believed in strong unions, saying "weak unions cannot be responsible. This alone is sufficient reason for having strong unions."

He declaimed against the "heavy hand of Government intervention" in

labor disputes and reaffirmed his faith in collective bargaining.

And the President expressed his complete confidence that the job of amending the Taft-Hartley Act "can be worked out so that no fair-minded member of labor will consider the results unreasonable."

Finally, he pledged "justice and fairness" in our labor relations laws.

After the election, unfortunately, these fine promises were ignored by
the Administration.

In March 1953, the House and Senate Labor Committee commenced hearings on Taft-Hartley revision. These hearings were quite extensive: the House Committee hearings lasted from March until the middle of May, while the Senate hearings ran from the latter part of March into June. Numerous witnesses from the ranks of labor and management appeared before the committees, as well as many outside labor relations experts.

However, no one appeared to state to the Committees the position of the Administration on Taft-Hartley revision. No witness appeared, no Presidential message was sent up, no Administration bill was introduced.

President Eisenhower had appointed as his Secretary of Labor, Martin P. Durkin, President of the Plumbers' and Pipe Fitters' Union, AFL. Mr. Durkin accepted the directive of President Eisenhower, issued shortly after the new Administration took office, to revise Taft-Hartley to eliminate its union-breaking provisions, and make it fair and just to labor. Month after month, Secretary Durkin labored to secure a fair implementation of the Administration's promises.

Finally, in the late summer of 1953, after detailed negotiations between the White House and the Congressional leaders, President Eisenhower repudiated the proposals for revision of the Taft-Hartley Act which the President had promised Mr. Durkin to support. Consequently and justifiably Mr. Durkin resigned.

During the whole of 1953 the Administration sent no communication to the Congress on Taft-Hartley revision. In January 1954, approximately one year late, President Eisenhower finally sent to Congress a message on Taft-Hartley revision.

The President's message to Congress on Taft-Hartley amendments and the implementing bill introduced by Senator Smith (R., N. J.), instead of liberalizing Taft-Hartley, proposed a few insubstantial improvements and offered new anti-labor provisions.

Far from honoring its pledge of justice and fairness, the Administration's program would not have rid the Taft-Hartley Act of its union-busting provisions. It would have retained the one-sided, anti-labor injunction along with other major anti-labor Taft-Hartley provisions. It would have added a new and dangerous anti-labor measure on the pretext of protecting states' rights. This provision would have legalized state laws which, under the guise of dealing with local emergencies, prohibit strikes and provide for compulsory arbitration of labor disputes. Yet during the campaign, President Eisenhower declared against any trend toward compulsory arbitration in the field of labor-management relations.

In addition, the discredited strike vote procedure which had been proved useless in wartime was recommended by the Administration for insertion

into the Act.

This anti-labor program of the Administration was rejected by the Senate in May 1954. During the year and a half since then, Congress, evenly divided, has held no further hearings on Taft-Hartley and the Administration has made no further proposals for its revision. The Taft-Hartley Act has remained unchanged on the statute books.

Though the language of Taft-Hartley has remained unchanged, its interpretation by the Labor Board has not. On numerous and important issues the new Board, a majority of whose members have been appointed by President Eisenhower, has overturned long established rulings, and given the Act a new, and almost always anti-labor, meaning. Indeed the Eisenhower appointees seem to have taken office with that end consciously in mind.

The Wagner Act had been in effect since 1935 and as amended by the Taft-Hartley Act since 1947. Interpretation placed on these laws over the years by the Board and courts had been reviewed by Congress on several occasions. Both before and after 1947, several bills which would have changed Board policies had been considered by Congress. Certain changes in Board policies, of course, were required by the Taft-Hartley Act. But aside from such changes, Congress had refused on a number of occasions since 1947 to require changes in other Board policies. This created the obvious implication that Congress had thereby given its approval to such other policies and intended them to be continued in effect.

The new Board members, appointed by President Eisenhower however, have until now not felt themselves bound by these policies of the old Board. In line with their prior pronouncements, they have proceeded to promulgate widespread anti-union changes in well-established policies covering a large number of important issues. They seem to have proceeded on the assumption that since they were appointed by a new Administration, they had a license to overhaul any or all of the Board's policies. They have proceeded to imbue the Board with the employer-oriented interests of the new Administration.

It should also be borne in mind that the NLRB is supposed to be an independent agency, with quasi-judicial functions. Unless the Board and its staff can be free of influence or control, it cannot function in the independent and impartial manner required of a quasi-judicial agency. Clearly, the policy changes instituted by the new Board, in most instances over the opposition of one or both of the holdover members from the old Board, raise grave questions as to the independent, impartial, non-political and quasi-judicial status of the new Board.

Among these policy changes are the following:

(a) Jurisdiction: The new Board has drastically limited the establishments over which it will assert jurisdiction. This is legislation by administrative action, for proposals to diminish NLRB jurisdiction were rejected by Congress in 1954.

The result is to deny even the limited protection of the Act to millions of workers who previously were covered. These employees no longer will be protected by federal law against discriminatory discharges and other employer unfair labor practices. They will not be able to obtain NLRB elections to determine their bargaining agent. And most States do not have laws which at all protect the rights of labor.

Among the workers thus deprived of the protection of the federal Act are the great majority of those employed in retail stores, power stations, TV and radio stations, daily and weekly newspapers, utilities, service companies,

and all small businesses even including defense plants.

(b) Employer "Free Speech": Under the guise of protecting free speech, the new Board has sanctioned employer statements of plainly coercive character. For example, an employer pre-election statement that if the union won the company "would be forced to move the plant" was held not to warrant setting aside the election; the statement was merely a "prophecy", not a "threat", and so was "not coercive". Similarly, a statement by a company lawyer that the company would not recognize the union even if it won the election was held to be simply a legitimate "expression of the employer's legal position".

(c) Captive Audience: It is no longer an unfair labor practice for an employer to force workers to listen to anti-union tirades on company time and property, without affording the union an opportunity to reply. Moreover, an election will now be upset only if the employer addressed the captive

audience within 24 hours before the election.

(d) Majority Union Recognition: Another reversal of basic policy was made by the new Board when it held that an employer may refuse to accept a majority of signed membership cards as proof of a union's majority status. Employers are thus encouraged to refuse recognition and to defer bargaining until the union goes through a formal Board election.

(e) Interrogating Workers: Under the old Board, there was a long-standing doctrine that it was intimidation and an unfair labor practice for an employer to question his employees about union membership and activities. Yet, fundamental as this doctrine was, it was overturned by the Admin-

istration majority of the new Board.

(f) Responsibility for Unlawful Strike: A new doctrine entailing extremely harsh consequences for innocent members of a union was enunciated by the new Board in a case involving the discharge of employees who did not participate in an illegal strike and who either reported for work or were ill. Despite their non-participation in the strike action, the new Board upheld the discharges.

It has also been held by the new Board that employees of one union, who respected the picket line of another union during a short "hit-and-run"

strike, lost their protected status under the Act and were subject to discharge or other discipline. These employees, said the Board, forfeited their own protection under the Act by "joining" and "participating" in the unprotected strike of the other union. The Board thus struck at a vital artery of trade unionism because respect for a picket line is a fundamental obligation of union members.

(g) Implied No-Strike Clause: Under a recent doctrine of the new Board, a strike may not take place until the expiration or reopening date of a contact even though the 60-day notice required by Taft-Hartley has been given and elapsed and even though the contact does not contain a no-strike

clause.

(h) "Hot Cargo" Clauses Unenforceable: It has long been the practice of various unions to seek the inclusion in collective bargaining agreements of provisions permitting their members to refuse to handle "hot goods". Until recently the Board regarded these clauses as valid and enforceable by strike or picketing, but the new Republican appointees have ruled that these clauses either are not valid at all or may not be enforced by the Union.

The foregoing are only some of the areas in which the Administrationdominated Board has established new policies. The anti-union nature of these policies is obvious on their face. Other additional examples of new policies might be cited. They, too, are almost uniformly detrimental to the

rights of labor.

Despite the major stated purpose of the Act to encourage genuine collective bargaining through unions freely chosen by the workers, the Board appears to be doing everything in its power to impede these objectives. It has clearly acted to impose anti-labor restrictions beyond those required by Taft-Hartley; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, 1. The AFL-CIO will press for the elimination of the evils of the Taft-Hartley Act and the enactment of a sound and fair national

labor relations law based on the principles of the Wagner Act.

2. The AFL-CIO condemns the Administration for its failure to live up to its campaign promises to rid Taft-Hartley of its anti-labor provisions.

3. The AFL-CIO denounces the administrative policies of the National Labor Relations Board, and the unnecessary manner in which the Board has, in effect, been legislating by administrative action.

STATE ANTI-UNION LAWS

During the past two or three years, anti-union forces in this country have more and more concentrated their resources on lobbying anti-union laws through the legislatures of the various states. Typically these state laws make unlawful any and every sort of union security provision. Often these laws also impose other restrictions on unions and workers, such as prohibitions or restraints on strikes or picketing, or on the check-off of union dues. Invariably these laws, whatever their content, are mislabeled as "Right to Work" laws; although they guarantee work to no one and in fact weaken the job security of workers.

These state anti-union laws have their genesis in Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act—one of the most vicious provisions of that evil law. Although that law is supposed to lay down a national labor policy uniformly applicable in all states to industries which affect interstate commerce, Section 14(b) explicitly encourages states to pass anti-labor laws which go beyond the restrictions of Taft-Hartley. It does this by providing that state laws which are more restrictive of union security than the provisions of Taft-Hartley shall override Taft-Hartley, even as to interstate businesses. On the other hand, state laws which restrict union security less than does Taft-Hartley are superseded, as to interstate businesses, by Taft-Hartley.

As a result of this Taft-Hartley provision, of the anti-labor legislative atmosphere engendered by Taft-Hartley, and of the unscrupulous campaigns of employer lobbyists, numerous state legislators have adopted anti-union-

security laws during the last nine years.

Prior to 1946 elections, only one state, Florida, had outlawed the union shop. In 1947, the year Taft-Hartley was passed, 13 states adopted such laws. In 1949, two of these states, New Hampshire and Delaware, repealed their anti-union laws, and no additional states passed anti-union laws for several years.

However, since 1952 there has been a new rash of state-anti-union laws. In 1953 Alabama passed such a law; in 1954, Mississippi, South Carolina and Louisiana; and in 1955, Utah. During the same period unsuccessful attempts were made by reactionary employer interests to obtain the passage of these laws in numerous other States. Always these campaigns are accompanied by the most hypocritical propaganda and the most sordid pressures.

We commend the courageous action of the governor of Kansas in vetoing a "right-to-work" bill passed by the State legislature in 1955. In his veto message the governor said:

"This type of bill is not a solution to any labor-management problem in the State of Kansas. The name 'right-to-work' is a misnomer. House bill 30 has only one real purpose—to ultimately destroy both the right of labor to organize and the principle of collective bargaining. It will accomplish this purpose by prohibiting maintenance of membership in labor unions under state law."

At the present time, 18 states have anti-union-security laws in effect. They are: Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Iowa, Louisiana, Mississippi, Nebraska, Nevada, North Carolina, North Dakota, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Utah and Virginia. Each of these laws makes it unlawful for labor and management to include any sort of provision for union security in a collective bargaining agreement. Many of these state laws, as noted, also contain other broad restraints on union activities. In addition the laws in several other states—Colorado, Kansas Maryland, Massachusetts and Wisconsin—impose various lesser restrictions on union security agreements.

Further, in many states, local judges freely use the crippling labor injunction against unions. Sometimes these injunctions are supposedly based on these new state statutes, while at other times they rest simply on "judge made" law. Often they take the form of temporary restraining orders issued without notice to the union or any trial on the merits. Union-busting employers find in these state court injunctions a ready weapon to curb

picketing and to break strikes.

Such state laws and judicial decrees are justified by their supporters by slogans like "right to work" or "States' rights". "States' rights" and "right to work" as thus used mean only one simple thing: the destruction of unions and the blocking of union organization, so that an employer will have unfettered discretion to hire and fire and can pay his workers less for the same work than organized workers are getting in other States; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, The AFL-CIO and its affiliated unions will fight for the repeal of all state anti-labor laws, and for their replacement by legislation

fairly protecting the basic rights of labor.

We will resolutely resist all attempts by reactionary employers to use state legislatures and courts to hamper unionization and to weaken unions.

We will press for the repeal of Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act.

CIVIL LIBERTIES AND INTERNAL SECURITY

This Federation is proud that the labor unions of America have traditionally stood in the forefront of the fight for the preservation and expansion of individual civil liberties. We are proud, too, that the unions comprising this Federation were among the first to point out and take steps against the dangers to our freedom and security posed by international Communism. The fight to protect this nation against Communist aggression must be carried on with vigor and determination. But the Communist threat must and can be met without endangering our traditional liberties or impinging upon the freedoms guaranteed by the Bill of Rights.

International Communism is a menace to the United States and to democratic nations everywhere because, as an instrument of Soviet aggression, it is backed by the armed might of the Soviet Union. To meet this threat we and our Allies need military forces sufficiently strong to deter and resist any attack which may be launched by the Soviet Union or its allies or puppets. Our nation's security and freedom must not be offered up on the altar of a balanced budget.

We do not believe that the Communist movement in this country poses, absent armed Soviet aggression, any serious threat to overthrow our government. Nevertheless, it does serve as a recruiting ground for traitors, spies and perhaps saboteurs and its adherents are making every effort to obtain the nation's most guarded secrets. These dangers call for vigilant counterintelligence work, and for vigorous enforcement of the criminal laws and for an effective security system. They do not call for us to adopt the methods of our totalitarian foes, or to ourselves weaken the liberties we seek to protect.

Developments over the past year on the civil liberties front afford con-

siderable ground for optimism. This is the first time in several years that this has been so; and we are gratified at the important role the AFL and the CIO played in promoting increased concern for the protection of individual rights. We note with genuine satisfaction these advances for civil liberties:

1. Improvements have been made in the procedure of Congressional Committees.

For several years a major threat to our American system of government has come from persons who, under the cloak of professed anti-Communist zeal, have violated the fundamental rights of the individual which are the core of our democracy. While some Congressional investigations, without endangering civil liberties have effectively exposed the extent of Communist infiltration in American institutions, other loosely conducted Congressional investigations were used to spread unfounded accusations and unproven charges. Those accused were given no adequate opportunity to face their accusers, or to answer allegations made against them. Often these investigations seemed more concerned with punishing particular individuals, or with enforcing uniformity of opinions and stifling the traditional American right to dissent, than with any proper legislative purpose.

During the past year this picture has perceptibly brightened. There has been increased public realization of the extent to which some Congressional investigations have infringed on individual rights and freedoms, and a growing revulsion against the manner in which some investigations have been conducted. In Congress this revulsion found expression in the Senate's vote of censure against Senator McCarthy and in the adoption of codes of fair procedure for committees by the House of Representatives and by several of the individual Senate Committees. In the country as a whole, this popular reaction has led to a renewed appreciation of the values of individual liber-

ties and a renewed determination to defend them.

It is also true that while codes of fair procedure for Congressional committees can deter abuses, they can never be the whole answer to the problem of securing fairness in committee hearings. Necessarily these codes set only minimum standards, and depend for their effectiveness upon the self-restraint of the Congressional committees. The election of fair-minded Congressmen, and continued public vigilance against any resurgence of McCarthyism remain vital necessities.

2. During the past year there has been increased public realization that, through the present security screening programs, the government is dealing harshly and unfairly, and sometimes tyrannically, with many of its citizens. There has been increased and well-merited public concern over certain arbitrary and unfair procedures employed in the government's personnel security programs, and over the ever broadening scope of these programs.

The Administration itself has shown little willingness to clean its own house. When faced with public outcry against the manifest injustice done in a particular "security" case, as when it penalized a man for his mother's past political beliefs, the Administration has shamefacedly backtracked in the particular case. But it has made only grudging, piecemeal and belated

efforts to correct the flagrant abuses which characterize its security programs, and which have led to gross injustice in individual cases.

Congress, on the other hand, has shown an increasing concern as to whether the national security is advanced by the personnel security programs the government is now operating. During the past year several Congressional committees conducted hearings in which the deficiencies and unfairness of the various security programs were canvassed. And the Congress, with virtual unanimity, adopted Senator Hubert Humphrey's proposal to establish a bipartisan public commission to investigate the whole subject of personnel security investigation and adjudication. This measure was supported by both the AFL and the CIO. Conversely, the Congress failed to act on the so-called Defense Facilities Act by which the Administration sought carte blanche authority to establish a personnel screening program for workers in private industry. Both the AFL and the CIO opposed the enactment of this bill because it contained no provision to insure that its tests or procedures would be fair.

3. The Congress again failed to give the Administration the broad authority it has sought to tap private telephone wires. There is considerable support in Congress for a bill to authorize wire-tapping in cases where the national security is involved, subject to proper safeguards, such as the securing of a court order. The Administration, however, continues to ask for authority to tap wires at the discretion of the Attorney General. In consequence, it has met with well-deserved Congressional rebuff and has secured

no legislation; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, 1. We declare our determination to preserve and defend American democracy from any and all enemies, within or without. We state our conviction that our form of government can and must be defended without resort to totalitarian techniques and without infringement on the individual liberties which are the core of free government.

2. We express our gratification that improvements have been made in the procedures of Congressional committees, but urge both the Congress and the public to be alert against any resurgence of abuses which previously

have characterized certain committee investigations.

3. We commend the Congress for enacting the Humphrey resolution for investigation of government security programs by a bipartisan public commission. We urge the Commission which has recently been appointed that it inaugurate its study without delay. We suggest that the Commission devote special attention to the problem of industrial security. The Commission should include representatives of both labor and management in its discussions of this issue. In addition, the Commission should consider:

a. The scope of present and proposed security programs. We urge that the Commission give particular attention to determining whether security screening is necessary for jobs which do not involve policy-making

decisions or access to classified information.

b. The criteria employed in the programs. We are persuaded that more precise and definite criteria could and should be employed.

c. The procedures utilized in the programs. We believe that all

charges against individuals should be as concrete and meaningful as possible, not merely vague allegations. We suggest that the commission review the entire question of the use of information received from confidential informants. The Commission should also investigate the possibility that those charged with security violations should be confronted by any adverse witnesses.

4. The issues involved in wiretapping legislation are referred to the Executive Council for study and appropriate action.

CIVIL DEFENSE

Organized labor has supported civil defense from its very beginning in 1940. In the planning and programming of civil defense procedure, representatives of organized labor have been consulted. Representatives of organized labor have been called upon to help plan the protection of civilians and the restoration of industries and service facilities that may be destroyed or interrupted.

Since 1951 organized labor has expressed its official support of civil defense through a Labor Advisory Committee to the Federal Civil Defense Administration which is a committee broadly representative of organized labor. Meetings have been held from time to time with the Civil Defense Administrator for the purpose of expressing the position of organized labor on the problems of civil defense and its effect on the membership of organized labor.

Organized labor has long taken the position that civil defense is a Federal Government responsibility in exactly the same way as military defense. Organized labor believes that the Federal Government must take the leadership in civil defense if we are to avoid chaos in the event of war. Changes in the Civil Defense Public Law 920 are necessary in order to bring this about.

The development of nuclear weapons since 1950 makes this change absolutely necessary. The area of destruction possible with nuclear weapons is such that recognized geographic lines or political subdivisions cannot be recognized or defenses set up on such outmoded procedures. Organized workers who work in plants and live in critical target areas cannot be regulated on the basis of state, county or city lines. Leadership in developing civil defense programs for such industrial areas must of necessity come from plans developed by Federal Government authorities based on a knowledge of an enemy's ability to penetrate into such areas.

Organized labor has offered its resources and manpower to assist in the development of an adequate civil defense program. Organized labor insists that the civil defense program which it regards now as a nationwide survival program must be based on the American concept of equal partnership and equal responsibility for all who share equal danger; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, The reality of the situation and the grim dangers we face make it mandatory that the first convention of the united labor movement under the banner of the AFL-CIO call upon the Congress of the United States to pass a new Civil Defense Act which will provide that:

 The primary responsibility for civil defense rests with the federal government in the same manner as provided in the U. S. Constitution for the Common Defense of the Nation.

The Federal Government be responsible for giving direction, service and financial assistance to the states, counties and communities for developing civil defense plans in line with the federal responsibility.

The Congress through the proper committees authorize and appropriate sufficient funds for these purposes.

4. Congress authorize the Civil Defense Administrator to set up minimum standards of civil defense preparation and facilities to maintain them, such standards to be maintained subject to Civil Defense inspection in order to qualify for federal aid in any respect.

5. Congress be directed to provide proper protection, wages, and terms of employment, and workmen's compensation for civil defense workers who may be required to work or train in civil defense procedures prior to or after an attack on any community.

 Civil defense regional boundaries be revised to meet the reality of the nation's critical target area and fall-out potential as a result of the use of nuclear weapons.

Direction of the civil defense programs will not be abandoned or delegated to the armed forces in the event of martial law or enemy attack.

We believe that a civil defense program if approached and developed in this manner would solve the apathy that seems to prevail at this time on matters pertaining to civil defense.

CIVIL RIGHTS

The AFL and the CIO have always believed in the principle and practice of equal rights for all, regardless of race, color, creed or national origin. Each federation has separately played a distinguished role in the continuing struggle to realize for all Americans the democratic rights promised to all by the Constitution of the United States.

The AFL-CIO is similarly pledged and dedicated to promote and defend the civil rights of all Americans. Its Constitution declares that one of its objects and principles is

"To encourage all workers without regard to race, creed, color or national origin to share in the full benefits of union organization."

Another such object and principle of the new Federation:

"To protect and strengthen our democratic institutions, to secure full recognition and enjoyment of the rights and liberties to which we are justly entitled, and to preserve and perpetuate the cherished traditions of our democracy."

Our Constitution likewise provides for a "Committee on Civil Rights" which:

"shall be vested with the duty and responsibility to assist the Executive Council to bring about at the earliest possible date the effective implementation of the principle stated in this constitution of non-discrimination in accordance with the provisions of this constitution."

Thus the AFL-CIO stands dedicated no less than its predecessors to bring about the full and equal rights for all Americans in every field of life.

Discrimination in Employment

Both the AFL and the CIO have been pre-eminent in the campaign to secure equality of employment opportunity to all workers. This campaign has several different facets.

Both federations have in the past repeatedly supported and urged the enactment of Federal fair employment practices legislation, to prohibit discrimination in employment because of race, creed, color or national origin.

During the past year several states and municipalities have enacted fair employment practices laws or ordinances, but year after year the threat of filibuster by Dixiecrat Senators has prevented fair employment practices legislation from receiving any real consideration by the Congress. This determined minority has been able to impose its will upon the Congress because Senate Rule 22 invites filibuster by making cloture virtually impossible. The authority vested in the Rules Committee in the House of Representatives has likewise sometimes enabled that Committee to act as a roadblock to progressive legislation.

In 1953, President Eisenhower established the President's Committee on Government Contracts, a revival of a similar committee which had functioned under President Truman. The Committee's function is to coordinate and assist the federal departments and agencies in the enforcement of the clauses prohibiting discrimination in employment which all government contracts are required to contain. Representatives of the AFL and the CIO

were appointed and are serving as members of this Committee.

This Committee has developed a strengthened non-discrimination clause, which specifically prohibits discrimination by government contractors in all phases of the employment relationship, including hiring, placement, training, promotion, tenure of employment and compensation. Since a large percentage of business firms have contracts with government agencies, this clause, if vigorously enforced, can do much to eliminate discrimination in employment. Already, on the initiative of the labor members of the Committee and with the cooperation of the international unions involved, the Committee has made limited progress toward eliminating discrimination in a number of industries and areas where heretofore discriminatory practices had prevailed.

Discrimination in employment, promotions or lay-offs because of race, color, religion, or national origin violates both the legal and moral rights of those who are discriminated against. Already substantial progress in ending discrimination in employment has been made by the negotiation and diligent policing of non-discrimination clauses in collective bargaining

agreements. By giving full support to these clauses our affiliates can make a notable contribution toward the elimination of discrimination in a large sector of American industry. By creating appropriate internal machinery, our affiliates can assist in realizing these objectives.

Removal of Segregation in Public Facilities

One of the most notable triumphs for democracy in recent years is the progress which has been made toward ending segregation in public schools.

In 1954 the Supreme Court of the United States unanimously, and in clear and unequivocal language, declared that segregation in the public schools violates the United States Constitution. A year later it reiterated this decision, and ordered that those localities where segregation in the public schools still exists proceed with "all deliberate speed" toward its elimination. In response to these decisions of the nation's highest tribunal, a number of states and localities have already ended segregation in their public schools. The experience of these areas, and particularly of the District of Columbia with its large Negro population, has shown that there is no insurmountable obstacle anywhere to complying with the requirements of the nation's Constitution.

Unfortunately, however, some states and localities have sought to delay the end of segregation, and even to perpetuate it indefinitely, by a variety of flimsy and discreditable subterfuges and devices. We are confident that the courts will rebuke these tactics as rapidly as the cases come before them. Still worse, in one or two states the forces of racism and reaction are using the segregation issue as a rallying point for the creation of Ku Klux Klantype organizations, such as the White Citizens Councils which seek by the vilest and most brutal methods to deny all political and civil rights to America's Negro citizens.

There is every reason to expect that the Supreme Court will apply the doctrine of non-segregation to other types of public facilities, including all those which are supported or aided by federal or local taxes. It has already taken such action in the case of public parks. There have already been several lower court decisions to this effect, and even in the absence of such decisions, progress has been made in many communities in the elimination of racial barriers in trains and buses, public housing, public parks, and theatres and restaurants. The ICC has recently prohibited segregation on the nation's railroads and their facilities. In only a few years all branches of the Armed Forces have shifted from almost complete segregation to almost complete integration. Despite dire predictions of disaster, this change has been accomplished smoothly and without incident; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, 1. The AFL-CIO declares its strong support for an effective and enforceable fair employment practices act. We urge the enactment of similar legislation by all states and cities that do not now have such laws on their books.

2. As an essential preliminary to the enactment of civil rights legislation, and particularly of a fair employment practices act, we urge that the rules

be so amended that the will of the Congress may not be stultified by a recalcitrant minority. Rule 22 should be changed to permit a majority of Senators present and voting to limit and close debate.

3. Our affiliates should see to it that employers with whom they deal who hold federal contracts adhere to the letter and spirit of the non-discrimination clause required in government contracts. In addition, our affiliates should seek to have non-discrimination clauses included in every collective bargaining agreement they negotiate.

4. The AFL-CIO wholeheartedly supports the decisions of the Supreme Court outlawing segregation in the public schools. We urge all of our affiliated state and local bodies to work with other liberal forces in their communities to facilitate a peaceful and effective transition to an unsegregated American educational system. We urge the Administration to utilize the full powers of the federal government to frustrate and punish unlawful attempts to block implementation of the Supreme Court's decision.

5. We urge the Congress to enact legislation making lynching a federal crime, and to invalidate state laws requiring the payment of a poll tax as a prerequisite to voting.

ECONOMIC POLICY

The healthy functioning of our economic system is of paramount concern to American workers. Workers know that a high level of employment and a constantly improving standard of living cannot be achieved without a sound and growing economy. When the economic system falters, workers are the first to suffer from the cutbacks in production, resulting layoffs, and rising tides of unemployment.

Since World War II, the American economy has shown an amazing vitality. Although our nation, has had to absorb the impact of two recessions, in 1949 and 1954, neither of these temporary setbacks has led to a general catastrophe similar to that of the 1930's.

Organized labor is proud of the American economy and the role which unions have played in helping it achieve its present high level of production. By their pressure for improved wages, unions have succeeded in winning continuing advances in living standards for American workers. The nation's rising level of wages has contributed to the rapid expansion of workers' ability to buy the products of their labor.

Organized labor has likewise taken the lead in urging the federal government to assume a more positive responsibility for the nation's economic growth and stability. In the past 20 years, such government measures as those dealing with labor standards, taxation, social security, and housing, enacted at the urging of our labor movement, have introduced a greater degree of stability into our economic system. The passage of the Employment Act of 1946 providing for government efforts to "promote maximum employment, production and purchasing power" and the acceptance by both political parties of the obligations imposed by this Act, testify to the signifi-

cant change that has taken place in the federal government's role in economic affairs.

The economic situation we face today is quite different from that of a year ago. General economic activity has increased substantially since the fall of 1954, when increased consumer spending began to lift the levels of output and sales out of the recession. Trade union strength together with economic and social legislation, had helped reduce the impact of the 1954 downturn and has contributed to the improvement in economic conditions of the past year.

The nation's total production of goods and services has risen over 9 percent since the spring of 1954, when the low-point of the economic downturn was reached. This increase in output, one of the largest in recent years, stands as a concrete demonstration of the nation's capacity for continued

economic growth.

A substantial expansion of consumer credit and mortgage debt, combined with a rise in inventories, has helped sustain the great advances in

production and sales during the past year.

The gains of the 1955 recovery have not been distributed evenly among all groups in the population. Between the first nine months of 1954 and the same period of 1955, farm income has dropped 10 percent. Compensation of employees has increased 6 percent in that period. Corporate profits, however, have risen 28 percent and stockholders' dividends, which increased during the downturn last year, have risen by 8 percent. Business failures—among small businesses, for the most part—remain high.

The improvement in employment has lagged considerably behind the rise of total production. The number of non-farm jobs, in the third quarter of 1955, was still below the peak levels reached in 1953, before the downturn started. Manufacturing jobs are still almost half a million below the 1953

level.

Despite the general improvement in economic activity, substantial unemployment has persisted in many communities, particularly those in which coal mining, textile manufacturing and railroad repair shops are located. Only a few days ago, the Labor Department reported that in 93 labor market

areas, 6 percent or more of the labor force was unemployed.

The lag of employment behind the sharp increase in output during the past year reflects a substantial rise in productivity, which has tended to reduce production costs and to increase profit margins. In addition, during the year, several major sections of American industry seized the opportunity presented by the recovery in business conditions to raise prices of their products by an amount far higher than justified by increased costs. This failure by business to exercise reasonable restraint in setting prices can seriously endanger sound and balanced economic progress.

American corporations already have profited more than handsomely from the economic recovery. Corporate profits, after taxes, in the first nine months of 1955 were 28 percent greater than in the same period of last year. Dividend payments to stockholders, which were rising during the economic downturn in 1954, continue to increase at a marked rate.

Business failures, especially of smaller firms, however, have continued at surprisingly high levels, considering the over-all prosperity of business enterprise. In September, there were 822 business failures, compared with 819 in the same month of 1954, 686 in September 1953, and 539 in September 1952.

With both the productivity and the size of the labor force rising, continued economic expansion is essential to attain full employment, production and purchasing power. While the economy as a whole is operating at a high level of activity, dangerous weaknesses in some of the economy's vital areas are discernible.

A major weakness in the current economic picture is the continuing decline in farm income. Net farm income in the first nine months of the year was 10 percent below the same period of 1954 and was at a yearly rate of 26 percent below 1951.

Some of the forces that lifted economic activity so sharply in the past year seem now to have slowed down. Residential construction, which remained strong during the 1954 downturn, and provided part of the basis for the 1955 pick-up, is leveling off. Automobile production in 1956, according to many observers, may decline by as much as 10 percent below 1955.

With the expected easing off of the rate of growth in automobile and residential construction, other key areas must develop substantially to serve as a base for a continued upward impetus for the economy as a whole. No sector of the private economy appears ready to provide a stimulus of the magnitude offered by auto and residential construction in the past year. This gap in economic growth underlines the importance of both private and government economic policy for the months ahead.

Unfortunately, there is a serious question whether the current policies of the federal government will produce conditions required to sustain economic growth in the months ahead. The Administration seems more interested in tilting with the windmill of inflation by increasing interest rates than it is in creating the environment necessary for economic expansion. While we recognize the monetary policy is a legitimate tool for stabilizing the economy, it is merely one among many weapons in the arsenal of economic programs. Moreover, unless used with extreme caution and precision timing, monetary measures can boomerang against the expansion of the economy and precipitate the economic decline they are intended to prevent. Thus, during the past summer the Federal Housing Administration and Veterans Administration increased down payments and cut the time period for mortgage payments. This had the effect of reducing housing construction, particularly of lower-priced homes; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, In the coming months, both private and government action will be needed to maintain economic growth and to sustain full employment levels in the years ahead. Such action should include the following:

1. Free collective bargaining must be encouraged by the federal, state and local governments. Reasonable wage and fringe-benefit improvements should be agreed upon at the bargaining table to enable wage and salary earners to share adequately in the fruits of industrial progress. Wherever feasible, provisions such as guaranteed employment plans should be nego-

tiated to promote stability of workers' incomes and to eliminate unnecessary

fluctuations in employment.

2. The federal government's tax policy must be revised to strengthen consumer buying power, especially among low and middle income groups, and to eliminate tax law loopholes that grant special privileges to wealthy families and corporations. Tax revisions should be made as soon as possible. State and local tax systems should also be revised to establish tax structures based more largely upon ability to pay.

3. Low-income families—whose earnings are less than \$3,000 a year .—require special attention. The federal legal minimum wage should be extended to millions of low-paid workers who now lack its protection, and the minimum rate, raised to \$1.00 an hour by the past session of Congress, should be further increased to at least \$1.25. The inadequate coverage and minimum wage standards under state laws should be improved without

further delay.

4. Congress should enact a specific program of special assistance to areas of persistent economic distress. It is the obligation of the federal government to assist these areas back to economic health. The government should discourage the continued pirating of plants and job opportunities by unscrupulous politicians and business associations—to prevent the spread of further distress in the older industrial centers.

5. The inadequate unemployment compensation system must be modernized. Congress and state legislatures must substantially increase both the amount and duration of unemployment compensation payments. Harsh dis-

qualification provisions in the state laws must be removed.

6. The Social Security Act should be improved to raise old age and survivors' benefit payments to an adequate level of living requirements and to provide adequate protection against the hazards of long-term and temporary disability. A national health program should be adopted, including national health insurance as part of the social security system and with full reserva-

tion of free choice of doctors and patients.

7. Two million new housing units a year should become the national housing goal. Interest rates on home loans must be reduced to meet the housing needs of families whose earnings are between \$3,000 to \$6,000 a year. A government program is required to stimulate the construction of new housing for middle income groups. Public housing construction should be substantially increased to provide adequate housing for low-income families.

8. The continuing decline of farm income must be halted. Farm programs—such as price supports, conservation, low-cost credit and rural electrification and telephone service—should be improved to strengthen the income position of the family farmer, while making it possible to increase the consumption of agricultural products.

9. Low-interest loans, under liberal terms, are necessary to encourage business and farm investment, particularly for small businesses, as well as

to sustain high levels of residential construction.

In addition, the federal government must make a major contribution to

economic growth by reducing the backlog of pressing public needs. Public services have been in a state of neglect for many years, despite the need for continuing improvements and expansion to meet the needs of a growing population. The sad state of our schools, hospitals and roads, as well as other public service facilities, indicates the urgent requirement for a vast program of improvement and growth. The federal government should start on a program of expanded federal aid to education, health facilities and roads, through direct federal programs, as well as grants and loans to states and local governments. Since many states have legal limits on the amount and type of borrowing, legislation should be adopted to enable the federal government to make special loans and grants to the states and local communities to get their much-needed programs under way. A public works program should be viewed as a continuing one, to keep the structure of society strong; in periods of economic decline, such programs should be accelerated without long delays.

DISTRESSED AREAS AND INDUSTRIAL MIGRATION

Although production and employment reached record levels during 1955, many American communities failed to share in the general prosperity.

Of the 149 major labor market areas in the United States, 26 were classified last September by the U. S. Department of Labor as suffering from a substantial labor surplus. In addition, 94 smaller areas also had a substantial labor surplus, that is 6 percent or more of the total labor force was unemployed.

Even of more serious consequences, in many of these areas unemployment is not only high, in some cases in excess of 12 percent, it also has been of long duration and no relief is expected in the foreseeable future. These are the "chronically distressed" areas and there are more than 50 of them in the United States.

The problem of chronic unemployment is not new. In the past it was largely associated with the gradual decline of areas in which the depletion of minerals and other resources was occurring. Today, however, the causes are more complex and the impact upon the affected communities and upon the nation is far more severe.

In modern times technological innovation, shifting product demand, and changing competitive factors, as well as raw material exhaustion, lead to shutdowns and drastically reduced operations in many industries and in all parts of the country.

In a number of instances, the depressed areas are the result of the movement out of the locality of particular firms and industries. Upon investigation many of the affected unions have found that these migrating firms have left their locality not for sound economic reasons, but because of special financial inducements that were offered them in their new location.

These special attractions have been of two types: (a) special financial subsidies in the forms of free plants or equipment, tax exemptions or payments, reduced utility rates, and the like, or (b) more concealed types of

subsidies in the form of lower wage rates, open hostility to unionism, and a lower level of labor standards legislation. In effect, the use of these subsidies has seriously dislocated the nation's economy, caused widespread unemployment, and needlessly disrupted the pattern of industrial development.

The problem of chronic area unemployment predominates in, but it is not limited to, textile, coal mining, and railroad centers. Wherever and whenever a facility is closed or its output is sharply curtailed, and no alternative employment exists in the area, an economic calamity confronts the affected locality.

In earlier times communities were often forewarned of an impending employment decline by the visible exhaustion of natural resources. Furthermore, the affected populations were generally small and often transient.

The chronically distressed area of 1955, on the other hand, has at its center an established city of homes, churches, schools, hospitals, commercial structures, and all of the other facilities essential to urban living. For years, and sometimes for generations, families have lived and worked there and invested their savings to create a modern community.

We cannot solve the surplus-labor problem of places like Lawrence, Terre Haute, Scranton, Charleston, Duluth, and Providence—or of substantially smaller ones—by telling the people to "pack up and go." The teacher, the doctor and storekeeper, as well as the wage earner, have deep roots in their home communities and a mass exodus is not the answer.

A valiant local effort has already been made by many stricken communities to find employment for their displaced workers. These local "bootstrap" operations, however, have seldom achieved their objectives. Outside aid is clearly needed.

Surely the entire nation has a stake in helping the hundreds of thousands of our fellow citizens who live in distressed areas. Americans have always had a reputation for their responsiveness to human need wherever it exists. Besides, the creation of suitable employment for displaced workers would add millions of dollars to our national output while at the same time, millions would be saved by eliminating the social cost of idleness.

When Congress passed the Employment Act of 1946, it pledged all the resources of the federal government to the battle for maximum employment. In seeking to achieve this goal, surely the federal government must recognize and deal with unemployment as a local problem and not merely as a national one; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, The AFL-CIO calls upon the federal government to utilize all of its resources and to work unceasingly—in cooperation with labor, industry, the states, and the affected local governments—to alleviate chronic area unemployment in the United States.

Federal assistance should include the establishment of a central coordinating agency to assist distressed areas, and the inauguration of a comprehensive program of technical aid, public contract priorities, loans and tax amortization benefits for new and expanding enterprises, public works grants, vocational retraining and supplementary compensation for displaced work-

ers. This program should be geared exclusively to the needs of substantial labor-surplus areas and its benefits must be specifically denied to any employer who undertakes to close or curtail his operations in one community in order to seek special advantages in another.

Furthermore, federal action is necessary to discourage plant piracy—a practice which leads to the creation of distressed communities. The most important first step to be taken is to remove the federal tax-exempt status that now applies to interest received from municipal bonds, the proceeds of

which are used to build plants for runaway employers.

Additional federal and state legislation required to meet the problem of subsidized industrial migration includes an expanded Fair Labor Standards Act, a strengthened Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act, and improved state labor legislation.

TAXATION AND BUDGET POLICY

Tax policy becomes increasingly important as the federal government continues to assume a major role in the economic life of the country. Budget problems, as well as economic conditions, must be carefully considered in determining the composition of an adequate and equitable tax program. Our federal government has assumed perhaps the most serious domestic and foreign responsibilities in its history. Of necessity, the present requirements for heavy expenditures, in turn, mean a heavy burden of taxation must be borne by all the American people.

Organized labor recognizes the necessity for these high taxes. The nation's wage earners do not shirk their responsibility for paying their fair share of these taxes. They insist, however, that the nation's tax system as a whole must be fair and equitable to all, regardless of level or source of in-

come.

Our tax system has been built largely upon the principle that taxes should be levied according to the individual's ability to pay. Organized labor fully supports this basic principle of taxation. In recent years, however, Congress has weakened the progressive character of the personal income tax schedule by enacting tax-escape provisions favoring certain groups of taxpayers.

The most flagrant example of tax legislation for special interest groups was the tax revision bill enacted in 1954. The most important effect of this legislation was to reduce taxes upon the very small minority of taxpayers who receive the overwhelming proportion of dividends from stocks. Taxes on corporations, for all practical purposes, were reduced without cutting the tax rates by altering the method of calculating depreciation. The few minor concessions granted to a few taxpayers in the low- and middle-income brackets were palliatives, which did not offset the billions of dollars of relief given to corporations and wealthy stockholders. Earlier this year, an unsuccessful effort was made in the Congress to reverse this trend.

Longstanding loopholes and escape clauses continue to weaken the progressive character of our tax structure. Wealthy taxpayers do not really pay the high tax rates applicable to their incomes because of these escape

mechanisms. As a result, more and more of the burden of tax payments is placed on the shoulders of those least able to pay. The trend of weakening the progressive character of our tax structure must be reversed; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, The AFL-CIO and its affiliated unions will fight vigorously to reverse the trends toward regression in our tax structure. Equity in our tax structure requires certain tax changes. Some will increase revenue; others will mean a loss of revenue. But, on balance, the acceptance of the following tax program will not result in an over-all loss in revenue, and will establish a more equitable distribution of the tax burden:

- 1. First priority on tax cuts should be given to the following measures:
 - a. Reduction in excise taxes below present levels.
- b. Increase in individual income tax exemptions from the present level of \$600 per person.
- c. Reduction in the 20 percent rate for at least part of the first \$2,000 of taxable income.
- 2. Congress should continue for at least another year the corporate income tax rate of 52 percent, which is scheduled to revert to 47 percent on April 1, 1956. Consideration should be given to easing the tax burden on small business by some such means as changing the two component rates of the corporate tax structure. We now have a 30 percent normal rate and a 22 percent rate on all income above \$25,000. This provision could be changed by applying a normal rate of 25 percent and a 27 percent rate on all income above either the present exemption level of \$25,000 or perhaps even a \$50,000 or \$100,000 exemption level. The total rate would remain 52 percent, but it would be more equitable for small business.
- 3. To close the many loopholes and escape clauses in our tax structure and to obtain additional revenue, Congress should take the following steps:
 - a. Repeal the special tax relief granted to dividend income by the Revenue Act of 1954.
 - b. Repeal the new depreciation provision of the 1954 Revenue Act.
 - c. Eliminate the advantage given married couples and heads of households by the income-splitting tax provision.
 - d. Repeal excessive depletion allowances.
 - e. Tighten the capital gains tax structure by lengthening the holding period of long-range gains and increasing the rate considerably.
 - f. Require withholding taxes on the payment of dividends and interest.
 - g. Eliminate the family partnership provisions which are designed to reduce individual income taxes.
 - h. Eliminate stock option privileges designed to circumvent the payment of taxes.

- i. Tighten the estate and gift tax structure by eliminating life estate provisions and reducing the total level of exemptions.
 - j. Repeal the tax exempt status of state and local bonds.
- k. Increase appropriations to permit stricter enforcement of our tax laws.
- 4. We oppose the enactment of any retail sales tax or any other type of general or specific tax on consumption, including the "manufacturers' excise tax."
- 5. We oppose any Constitutional amendment designed to place a top limitation on the federal government's right to tax individuals, corporations or states.

STATE AND LOCAL TAXES

The rapid rise in federal taxes over the last twenty years has focused the attention of most Americans on tax decisions made in Washington. The rapid increase in local and state expenditures emphasizes the need for adopting sound fiscal and tax policies in our state and local tax programs.

Since the end of World War II state and local tax collections have been rising continuously. From \$9 billions in 1945, they have soared to a total of more than \$23 billions in 1955. Total expenditures which approximated \$25 billions in 1953 are now close to \$30 billions. Moreover, current local and state tax revenues are inadequate to meet developing needs for services and facilities. State and local debt which stood at \$13.6 billions in 1946 now exceeds \$30 billions.

Furthermore, as federal tax collections within the last two years have been tending downward, the revenue needs of state and local governments have continued to go up. Vast un-met public needs for capital improvements, to meet the demands of not only a growing but shifting population, require a constant search for new tax sources by all state and local governments.

The rising burden of state and local taxes is increasingly being shifted to the shoulders of families with the least ability to pay. Families in the income groups below \$5,000 are paying a larger share of their income for local and state taxes than families in the income groups above that figure.

Under our federal tax structure, a substantial portion of revenue comes from progressive income taxes. Almost 60 percent of all state tax revenues, on the other hand, comes from general and selective sales taxes imposed upon all consumers. On the local level, almost 90 percent of the tax revenue comes from property levies. More and more municipalities are now instituting supplementary sales and payroll taxes which are combining to make the over-all tax system even more regressive.

State and local difficulties in securing necessary revenue have been complicated by the following factors:

 The property tax has been permitted to disintegrate. A declining portion of total state and local taxes relative to income in most states from 1932 to 1950 has come from property taxes. More recent increases in property tax revenue during the past several years have been confined largely to a relatively few states.

- 2. The adoption of sales taxes and other consumer taxes have thrown a disproportionate share of the tax load on low income taxpayers.
- With few exceptions, states have adopted inadequate personal and corporation income taxes.
- State and local legal and constitutional restrictions on taxing power interfere with sound taxing policies.
- The unrepresentative character of state legislatures prevent the enactment of needed constitutional and legislative tax changes.
- The competition between states is used as an excuse to hold down taxes needed to provide necessary service.
- Certain poorer states, largely because of inadequate resources and income, fail to provide needed state and local services.

The wage and salary earners of America have always borne a tremendous portion of the cost of public services. The fifteen million members of the AFL-CIO will gladly continue to bear their just share. We seek no tax avoidance for ourselves.

In the long run, at both federal and state levels all taxes must be paid from income. Progressive, graduated taxes—based on income after reasonable deductions for dependents and other legitimate reasons—must fairly reflect ability to pay.

Tax reform is a long and arduous task. The efforts to withstand the growth of sales and payroll taxes, to ultimately eliminate existing ones and to make our property tax systems more equitable, is a long range undertaking. Yet this is a duty the American labor movement cannot ignore if social justice is to be achieved; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the AFL-CIO urges all of its affiliated unions to intensify their efforts to secure a more just and equitable system of taxation in all states and localities.

Enactment of tax measures and grant-in-aid programs at the national level are needed to develop a greater degree of local-state-federal coordination through the use of the federal taxing power and credit that is not available to states and local communities.

WAGE-HOUR AND WALSH-HEALEY ACTS

Perhaps the outstanding achievement in domestic legislation of the first session of the 84th Congress was the increase in the federal minimum wage from 75 cents to \$1.00. The \$1.00 minimum was passed over the objections of the Administration and its spokesmen in both Houses of Congress.

It was not a complete victory. Organized labor, although very few organized workers in the country were in a position to gain directly, called upon Congress to enact a \$1.25 minimum which was fully justified by increases in living costs, productivity and the general wage level. No action was taken in the last session to extend coverage of the Fair Labor Standards

Act to the millions who are not now protected. The sub-minimum wage rates in Puerto Rico were left unchanged. Despite all this, the enactment of a \$1.00 minimum constitutes a major step forward.

In testimony presented to both Houses of Congress, AFL and CIO spokesmen called upon the Congress to take action which would bring the completely unrealistic minimum wage of 75 cents up to a more appropriate level.

President Meany, in presenting the AFL's case for a \$1.25 minimum, told the Congress that part of America's job "is to make sure that all Americans have a decent chance to share the abundance all of us are creating. We fail in this part of the job as long as the much-vaunted American standard of living is denied to any group of Americans."

President Reuther summarized the CIO's case for a \$1.25 minimum by declaring: "It is morally right because there is no excuse for the payment of sweatshop wages in an era of atomic energy and automation. It is economically sound because an expanding economy requires an ever-rising

consumer income to match our ever-rising productive power."

The Administration, which failed to make any recommendations in 1953 and 1954, finally endorsed an increase in the minimum—but to only 90 cents an hour. This would have done no more than adjust the 75-cent minimum for the increased cost of living since 1949. It would have meant no recognition of the tremendous productivity gains in the American economy and the general wage advances won by organized labor. Despite impressive evidence justifying a higher minimum, and despite improvement in the general economic picture during the course of the year, the Administration stood firm and did not yield from its 90-cent position.

The stubbornness of the Administration and the short-sighted belief of many Congressmen that a higher minimum would be harmful, made it impossible to reach labor's full objective. But enactment of the \$1.00 minimum, despite Administration opposition, is a tribute both to the leadership of the Congress and the tremendously effective work done by organized

labor back home.

Unfortunately, no action was taken to extend the benefits of the law to workers now denied its protection. After the retail lobby testified before the Senate Labor Committee, the Administration withdrew even its inadequate proposal for extension of coverage which it had made earlier in the year. Under this proposal, less than 2 million employees working for interstate chain stores would have been brought under coverage. When the Administration pulled back from this modest proposal, it became impossible to obtain extension of coverage.

Less than one-half of the nation's wage earners are now given the protection of the Fair Labor Standards Act. Individual states cannot prescribe adequate minimum wages for plants manufacturing for an interstate market without putting their industries at a competitive disadvantage. Only the Congress can take meaningful action in this field. In 1956, extension of coverage to millions of additional workers will be a major legislative objective of organized labor. The Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare has promised that its Subcommittee on Labor, under the Chairman-

ship of Paul Douglas (D., Ill.), will hold early hearings on extension of coverage. It is hoped that the House Education and Labor Committee will take similar action.

Under the present Fair Labor Standards Act, the statutory minimum does not apply to Puerto Rico. Instead, industry committees determine individual rates for the respective industries. This practice has not worked well. Wide wage differentials have become wider year by year. To meet this situation, the Senate last year included in its bill a provision which would have raised all existing Puerto Rican rates by a modest amount. The House refused to take similar action and, as a result, the final bill did not raise the minimum wage for Puerto Rico. In 1956, it is to be hoped that the Congress will take the necessary action to lift the minimum wage rates in Puerto Rico to more realistic levels. The economic development of Puerto Rico must not and cannot depend upon a low-wage structure.

Another year has passed without action being taken to correct the damage which has been done by the Fulbright Amendment to the Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act. It is this amendment which has prevented enforcement of the few wage determinations which have been made in recent years.

The Walsh-Healey Act should be amended: (1) to make clear the authority of the Secretary of Labor to issue minimum wage determinations on an industry-wide basis, (2) to make clear the application of the Act to all articles actually purchased by the government on specific contracts, whether or not available in the open market, and (3) to revise the Fulbright Amendment to prohibit the issuance of injunctions suspending the effectiveness of wage orders pending litigation.

With the increase in the minimum wage, it becomes particularly essential that the Labor Department be given adequate appropriations for careful enforcement of the Fair Labor Standards Act as well as the Walsh-Healey Act.

Dramatic advances in improved technology, such as automation and atomic energy, have meant and will continue to mean tremendous increases in productivity. These advances make it both economically feasible and desirable to consider the reduction of the work week. The Congress should give the earliest possible consideration to amendments to the Fair Labor Standards Act to provide for a shorter work week; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, 1. International unions, state bodies and local organizations are commended for the effective work done in the past year to assure the enactment of the \$1.00 per hour minimum wage.

- Congress is called upon to take further action to improve our wage laws. Specifically, we call upon it:
 - a. As a matter of first priority, to extend the full protection of the Fair Labor Standards Act to all workers in industries engaged in or affecting interstate commerce.
 - b. To increase Puerto Rican wage rates promptly and substantially so that the mainland level may be achieved at the earliest possible date.

c. To raise the minimum wage to at least \$1.25 an hour as soon as practicable.

d. To revise the Public Contracts Act, to restore that Act's effective-

ness and utility.

e. To provide adequate funds for the enforcement of the Fair Labor Standards Act and the Public Contracts Act.

f. To amend the Fair Labor Standards Act and Public Contracts Act to provide for a shorter work week.

FARMER-LABOR UNITY

Since its beginning the American labor movement has sought to befriend and to aid the farmer, whether he works as an agricultural wage

earner, a tenant, or on his own land.

It is only natural that organized labor should have a feeling of kinship toward those who work so hard to raise the nation's food and fibre. Millions of AFL-CIO members grew up on farms. Many of their families and friends are still in agriculture. We of labor recognize that the needs and aspirations of farm families differ little from our own. We are fully aware, too, that farmers and city workers mutually depend upon each other and that one group cannot long prosper unless the other prospers too.

Because of these convictions, organized labor has consistently supported efforts to secure a just return and a better life for all who work in agricul-

ture.

We have actively supported farm cooperatives, rural electrification, an adequate system of price supports, farm credit aids, soil conservation, crop insurance, farmer coverage under social security, and other measures to raise rural housing and health and educational standards.

While many of these programs involve sizable public outlays which all taxpayers share, organized labor has supported and defended them as vital to the welfare of seven million farm operators and farm wage earners and their families. We recognize, in fact, that they are vital to the well-being of the entire nation.

Since the ordeal of the depression we have observed, with great satisfaction, the gradual improvement in rural living standards, as special efforts were applied to meet the complex and often changing problems of American agriculture. This hopeful upward movement reached its peak, however, in 1951. Since then the income of farm families has lagged far behind the forward strides taken by other parts of the economy.

This new misfortune has not come about because of any slackening of effort on the part of the American farmers. Both agricultural output and efficiency are now at record highs.

The fault lies beyond the farm. It is, rather, the failure to establish a federal program to divert a larger part of our agricultural abundance to millions of potential consumers at home and overseas who want and need it, and to provide a more just return to the American farmer who produces it.

During the last three years the responsibility for policies to meet the decline in farm income has rested squarely on the Administration in Washington. Yet, the Secretary of Agriculture and other Administration spokesmen are now telling the farmer that his plight is due to rising farm costs and the labor unions that supposedly bring them about.

This transparent alibi for the failure of his own agricultural policies surely does not elevate the stature of the Secretary of Agriculture or of the

present Administration.

Since January 1953, when he took office, the combined price of all of the items for which the farmer pays did not rise; actually it declined by $1\frac{1}{2}$

percent.

On the other hand, prices received by farmers have gone down 14 percent and total net agricultural income of farm operators, which includes all government payments, has dropped from almost \$15 billion in 1952 to a yearly rate of about \$10.5 billion today.

Sometimes it is argued that this tremendous farm income loss is really of little consequence since the number of farmers is also going down. Looked at on a "per farm" basis, however, the income drop since 1952 totals

a staggering 20 percent.

It is true that, while over-all farm production and living costs have gone down, certain costs to the farmer have risen; but this is in no sense the fault of organized labor.

Since 1952, the interest rate on the money farmers borrow has risen most of all, by over 16 percent. Yet this misfortune, which labor also shares, stems directly from the "hard money" policy of the Administration.

The price of farm machinery, trucks and autos is also up; but the prices for these products were raised completely out of all proportion to any increase in labor costs.

Under these circumstances, the trade unions of America cannot be held responsible for today's agricultural crisis. The cause lies elsewhere and the Secretary knows this full well; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, A soundly conceived program to raise the income of America's farm families is basic to the welfare of trade unionists. Similarly, our effort to raise city workers' standards, through collective bargaining and legislative action, ultimately helps to increase the consumption of food and fibre and thereby underpins and enlarges the market of American agriculture.

Labor eagerly desires and will vigorously support corrective measures to restore and to raise agricultural income. In particular, we wish to aid the family operated farm through measures to increase its efficiency and its income so that the independent farmer may effectively compete with corporation farming and may remain the dominant producer in American agriculture.

Surely this great nation must assure to its farmers, who have fed and clothed us through war and depression and flood and drought, a full partnership in the unlimited promise of the United States.

The AFL-CIO and its affiliated organizations shall dedicate themselves to building an unshakable bond of mutual understanding and cooperative action between farmers and workers, thereby to advance their common welfare and the well-being of the entire nation.

SURPLUS FOODS

There is at present the need for a greater distribution of surplus foods without the restrictions which the Department of Agriculture is apparently trying to put on the much-too-limited program now under way.

We in the American labor movement support in principle the surplus commodities distribution program and urge its extension, as we feel that through this program many communities across the country will be able to supplement the sometimes meager welfare assistance to the permanently disabled, the handicapped, and especially those on fixed incomes; for example, old age assistance recipients and those receiving pensions. Surplus foods will also help those who have exhausted unemployment benefits and are unable to find work as well as those who are seeking work and drawing unemployment compensation. The surplus foods program would be an immeasurable supplement to the aid given to dependent children programs.

We in the organized labor movement believe that this proposed extension of surplus commodities would help to bolster and strengthen the work of both the tax-supported welfare agencies and the many private health and welfare agencies in their job of helping to meet the unmet needs of many people.

We must make clear that we do not see in the surplus foods distribution program a final or even more than a temporary and partial solution to the over-all welfare problem. This type of program, we must point out, runs the great danger of being turned into a government subsidy for low standards of living. We believe that the basic solution to the problem of low-income families must be, not charity or welfare aid, but a more fundamental concern for proper economic measures which will insure better job opportunities and a higher level of income.

We recognize the surplus foods program only as a temporary and stopgap measure. We point out, too, that unless other steps are taken to remove the economic shortcomings which bring about the present need of these lowincome families through such measures as a higher minimum wage, an expanding economy to provide jobs for those now unemployed and a sound social security program, that the problem will be forever with us; now therefore, be it

RESOLVED, This convention goes on record as urging all affiliated unions and councils and central labor bodies to actively participate in the extension of the surplus foods distribution to all people in need. This convention also goes on record as urging the Congress of the United States to extend and enlarge the surplus commodities distribution program to include all people in need regardless of the cause of that need.

COOPERATIVES

For many years the American trade union movement has befriended and supported all genuine cooperative organizations in the United States. In many parts of the nation our own members have, in fact, provided the leadership which has resulted in the successful growth of these democratic and useful enterprises.

Often, when neither a private profit undertaking nor a public agency has been able to meet an urgent need, groups of people have themselves estab-

lished their own cooperative in order to fill the gap.

One of the most useful types of cooperatives is the credit union through which a group pools its own savings and then lends funds to its own members at a low interest rate. In recent years credit unions have grown spectacularly and hundreds of AFL-CIO unions have established them, thereby saving millions of dollars which otherwise would have been paid out to small loan companies which charge extortionately high interest rates. Besides, the credit unions earn a substantial return for their members in the

form of interest paid on their savings.

Encouraging gains are also being made in the field of cooperative health services despite the vicious attacks made on them by reactionary elements led by the American Medical Association. In cities like Philadelphia, St. Louis and New York, labor-operated health centers have expanded both in membership and services and provide the highest quality of medical care. In a number of other communities, AFL-CIO affiliates support and assist cooperative health plans which are meeting the highest standards at the lowest possible cost to the families participating in them. Everywhere we continue to be in the forefront of a vigorous campaign to protect the right of consumers to organize cooperative health centers of their own.

Taking a useful place alongside credit unions and cooperative health services there is a growing number of cooperative housing and insurance enterprises and other consumer cooperatives, all of them helping to bring closer together those who produce and serve on the one hand and those who consume on the other; as a result, highest quality goods and services are being provided at lower costs to hundreds of thousands of our members.

The growth of the cooperative movement, furthermore, not only increases the purchasing power of wages and salaries, but also is a powerful force in the battle against monopolistic elements in our economy. In addition, cooperative enterprises are an excellent means through which organized labor can unite with other groups in a joint effort to advance the public welfare.

Finally, since the cooperatives have traditionally supported the objectives of organized labor, their own collective bargaining practices have almost always led to the highest type of employer-employee relations; now, there-

fore, be it

RESOLVED, The AFL-CIO reaffirms its support for all genuine cooperatives and urges its affiliates to continue to give them all possible aid so that their growth will be assured and their benefits can be more broadly shared and enjoyed, but also maintain labor-management relations that carry out trade union principles.

GOVERNMENT STATISTICAL PROGRAMS

In collective bargaining negotiations and formulation of economic policies trade unions have increasingly turned to the statistical services of the federal government for information on wages, income levels, prices, profits, employment and unemployment, production, construction and housing developments, social security, productivity an a host of other economic trends.

Unfortunately, the federal agencies charged with providing these services are hampered by lack of sufficient funds. Therefore, they have often been unable to obtain and to make available to trade unions and other inter-

ested groups necessary statistical information.

Inadequate appropriations have particularly handicapped the U. S. Department of Labor, on which unions have relied most heavily for statistical

information; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, the AFL-CIO recommends that the Congress appropriate increased funds to permit needed expansion of government statistical services, especially those carried on by the U. S. Department of Labor, the Bureau of the Census, the Social Security Administration, the Federal Trade Commission, and the Securities and Exchange Commission.

We particularly hope that Congress will appropriate additional funds for the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics so that it can provide more complete information on employment and unemployment, wage and collective bargaining developments, productivity, housing and construction, and industrial

accidents.

OLD-AGE AND SURVIVORS INSURANCE, DISABILITY INSURANCE, AND PUBLIC ASSISTANCE

During the twenty years it has been in existence, the national system of old-age and survivors insurance has fully proved its worth. Most Americans are now contributing regularly to the trust fund, and over seven million persons are receiving benefits.

Our members are well aware, however, of serious limitations that remain in the OASI legislation. In spite of amendments which organized labor helped to secure in recent years, benefits are still too low, no insurance payments are made for permanent and total disability or temporary disability, and many workers do not receive any protection.

The Lehman-Dingell bill, which both the AFL and the CIO supported in 1954, would have substantially remedied these shortcomings.

The House this year passed a bill (H. R. 7225) which was supported by organized labor and which embodies important though restricted forward steps. It would initiate the payment of benefits to the permanent and totally disabled at age 50, with the same eligibility requirements now provided for freezing the pension rights of such disabled persons. For women, the bill would lower the qualifying age for OASI benefits to 62 years in recognition of the fact that many wives are younger than their husbands and that

older women have even greater difficulty than men in obtaining steady employment.

The House bill would likewise extend coverage to additional groups, including employees of the TVA and many self-employed professionals. It would continue benefits for disabled dependent children of beneficiaries after

age 18.

To finance these improvements, a one-half per cent contribution by employers and employees would be added to the schedule previously enacted. An advisory council on social security financing would be established to review the status of the trust fund in relation to the long-term commitments of the program. These provisions are consistent with the historic position of American labor in support of a social security system soundly financed on a long-term basis.

This House bill is now awaiting action by the Senate Finance Committee. Unfortunately, powerful groups, including the U. S. Chamber of Commerce and the American Medical Association, are planning a strenuous fight against these long-overdue changes, especially the provision for disability

benefits.

While labor has emphasized the development of rounded social insurance programs under which benefits are paid without a needs test, our unions have also favored improvements in the public assistance provisions of the Social Security Act designed to provide decent incomes for those not adequately reached through social insurance. In many states payments to the aged, dependent children, and other groups are pitifully small, and the terms for qualifying are too harsh. Proposals such as those of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce for eliminating Federal grants for public assistance overlook the common national interest in the health and welfare of old people. Some attention to the public assistance programs must be given by Congress this year because of the coming expiration of a special \$5 a month Federal grant; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, This Convention supports comprehensive expansion and improvement of the existing system of old-age and survivors insurance to provide adequate benefits as a matter of right to the aged, the permanently and totally disabled, and those suffering from temporary illness or accident.

The provisions for improving benefits should include the following:

- an increase in the wage base to keep pace with rising wage levels
 an annual increment of one-half of one per cent of the primary benefit for each year of contributions
- 3. a two per cent increase in the primary benefit for each year of continued employment beyond age 65

4. the inclusion of "tips" as wages.

The success of the OASI program and of other social insurance systems which provide disability benefits has amply demonstrated the practicality and value of such measures. We likewise favor use of OASI funds to aid in vocational rehabilitation of disabled persons so that they may become self-supporting.

We favor continuation of Federal grants for the public assistance programs, more adequate assistance payments to individuals on a basis consistent with human dignity and self-respect, and removal of harsh requirements with regard to eligibility and residence.

We shall continue our efforts to achieve adequate social security both through collective bargaining and through Federal and state legislation.

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE AND THE EMPLOYMENT SERVICE

In 1954, the conventions of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations both pointed out the serious defects of the present federal-state system of unemployment insurance. Affiliates were urged to undertake strenuous efforts to secure improvements in the great

majority of states where legislatures met in 1955.

We can report a certain measure of success, due in many states to constructive cooperation among the various labor groups. Unfortunately the continued opposition of organized employers to adequate protection, and other difficulties inherent in the state-by-state approach, continued to prevent improvements of the kind required for adequate protection of unemployed workers. Benefits are still too low, maximums put a restrictive ceiling on the amounts that can be received, duration is far too short, and harsh disqualification and eligibility provisions deprive many thousands of workers of all insurance benefits.

In too many cases, a rise in the maximum benefit could be obtained only by sacrifice in some other respect. In some states no advances whatever

were made.

Experience of the last year thus lends new weight to the contention of organized labor that federal action is required to build an adequate unemployment insurance program. Both the AFL and the CIO have long supported a national system of unemployment insurance that would provide sufficient incomes to unemployed workers throughout the nation, in place of the present fifty-one competing systems. Last year, both federations supported a federal bill which provided certain minimum steps towards the reconstruction of the unemployment insurance system. This bill included uniform national minimum standards as to benefit amounts, duration, eligibility requirements, and disqualification. It established a re-insurance fund as a source of grants-in-aid to states whose benefit reserves are in danger of insolvency. Further, it struck at the present unsound system of individual employer experience rating by permitting an alternative method by which states can reduce employer tax rates where such reductions are justified by the condition of benefit funds.

Recently many unions have negotiated collective agreements that provide guaranteed wages, supplementary unemployment benefits, and dismissal pay to provide more protection against unemployment. Many such agreements contemplate simultaneous receipt of unemployment insurance and the privately-negotiated benefits. This is a desirable objective, and it would be

most unfortunate if narrow provisions and rulings were to interfere with free collective bargaining and the development of a combined arrangement that will better protect millions of workers and promote a more liberal insurance

program for all wage earners.

The Federal Advsiory Council on Employment Security, a tripartite body established by law, has in recent years provided constructive advice to the Secretary of Labor on methods of improving unemployment insurance and the public employment offices. However, employer organizations have supported a bill to replace the tripartite body with separate consultative groups of labor and management. Provisions for tripartite advisory bodies in the states would also be eliminated.

The proposal by the Administration for basing old-age and survivors insurance benefits on annual reports of earnings, rather than quarterly reports as at present, likewise constitutes a threat to unemployment insurance. If quarterly reports by employers for OASI purposes are abolished, the drive of employers to substitute so-called request reporting for quarterly reports under the unemployment insurance laws will be strengthened. Such a change would work to the detriment of unemployment insurance claimants unless proper safeguards can be provided; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, This Convention supports a comprehensive overhauling and improvement of the unemployment insurance system. The ultimate answer to present shortcomings lies in the establishment of a single federal employment security system, with adequate benefits for all workers and a sound system of financing. "

Pending the establishment of such a system, we support federal legislation providing uniform minimum standards with regard to benefits, duration, eligibility and disqualifications, providing for re-insurance as a source of grants-in-aid to states, and permitting states to make flat-rate reductions in taxes in place of individual employer experience rating.

We support a coordinated national approach by the employment service

and the continuation and expansion of its various activities.

We oppose employer proposals for abolishing the tripartite Federal Advisory Council on Employment Security and similar state advisory bodies.

We favor repeal of the Reed amendments which will shortly result in automatic federal grants to the states, regardless of need, which can be used to supplement federal appropriations for employment security administration, thus undermining proper federal leadership without meeting essential requirements.

We urge the Secretary of Labor to enforce strictly the labor standards provisions of the unemployment insurance section of the Social Security Act, and to oppose all efforts by employer representatives to weaken or abolish the Federal Advisory Council on Employment Security and similar state advisory committees.

We urge affiliated unions to continue their efforts to improve the state unemployment insurance laws so that they will replace a higher percent of the individual's lost wages, so that maximums are realistic in terms of present wage levels, and so that harsh, restrictive provisions in regard to eligibility and disqualifications are removed.

We favor extension of coverage to all wage earners and the establishment of a system of unemployment insurance in Puerto Rico.

HEALTH PROGRAMS

Adequate health services must now be considered one of the necessities of life along with food, shelter and clothing. Yet millions of Americans are still denied the benefits of proper medical care and other health services. Among those who suffer most are many beneficiaries of old-age and survivors insurance.

Public funds invested in health programs are more than repaid by the

increased productivity and well-being of the population.

Organized labor has supported a national health program which would give all Americans access to the highest quality of medical care. In addition, our unions have made notable progress in the development of health centers and collective bargaining agreements providing health protection for our members. We have cooperated in community efforts by private and public agencies to provide more and better health services of many types. Labor representatives have served constructively on boards of voluntary health agencies and on many public bodies concerned with health problems.

In spite of remarkable achievements in medical science and in limited areas of activity, the national, state and local governments generally lag seriously behind their capacity to develop comprehensive activities essential for the maintenance of good health. Our union-negotiated programs are severely limited by the shortcomings of the public programs, especially by continuing shortages of medical personnel and facilities, with ever-rising costs. Our unions are also handicapped by the scarcity of nonprofit, direct service, prepayment medical plans, which make comprehensive services, including preventive medicine, available at reasonable charges.

Organized labor has favored many types of government action which would overcome these shortcomings and lead toward our ultimate goal of a comprehensive national health program, including national health insurance.

In the last year, the failure of the Eisenhower Administration to provide adequate leadership has had tragic results. The delay in rapid provision of a safe vaccine against polio arose partly from a narrow concept of the responsibilities of the Federal Government and inadequate staffing of the U. S. Public Health Service.

No constructive programs were advocated by the Administration for training more doctors, dentists, and all other types of medical personnel, or for assisting the development of direct service prepayment plans.

Administration budget requests for hospital construction, medical research, and many other health services were inadequate, and so are current appropriations, in spite of additions made by Congress. The Pure Food and Drug Administration and the Industrial Health Division of the U. S. Public

Health Service continue to furnish sad illustrations of the effects of the shortsighted economy drive of a business-minded Administration. The marine hospitals, which have provided care for seamen since 1798, have been preserved with difficulty.

At a time when organized labor has been trying to hold down medical costs and promote nonprofit arrangements covering all costs of comprehensive medical service, the Administration has been turning to the life insurance companies in developing legislation for health insurance for Federal employes. As originally introduced in Congress, these proposals threatened to shut out the voluntary nonprofit plans, and in other ways fell far short of the standards our unions in private industry have obtained or are seeking for their members.

The passage of a law for a nation-wide analysis of the problems of mental illness was the most notable health legislation, other than the polio vaccine program, enacted by Congress in 1955. But this accomplishment is limited in scope compared to the nation's vast needs.

In the past, the Committee for the Nation's Health, endorsed and supported by both the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, has served as a central agency for information and for cooperation between our organizations and others. It is desirable that the functions and structure of such a central clearing house be considered afresh, by the Social Security Committee, in the light of the current situation; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, The AFL-CIO, in recognition of the immensity of the problem of meeting the basic health needs of the nation, will renew organized labor's efforts to obtain more adequate health services through collective bargaining, through community activities, and through legislative efforts in Washington, in the states, and in cities and counties.

We call upon Congress to enact a comprehensive legislative program geared to the nation's needs and resources. Such a program would strengthen national, state, local and private agencies alike. It should include the following:

- Federal assistance to schools training doctors, dentists, nurses and medical technicians, in the form of grants for construction, equipment and maintenance of physical facilities, for student scholarships, and for research.
- 2. Expanded federal matching grants to states and local groups for the construction of hospitals, at least to the level of \$150,000,000 a year authorized under the original Hill-Burton Act, in addition to sums for special types of hospitals added by recent legislation.
- A program of federal aid, such as grants and low-interest loans, to further the development of non-profit, direct service, prepayment medical care plans, based on group practice.
- Expanded federal aid for medical research and for state and local public health units.

5. Expanded aid for maternal and child health services, and for pro-

grams for physically handicapped children.

6. Renewed efforts to develop a mental health program which will improve our mental hospitals, increase the facilities and services throughout the nation for care of the mentally ill, and provide for the training of psychiatrists and other mental health personnel.

7. Strengthening of other functions of the U. S. Public Health Service, with special attention to restoring and increasing of its activities for Pure Food and Drug Administration, for advancing of industrial health, and for providing of up-to-date maritime hospitals.

8. Hospitalization insurance for persons receiving old-age and sur-

vivors insurance benefits.

9. A national health insurance system which would make complete prepaid health protection available to all Americans, with contributions geared to income; assure high quality medical services, facilities and personnel in expanding quantity and quality; and at the same time provide free choice of doctors and patients, with control of medical decisions in the hands of the medical profession.

We urge our affiliated unions and central bodies to continue their efforts to improve state and local legislation so that more adequate health facilities and services may be available in all areas. We seek repeal of laws that have been sponsored by medical societies in many states to interfere with the formation of consumer cooperatives for health care. We support the addition of fluorides to water as an excellent preventive step against tooth decay.

We shall press for the continued improvement of our collective bargaining programs in the field of health, which provide immediate protection and could, to a substantial degree, continue to operate under the type of national health insurance which we support. We express special interest in the continued development of direct service prepayment medical plans, making

available to their members the advantage of group practice.

We favor more extensive, active and meaningful consumer participation in the determination of policies governing the operations of hospitals, medical service plans and other voluntary health agencies. Our objective is not mere token representation, but sufficiently extensive and active participation by labor and consumer spokesmen to improve the services these agencies render. It should be clear to our unions that labor representation on the board of an agency does not, in itself, mean endorsement by labor.

We recommend that the Social Security Committee consider the best means by which the AFL-CIO can cooperate with other groups interested in the development and promotion of programs to meet the health needs of

the nation.

HEALTH AND WELFARE PLAN ADMINISTRATION

In the development, through the process of collective bargaining, of plans designed to provide some measure of protection to the health and welfare of wage earners and their families, the labor movement is fulfilling its

historic role. Having been denied by the Government the comprehensive health insurance protection for the people of the Nation which organized labor has advocated for many years, trade unions have secured for their members the best protection available.

The task of administering and operating these programs has placed heavy, new responsibilities upon the shoulders of trade union officials. The funds involved must be regarded as the common property of the workers covered by these plans, for they have been paid for through labor performed in exchange. They must, therefore, be administered as a high trust for the benefit only of the workers covered. The trustees or administrators of health, welfare and retirement programs, whether union, management or joint, as well as all others exercising responsibility in connection with such programs, have the obligation to make sure that maximum benefits are provided for the money available, and that the highest ethical standards are observed and rigorously followed.

In the pursuit of their responsibilities as autonomous organizations in the direction of their internal affairs, it is incumbent upon each national and international union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations to take such steps as are necessary to protect the interests of its members in the operation of health and welfare programs, in the manner best suited to the particular problems and practices in its trade or industry. Where constitutional amendments or changes in internal administrative procedure are necessary to provide this protection. such amendments and changes should be undertaken at the earliest practicable time. They should be designed to provide national and international unions with the means and the authority to audit funds and apply remedies where there is evidence of a violation of ethical standards. To aid affiliated organizations in the performance of this responsibility, and as a guide to trade union officials engaged in the administration of health and welfare programs. a uniform code of ethical standards—in keeping with standards adopted separately heretofore by both the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations—should be adopted by the First Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations. These guides and standards should receive the widest distribution throughout the ranks of the trade union movement.

While unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations can, with the aid of these standards, be relied upon to keep their own houses in order, there are problems in other areas of the health and welfare field, and particularly in the area of commercial insurance practices, which require legislative action.

Now, Therefore, Be It Resolved:

1. In the administration of health and welfare plans, the following

principles should be observed:

(a) Where a salaried union official serves as employee representative or trustee in the administration of a health, welfare or retirement program, such service should be regarded as one of the functions expected to be performed by a union official in the normal course of his duties and not as an

"extra" function requiring further compensation, over and above his salary, from the welfare fund. Officials who already receive full-time pay from their union should not receive fees or salaries from a welfare fund.

(b) Union officials, employees, or any other persons acting as agent or representative of the union who exercise responsibility or influence in the administration of welfare programs or the placement of insurance contracts should be entirely free of any compromising personal ties, direct or indirect, with outside agencies—such as insurance carriers, brokers, consultants and others—doing business with the welfare plan. Such ties cannot be reconciled with their duty to be guided solely by the best interests of the membership in any transactions with such agencies. Any union official found to be involved in such ties to his own personal advantage, or to have accepted inducements, benefits or favors of any kind from such outside agencies, should be removed.

This principle should not be construed to prevent an outside relationship on the part of a union officer or employee where (i) no substantial personal advantage is derived from the relationship, and (ii) the concern or enterprise is one in the management of which the union participates for the benefit

of its members.

(c) Where any trustee—whether employer, employee or neutral—of employee of a health and welfare program is found to have received an unethical payment, the union should insist upon his removal and appropriate legal action against both the party receiving and the party making the payment, In addition, if an insurance carrier or agent is involved, action against the carrier or agent should be pressed before the state insurance authorities, with a view to the cancellation of the carrier's or agent's right to do business in the state.

(d) Complete records of the financial operations of welfare funds and programs should be maintained in accordance with the best accepted accounting practice. All welfare funds should be audited at least semi-annually by certified public accountants of unquestioned professional integrity, who should certify that the audits fully and comprehensively show the financial condition of the funds and results of the operation of these funds. All audit reports should be available to the membership of the union.

(e) There should be full disclosure and report to the beneficiares at least once each year by the trustees or administrators of welfare funds. Included in the report should be a detailed statement of receipts and expenses; all salaries and fees paid by the fund, to whom and in what amount such sums were paid, and for what service or purpose; a breakdown of insurance premium payments, if a commercial insurance carrier is involved, showing the amount of retentions, claims paid, dividends, commissions, and service charges and to whom the carrier paid such commissions and charges; a financial statement on the part of the insuring or service agency, if an agency other than a commercial insurance carrier is employed; and a detailed account of the manner in which the reserves held by the fund are invested.

(f) Prior to the initial establishment of the plan, the relative advantages of all of the alternative available methods of providing health and

welfare benefits should be fully explored, including self-insurance and the use of programs providing prepaid direct medical services where they exist or can be set up in the community, as well as the use of commercial insurance carriers. The objective should be to reduce operating expenses and non-benefit costs to the minimum consistent with the safety and security of the program, and to make available to the members the maximum in terms of actual prepaid health services (as distinguished from cash payments covering an unpredictable portion of actual medical bills) obtainable within the limits of the revenue of the fund.

(g) Where health and welfare benefits are provided through the use of a commercial insurance carrier, the carrier should be selected through competitive bids solicited from a substantial number of reliable companies, on the basis of the lowest net cost for the given benefits submitted by a responsible carrier, taking into consideration such factors as comparative retention rates, financial responsibility, facilities for and promptness in servicing claims, and the past record of the carrier, including its record in dealing with trade unions representing its employees.

The trustees of the fund should be required to state in writing and to report to the membership the specific reasons for the selection of the carrier finally chosen. The carrier should be required to warrant that no fee or other remuneration has been paid, directly or indirectly, to any representative of the parties in connection with the business of the fund.

- (h) Complete records of the claims experience should be kept so that a constant check can be maintained on the relationship between claims and premiums and dividends, and on the utilization of the various benefits. In the case of medical benefits, records and statistics should also be kept, where possible, showing the extent to which benefits paid out are sufficient to cover, or fail to cover, the costs and charges actually incurred by the members when they avail themselves of medical services.
- (i) The investment of welfare fund reserves in the business of any contributing employer, insurance carrier or agency doing business with the fund, or in any enterprise in which any trustee, officer or employee of the fund has a personal financial interest of such a nature as to be affected by the fund's investment or disinvestment, should be prohibited.

(This is not to be construed as preventing investment in an enterprise in which a union official is engaged by virtue of his office, provided (i) no substantial personal advantage is derived from the relationship, and (ii) the concern or enterprise is one in the management of which the union participates for the benefit of its members.)

(j) The provisions of the plan governing eligibility for benefits should be designed to include, as nearly as practicable, all workers on whose wages any substantial contribution has been paid, whether such contribution was withheld from their wages or made on their behalf by their employers. Waiting periods for eligibility should not be of such a length as to discriminate unfairly against some portions of the membership, to the benefit of others.

- (k) Every program should incorporate an adequate appeals procedure as a check against the arbitrary or unjust denial of claims, so as to afford the individual member a fair hearing and a sufficient opportunity to obtain redress where he feels his claim for benefits has been improperly rejected.
- 1. The duty of policing and enforcing these standards is shared by every union member, as well as by local, national and international officials. The best safeguard against abuses lies in the hands of a vigilant, informed and active membership, jealous of their rights and interests in the operation of health and welfare programs, as well as any other trade union program. As a fundamental part of any approach to the problem of policing health and welfare funds, affiliated unions, through education, publicity and discussion programs, should seek to develop the widest possible degree of active and informed interest in all phases of these programs on the part of the membership at large. International unions should, wherever possible, have expert advice available for the negotiation, establishment and administration of health and welfare plans, and should provide training for union representatives in the techniques and standards of proper administration of welfare plans.

2. Legislation should be enacted by the Congress of the United States, requiring annual reports and public disclosure of the financial operations of health, welfare and pension plans, including the details of the related financial transactions of insurance carriers and/or service agencies. Such legisla-

tion should contain the following essential elements:

(a) The law should be adopted and administered at the Federal level rather than through a multiplicity of State agencies. Parties responsible for the operation of health and welfare plans should be required to file reports with the Federal government, regardless of whether or not they also file with a State governmental agency. As an expression of the public interest in the operation of tax-exempt programs and so as to avoid the complexity of determining whether such plans are intrastate or interstate in character, the reporting and disclosure requirement should be made a function of the Federal tax power.

(b) The filing and disclosure requirement should apply to all types of group health, welfare and pension plans, including those administered uni-

laterally as well as those administered jointly.

(c) The party or parties responsible for the administration of a health, welfare or pension plan should be required to report the financial details of plan operations annually, on a standard form, with the Internal Revenue Service. The report should disclose, in adequate detail, the operations, transactions, expenses and investments of the fund. If a private insurance carrier is employed, the report should be accompanied by a statement from the carrier covering the particular account involved and containing a breakdown of premiums and retentions, showing the amount of dividends or rate credits paid or due, claims experience, the amount of commissions and service charges, and to whom those commissions and charges were paid.

The law should provide criminal penalties for non-filing or false filing.

While the Internal Revenue Service should not be granted the power to withhold approval of a health and welfare plan so as to delay its establishment or to require approval in advance of establishment as a condition of tax exemption, as a result of this legislation, the Service would be able to use the information contained in these reports as an aid to its normal enforcement operations.

(d) The party or parties responsible for filing these reports shall also, and at the same time, file a certified duplicate copy with the Department of Labor. It shall then be the duty of the Department of Labor to make these reports freely available on request to parties authorized to receive them—which shall include individual employees and their collectve bargaining representatives, authorized government agencies and committees of Congress, and, State insurance departments. It shall also be the duty of the Department of Labor to undertake and to make public analytical studies and statistical summaries of the information derived through these reports.

The proposed statute should spell out in detail the information to be sought in a disclosure form with authority lodged in the Secretary of Labor to prescribe appropriate rules. In addition, since the whole field of health, welfare and pension plans is still in such a fluid state, the law should require the establishment of an advisory committee to meet at regular intervals and to be composed of representatives from the important interest groups including organized labor. The purpose of the advisory committee would be to provide guidance to the government in the formulation of the disclosure schedule and in the administration of the Act.

- 3. Legislation should be sought in the several States so as to achieve the following objectives:
- (a) State insurance laws should be amended so that in cases where an agent or broker is not employed and no such services are rendered, the requirement that commissions must nevertheless be paid to an agent or retained by the insurance carrier is eliminated.
- (b) Where the services of agents or brokers are employed, the payment of excessive commissions and service charges should be banned. A code of standards governing commissions and charges should be adopted and enforced by state insurance commissions.
- (c) State regulatory bodies governing insurance operations should be made more representative of the public and consumer interest. At present state insurance commissions and departments tend to reflect and to be dominated by the special interests of the insurance industry.
- (d) State insurance commissions and departments should be required to assume and exercise a greater degree of responsibility for the integrity, competence and character of agents and brokers who are licensed by the state. At the present time, such a license is virtually meaningless and offers no assurance to the public that a person having a license is reliable or subject to any really effective checks, surveillance or standards. As a minimum step, as a requirement for securing and holding a license, the records and accounts of agents and brokers should be subject to regular and thorough

inspections, and they should be required to file regular reports with state insurance commissions disclosing and identifying every fee and commission received in connection with a group policy, issued as a part of a health and welfare plan, and the nature and purpose of expenditures made in the course of their business operations. The charging of excessive fees, commissions, or expenses and the making of unethical or improper payments to secure or to hold an account should result in the prompt revocation of the license to operate.

(e) Laws which, in a number of states, now stand in the way of the development of consumer-sponsored, nonprofit medical service prepayment plans should be repealed, so as to make constructive alternatives to limited cash indemnity insurance plans more generally available to trade unions

and other consumer groups.

(f) Laws which, in a number of states, prohibit employers from withholding any part of wages earned by an employee (except taxes) without written authorization, should be amended so as to exempt from such prohibitions deductions made for health and welfare plans developed through collective bargaining by employers and bona fide trade unions.

(g) The fiduciary obligations generally applicable to trustees under state law should be applicable to trustees of health and welfare plans. If additional legislation is necessary to bring about the result, it should be enacted.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION

American workers injured on the job are today bearing not only the pain and suffering caused by their injuries, but also a shocking proportion of the resulting economic burden. Despite the intention of workmen's compensation legislation to restore to injured workers at least two-thirds of the wage losses due to industrial injuries, this intention is violated in every state in the United States.

While there has been some improvement in state legislation during the past year, there are few states that repay as much as one-third of the losses

suffered by workers and their families.

With average weekly earnings of approximately \$72.00, the stated objective of the Workmen's Compensation system would require average weekly benefits of \$43.20 to \$48.00. However, only one state, Arizona, attains this average. In all other states compensation is reduced below the theoretical benefit level because the statutes fix a maximum payment that is not related to the worker's actual earnings.

In addition, there are wide disparities in payments for permanent partial disabilities. The value given an arm in one state is only half the value in another state. In a number of states loss of an arm at the shoulder is given less compensable value than the loss of a thumb in one of the better states.

Increases in workmen's compensation payments since 1940 have been at only one-half the rate of employer contributions to all other social-insurance and related programs during the same period. Abuse of workmen's compensation insurance by private insurers has continued. By design, work-

men's compensation premiums set aside as much as 40 percent for "over-head." In practice, workers often receive even less than half of the premiums in benefits.

The decline of workmen's compensation legislation in America is a matter of grave concern not only to the millions of workers who make up the nation's labor force, and their immediate families, but also the communities in which they live and to the nation as a whole. Injured workers in many instances receive substantially less than they could collect in relief payments. Thus there is a tendency to tax the community for what properly should be a charge against industry. The time has come for the Federal Government, which is an active participant in all other forms of social insurance, to assert leadership in improving workmen's compensation, the most neglected form of social insurance in America today.

Organized labor is fearful that our first social-insurance laws are headed for almost certain collapse. It was the collapse of the common law and employers' liability acts 40 years ago that resulted in widespread investigations and the enactment of workmen's compensation laws. But experience has shown that the 1910 models of workmen's compensation laws do not

meet today's needs; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, 1. We approve of the short initial step taken by the present national administration to make an objective survey through the U.S. Department of Labor of workmen's compensation systems throughout the United States. This survey should give prior attention to the decline in benefits in relation to the wage loss and the relation of the benefit to modest living costs.

- 2. The respective state legislatures are urged to take the following action: eliminate dollar and duration limits on medical care which still exist in too many states; overhaul the permanent partial disability rating schedules; make coverage compulsory for all employers including those in agriculture regardless of the number of employees; make provision for compulsory reporting of all disabling injuries including occupational diseases; maintain a free choice of physicians for the injured worker under proper safeguards established by the State Workmen's Compensation Commission; and expand occupational disease provisions, especially in view of the vast development of new industrial processes and materials.
- 3. Greater consideration must also be given by the states to provisions for rehabilitation of injured workers. One authority has revealed that "true rehabilitation of the injured worker, with a few real exceptions is, from a practical point of view, virtually non-existing under our present workmen's compensation system."
- 4. Abuses, such as excessive overhead charges, arising out of the insurance of workmen's compensation risks by private insurance companies must be corrected.
- 5. We urge all of our affiliated organizations to work for the amendment and improvement of state workmen's compensation laws in accordance with the standards set forth in this resolution.

WOMEN WORKERS

Millions of working women are members of unions represented in this Convention, and both the AFL and the CIO have long fought for equal treatment of women. Our women members have fully demonstrated their firm devotion to the principles of unionism, and have contributed immeasurably to the many improvements obtained by the labor movement through collective bargaining, community activities, and political action.

Women now constitute one-third of the labor force, many of whom are employed in occupations and industries which have not had the benefits of unionism and where low wages, inadequate security and substandard condi-

tions of work prevail.

Under such conditions, unions are essential for the advancement of economic conditions and human dignity, and we urge these women to enroll in our federation to gain for themselves high living standards and greater dignity in their work.

In the past, our affiliates have supported many types of labor legislation especially designed to safeguard women from such abuses as substandard wages, excessive hours, and unhealthy working conditions. Such legislation has reinforced collective bargaining advances and has paved the way for laws such as the Fair Labor Standards Act which give similar protection to men. However, even today in many states labor laws designed to protect women, or both men and women, are still inadequate or altogether absent.

These protective labor laws continue to be threatened by the miscalled "Equal Rights Amendment," which organized labor has opposed. While presumably designed to give women rights equal with men, this amendment is so worded that it would place in jeopardy all the many state laws which now offer protection to women against substandard wages, hours and working conditions. Organized labor has taken the leadership in opposing this amendment which is also opposed by a large number of women's organizations as well as the U. S. Department of Labor.

The achievement of equal pay for comparable work has long been a fundamental objective of organized labor. Special efforts have been made both by collective bargaining and by legislation to achieve this objective; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, This Convention of the AFL-CIO urges our officers and our affiliates to continue working to advance the conditions of working women through collective bargaining and by the passage of federal and state legislation.

While we shall continue union efforts to increase the earning capacity of all workers so that wives and mothers are not driven into the labor market by substandard family incomes, we recognize that increasing numbers of women are seeking jobs in order to obtain more adequate family living levels and to contribute to community affairs. We support programs that make it easier for women to earn a living without endangering their own health or the welfare of their families.

We support elimination of restrictions on women's rights as citizens and property owners. We oppose the miscalled "Equal Rights Amendment," which would endanger long-standing federal and state legislation enacted to establish wages, hours, safety and other standards for women workers.

We recommend that the officers of the federation study bill H.R. 6503 providing equal pay for comparable work with a view to taking whatever

action seems appropriate.

We urge our officers and our affiliates to continue traditional union efforts to overcome discrimination against women on the job or in the community, and to support actively protection of women's rights through clauses in union contracts providing equal treatment in pay, hiring, upgrading, training, lay-offs, or similar procedures.

We urge that the Women's Bureau of the U. S. Department of Labor consider the advancement of the welfare of women in industry its first objective, as provided by law, and that the Bureau receive adequate funds to expand its work for this purpose and for constructive education on women's rights.

CHILDREN AND YOUTH

Our nation must be ever aware of and responsive to the needs of our young people, for our future rests in their hands. They are entitled to the best the nation can give them.

Sound child development requires a decent family and community environment. Failure to meet this need adequately has too often prevented youngsters from maturing to their full capacity and has been a major contributing factor to juvenile delinquency.

A well-rounded program to meet the needs of our youth also requires special services to meet particular problems. Our unions have supported many programs which have proved valuable in advancing child welfare. These include the child labor laws, health measures to aid mothers at childbirth and children in infancy, welfare programs to give crippled children a chance to grow whole and to aid in the placement of orphans and abused children in good homes. The Children's Bureau of the U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare and the Bureau of Labor Standards of the U. S. Department of Labor have helped to develop such programs in cooperation with state and local governments and voluntary agencies; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, The AFL-CIO declares its wholehearted support for programs which strengthen and safeguard family life and help to assure to each child the fullest healthy mental and physical development.

Since child development is rooted in family and community standards, we can best serve our youngsters by working to assure an economy in which families are financially secure, by making available to all families the opportunity to live in homes and neighborhoods which are adequate and comfortable, by developing top-flight school and recreational facilities, and by

providing parents with knowledge of how best to protect the child's personal well-being.

Trade unions are doing and will do their utmost in these essential areas. Our efforts to develop and sustain improving standards of living for American families are at the very heart of trade union activities. We urge our affiliated unions to expand their efforts to aid the young people of their

communities through active participation in local programs.

We have insisted that the Federal Government, along with state and local governments and private organizations, fulfill their essential responsibility to act to overcome substandard living and neighborhood conditions and thereby help provide improved opportunities for children throughout the nation. We must not lose sight of the fact that money spent for such programs can be more than recaptured, not alone through savings in expenditures for jails or correctional facilities and mental institutions, but through the greater positive contribution to the community by youngsters who develop into healthy and responsible adults.

In the areas of specialized child needs, we commend the U. S. Children's Bureau and the Bureau of Labor Standards for their efforts in advancing the welfare of children and in helping to limit child labor.

We urge expansion of the programs providing maternal and child health services and special welfare services for children, including aid to crippled children. We support expansion of research and education in child life which will help parents understand better what makes for healthy, happy childhood.

The problems of juvenile delinquency can be met better also by expanded programs to improve procedures for spotting and aiding maladjusted children and to handle constructively those who get into trouble with the law. These programs should be given full support by our affiliated unions.

EDUCATION

WHEREAS, since the American trade union movement was founded, it has fought for the development of the public school and for an educational program through which every child and youth would not only master the basic tools of learning but would also be given some knowledge of the humanities, the fine arts and the liberal arts; some degree of manual dexterity; and an understanding of his duties, rights and responsibilities in democratic government.

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that the AFL-CIO reaffirms its support of these principles and urges their implementation through a program of adequate well built school housing: democratically administered school system; state-wide compulsory school attendance laws in which loop-holes are closed; free text-books for all children in the elementary and secondary public high schools; a curriculum, so varied and enriched as to assure to each child the fullest development of his personal capacity; classes small enough to enable the teacher to teach each child effectively; the development of a strong

teacher's union affiliated with the AFL-CIO; and schools staffed by professionally qualified teachers who through training and experience have developed a high sense of social and moral responsibility.

To secure and hold such teachers the community must:

- a. Provide adequate pay to enable the teacher to support himself and his family properly.
 - b. Assure the teacher freedom to teach the truth.

c. Provide personal and professional security through the establishment of the legal right to bargain collectively, strong tenure laws; and adequate statutory pension provisions.

d. Help develop recognition of joint responsibility of the family, the school, and the community for respect for law and order to be reflected in

the child's conduct.

e. Provide good working conditions, including:

1. Relief from clerical and other non-teaching assignments.

2. A free and uninterrupted lunch period.

3. Full recognition of so-called "extra curricular activities" as an integral part of the school's work.

Adequate Support for Our Schools

The AFL-CIO recognizes that these demands place a responsibility on the community, and, therefore, pledges to fight for adequate financial support for our schools, through a program of coordinated support from government at the local, state and federal level. However, in giving federal funds to the states, safeguards must be written into the legislation giving state and federal support for education, to assure the use of funds for the purposes, and in the manner in which the law and educational needs require them to be used.

Such Federal funds should be distributed and administered under state law, shall be allocated so as to recognize population, relative need and tax-paying capacity; shall supplement not supplant state and local funds and shall be made available to all parts of the state. States shall submit plans for expenditures which shall be subject to Federal audit and any aggrieved state or aggrieved citizen shall have his complaint reviewed by the Commissioner of Education with right to appeal to Federal Courts.

Labor recognizes that practical legislative conditions demand that Federal

aid be provided for specific purposes.

The five principal specific and basic fields in which Federal aid is needed immediately are Federal aid for public school construction; for public school teachers' salaries; for loans and scholarships for all worthy students; for health and welfare services for all children regardless of race or creed; and for the eradication of adult illiteracy.

The AFL-CIO is committed to the basic principle of affording the educational opportunities for all persons regardless of race, creed or status. It is, therefore, strongly committed to help assure the fullest possible support

for the implementation of the Supreme Court decision in outlawing segregation in the nation's public schools. It, therefore, holds that no federal funds should be granted to any state which takes action in defiance of the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, provided that funds should be made available to such school districts as conform to the decision.

White House Conference on Education

The White House Conference on Education, following long and serious consideration of the major aspects of the crisis in American education, concluded that "the overwhelming majority of the more than two thousand delegates favor federal financial support for education." The report is a clear-cut expression of the American people's desire that the federal government help the states to finance construction of new buildings, to increase teachers' salaries, and to expand school curricula and materials. Support for federal aid for public school building was widespread among the approximately 1,800 participants from 48 states and territories of the United States, and the majority also favored general aid to public schools where needed.

Only 4% of those present at the Washington conference were representatives of labor. This failure to recognize labor's active interest in and concern with current needs of the public schools should be brought to the attention of the Governors and the state educational authorities who were responsible for the selection of participants. State federations of labor should be alert in the future to see that labor is properly represented on planning committees on the local and state levels and that labor representatives take an active part in such conferences.

The White House Conference report represented a signal victory for the educational policies which organized labor has advocated for many years. The campaign conducted by all of organized labor resulted in a labor delegation which was well informed and articulate, although numerically a minority.

The conclusions reached by the White House Conference represent progress. However, their implementation may be a long way off. The same forces which have been opposed to federal aid will continue to use their power and influence to prevent Congress from appropriating adequate federal funds for schools. We in the united labor movement will need to intensify our efforts to insure success. It is essential that our program be continued at local, state, and national levels until America's children are assured of the educational opportunities necessary in a complex society.

Federal Aid in the Development of the Arts

The AFL-CIO hails the encouraging developments in Congress giving recognition to the significance of the arts in American culture. It pledges active support to programs which help create and develop aesthetic values in youth and adults.

School Lunch Program

The AFL-CIO urges support for the expansion of the present school lunch program.

The Children's Bureau

The AFL-CIO deeply appreciates the services for children made available through the Children's Bureau and urges adequate support for its work.

Rural Library Demonstration Centers

The AFL-CIO urges support of legislation providing for Rural Library Demonstration Centers and for a further development of mobile library services in city and suburban areas.

The United States Office of Education

The AFL-CIO urges long overdue appropriations to enable the Office of Education to conduct research in the field of education. Education is the one major area in which basic data are not currently available.

Academic Freedom and Integrity

The AFL-CIO belives that truth must be taught at all school levels in a manner best suited to the age of the children taught. It strongly opposes any form of academic censorship or legislative control of curriculum content. It opposes the use of the schools for propaganda purposes by any group or organization.

The AFL-CIO believes that the freedom of the teacher as a citizen must be honored at all times. However, the right of the community to protect our schools and our youth from those who would seek to direct or control their thinking leads us to recognize the need of having the community deny employment as a teacher to anyone who is subject to controls, foreign or domestic, which limit his freedom of thought and speech, and which would prevent the teacher from teaching the truth fully in any presentation.

Vocational Education

From its inception the trade union movement in America has recognized the value of vocational education. Labor has continuously supported the principle of such a program of federal support of such a program even when it has opposed certain administrative features of the program.

The AFL-CIO strongly urges support for a program of vocational education which recognizes the primary responsibility of the trade unions in developing skill and craftsmanship. It urges the development of a program through which a more extensive appreciation of the value of such training can be developed in all elements of society. At the same time, the AFL-CIO pledges its continuing support for the program giving financial support in apprenticeship training in direct cooperation with the trade unions in the fields in which the training is given.

Labor Extension Service

The AFL-CIO reaffirms support of a Labor Extension Serivce in the United States Department of Labor to provide service and material comparable to those provided through the Department of Agriculture to farmers,

and businessmen through the Department of Commerce, administered at the national and state levels through advisory boards made up of representatives of the organized labor movement and cooperating institutions and agencies.

Educational TV

We believe that educational TV has proved its value where stations have been established and we insist the Federal Communications Commission continue to reserve the channels set aside exclusively for educational purposes.

All TV educational stations should have an operating committee fully

representative of all interests in the community.

Community Cooperation

The AFL-CIO calls upon its state and local unions to urge their members to participate in community activities in cooperation with other civic groups and through such a cooperative program, to develop support for the education programs and projects it supports for the betterment of the community.

PHYSICALLY HANDICAPPED

Every year hundreds of thousands of Americans are born with physical handicaps or acquire them because of industrial, automobile, and other accidents, or as the result of crippling diseases. Today, an estimated 30 million of our fellow citizens—men, women and children—suffer from some degree of permanent disability.

While about three million handicapped citizens are now employed, an estimated ten million others could be rehabilitated and usefully employed instead of being forced to remain an economic burden on their families, on their communities, and on the nation. To eliminate this economic discrimination, we must create the rehabilitation services and employment opportunities which are required to restore America's handicapped to useful citizenship, integrate them into the activities of our economic and social life, and give them the dignity which is the birthright of all mankind.

As the first step, the federal and state governments must assume their full responsibility. Despite fairly recent Congressional action to increase federal funds for vocational rehabilitation and to encourage the construction of rehabilitation centers, an additional expansion must be undertaken if the rehabilitation of millions of citizens is to be achieved. Secondly, management and labor must assist aggressively in the process of integrating the physically handicapped into the labor force.

Unfortunately, the facilities of both public and private rehabilitation agencies are so limited that more persons are being permanently disabled each year than are now rehabilitated. Leadership in a comprehensive and vigorously administered rehabilitation program, nation-wide in scope, is a major responsibility of the federal government. The federal program and

coordinated state programs must encompass adequate medical services, special educational aids, income maintenance, vocational training and em-

ployment services.

Rehabilitation must be closely coordinated with workmen's compensation and disability programs to provide income for the disabled and their families during periods of unemployment and to insure prompt referral of each case to the proper rehabilitation agencies. Rehabilitation services must begin immediately after injury or at the onset of illness. Continuity of treatment must be planned through convalescence. Training or retraining in useful, suitable, and remunerative vocational skills must follow. Finally, restoration of the individual to employment at his highest attainable skill must be accomplished.

No program to secure employment of the handicapped can succeed without wider support from management and labor. While some employers have learned the value of the handicapped as productive workers, too many still discriminate against them. While unions are working diligently to encourage employment ties for the disabled, more needs to be done.

Organized labor has been represented on the President's Committee on Employment of the Physically Handicapped and has participated actively in its work, as have many labor representatives who are serving on similar governor's committees in the various states.

The federal government is urged to conduct a census of the handicapped, and to bring together and expand all of the federal services for the physically handicapped in a new and vigorous administrative bureau in the United States Department of Labor, now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, 1. The problems of the nation's handicapped are the problems of all Americans. We recommend our affiliates for the activities in which they have engaged on behalf of the handicapped citizens of our nation and urge that the efforts of our local unions, central labor bodies, and international unions be expanded to meet this tragic and growing need.

2. We urge the establishment within the United States Department of Labor of a centralized agency that would bring together the rehabilitation functions that are now scattered among many federal agencies, and give leadership to the rehabilitation services in the respective states.

3. While we applaud recent Congressional action to raise federal contributions for vocational rehabilitation and to construct rehabilitation centers under the Hill-Burton Hospital Program for the first time, we urge further expansion of these federal grants-in-aid programs so that millions of disabled citizens not now reached by them will be served.

OCCUPATIONAL SAFETY AND HEALTH

Occupational accidents and health hazards continue to take a relentless toll of the lives and well-being of American workers. Despite a continuous discussion of the problem, statistics indicate that these accidents and injuries continue at a fairly consistent level year after year. The 14,000

death toll and 1,850,000 crippling accidents in 1954 reveal only a slight reduction in the shameful record of 1953.

These tragic problems can be solved only through the cooperation of all concerned, in voluntary activities and in enactment of necessary legislation. Organized labor has consistently requested business management, the other major group directly concerned in occupational safety and health, to join with us in such cooperation. In the isolated instances where the cooperative approach has been tried, the record plainly reveals tremendous improvements

in safety performance.

Major opposition to the cooperative approach can be traced clearly to a group of large industries, the heads of which continue to insist that occupational safety and health programs are the "sole prerogative" of management. Representatives of these industries strive to dominate completely the voluntary and governmental agencies which presumably have been established to reduce accidents and occupational diseases. Thus they prevent any real improvements in occupational safety and health legislation, and adequate governmental appropriations for research, education and enforcement of existing laws.

The limited interest which the U. S. Department of Labor and the U. S. Public Health Service are permitted to take in occupational safety and health is revealed in the Federal budget. The Bureau of Labor Standards in the Labor Department has been allotted \$735,000 for the current fiscal year; the Occupational Health Program in the Health, Education and Welfare Department has been given \$557,000 by the present administration. These amounts together represent an annual expenditure of less than two cents for each American worker. Even these pitiful amounts are constantly threatened with further reductions.

Similarly, the Department of Labor and other agencies concerned with occupational health in the respective states are handicapped by grossly inadequate appropriations. Efforts to improve inadequate state standards meet with steady and relentless opposition; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, 1. We reaffirm the programs for improving occupational safety and health which organized labor has repeatedly recommended.

- 2. We further urge the 84th Congress to appropriate funds in amounts sufficient to enable the Bureau of Labor Standards of the U. S. Department of Labor and the Division of Special Services, U. S. Public Health Service, to carry out properly and efficiently their respective leadership functions in the prevention of occupational accidents and diseases. We further urge that the Congress provide for Federal grants-in-aid to the state agencies concerned with maintaining standards of occupational safety and health, as provided in the Bailey bill (H.R. 4877) and the Murray bill (S. 638). We also urge the Congress to vest in the Federal Government enforcement of adequate labor standards in metallic and non-metallic mines as well as in coal mines, and also in quarries, and in the logging and lumbering industry.
- 3. We commend the National Safety Council for its decision within the last year to integrate organized labor into the work of the Council through the

establishment of a Labor Conference equal in status to other NSC Conferences.

4. We emphasize our conviction that occupational safety and health can be attained only by initial action at the level of each individual plant or workplace. Neither management, nor labor, nor safety technicians can do the job alone. All three groups must work together voluntarily in good faith to attain the objective through joint committees.

5. We urge all affiliates to work diligently in their respective states to bring about the enactment of enforceable, up-to-date occupational safety

and health codes at all levels.

PUBLIC SAFETY

Wholly aside from its concern in prevention of work accidents, organized labor has a deep interest in reducing the total national accident rate which visits immeasurable suffering and grief upon the American people each year. The financial and physical burden of this tragic toll falls mainly on wage workers and their families.

The record shows that during the calendar year 1954 a total of 90,000 men, women and children were slaughtered in all accidents while an estimated 9,050,000 were injured to an extent that incapacitated them. While these figures reflect a reduction of 5 percent in the toll of the prior year, the record is far from satisfactory.

Here are the figures:

Type of Accident Public Motor Vehicle	Killed	Injured
Public Motor Vehicle	33,000	1,150,000
Work Motor Vehicle	2,800	100,000
Other Work accidents	11,200	1,750,000
Home Accidents	27,500	4,100,000
Other Accidents	15,500	1,950,000
	90,000	9,050,000

This carnage occurred in the public areas, work locations, houses, schools, and on the highways of our country where the people have the right to be safe in their peace and dignity. All but a comparatively few of these accidents were preventable; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, 1. Organized labor must extend its efforts, through cooperation with all public and private agencies, to reduce the toll taken of the American people each year by fatal and crippling accidents.

2. We urge all affiliates to work diligently in their respective States and local communities by all available means to eliminate all avoidable accidents.

FOREIGN POLICY

The united American trade union movement, in common with labor everywhere, has the greatest stake in the preservation of peace and the promotion of freedom. Approaching the international crisis as patriotic citizens and free trade unionists, we have the highest interest in building a world free from all dictatorship, poverty and war.

The free trade union movement cannot thrive, or even live, without democracy. In view of the enormous Communist threat to democracy, we of American labor face new significant tasks. At this critical juncture of history, we are in duty bound to help our country meet its heavy responsibilities as a powerful force for the attainment of lasting world peace, freedom and human

well-being.

We of the united American labor movement—the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations—have three main areas of activities in our efforts to aid our country in the fulfillment of its new historic role. These are: 1) Through our trade union strength and political actions, help build an ever better and stronger America, a prosperous and progressive land free from economic and social inequity and all racial and every other form of discrimination. 2) Through democratic processes, help our nation evolve and execute an effective democratic foreign policy. 3) Through cooperation with and assistance to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, to aid free labor everywhere in becoming a most powerful force for furthering social justice, national and human freedom, economic well-being and world peace.

On the threshold of the atomic age, the readiness and ability of the unified American labor movement to fulfill these basic tasks are especially important for the security, welfare and liberty of the entire American people and the international free trade union movement. The policies and the practices of the AFL-CIO can also be a source of great hope for the peoples behind the Iron Curtain and in the economically underdeveloped countries aspiring to national independence and human freedom and dignity.

At the "Summit Conference" in Geneva in July 1955, the leading democratic powers demonstrated their determination and readiness to secure international harmony and lasting peace. But at the Geneva Conference of the Big Four Foreign Ministers, November, 1955, the Soviet Union demonstrated that it was willing to do little or nothing to remove, or even reduce, the causes which have produced the acute international tension of the last decade.

The U. S. S. R. has categorically rejected German national reunification in freedom—the holding of internationally-supervised free elections throughout the Soviet Zone and Berlin as well as the Federal German Republic. The latest reaffirmation of Soviet opposition to adequate international inspection and supervision has dealt a severe blow to the prospects for effective disarmament.

Soviet insistence on the dismantling of N.A.T.O. and the W.E.U. as well as on the withdrawal of American defense forces from Europe shows clearly that Moscow is not interested in security for the weaker nations but is maneuvering to render defenseless the remaining free countries of Europe.

Despite its "Big Smile" and big talk about removing the barriers to communications, Moscow is as unrelenting as ever in its opposition to any arrangement for free travel of individuals between the Soviet orbit and the free world. It is no less hostile to the reciprocal distribution of foreign books, newspapers, periodicals, and radio programs in the Soviet Union. This Soviet talk has been fully exposed at Geneva as having but one aim: The elimination of all barriers to the Moscow-Peiping Axis securing from the western democracies the latest technical knowledge, strategic materials, and up-to-date machinery it so sorely lacks. The Communist bloc desperately needs such vital assistance in order to ease the terrible armament burdens behind the Iron Curtain and to facilitate its building of a most modern and even more massive war machine for aggression.

Indeed, at the very moment that the Foreign Ministers were negotiating at Geneva, the Kremlin brought to a head one of its long-cherished and carefully prepared plans to provoke an armed conflict between Egypt and Israel and promote aggravated tension throughout the Near East. Mastery of this pivotal region is essential to the ultimate and unalterable aim of Communist imperialism—Soviet world domination.

Unlike preceding international crises, the present struggle between the Communist dictatorships and the free world is not a collision between two power blocs, in the old nineteenth century sense, but between two conflicting ways of life—democracy (despite all its imperfections), and Communist totalitarianism with its all-embracing program of world conquest and transformation. Soviet imperialism seeks to subvert and conquer the free world and remold all society in line with its Communist preconceptions of a new social order. This vital difference between the old imperialisms and the new Soviet imperialism accounts for the continuous character of the present crisis as distinct from preceding ones. The AFL and the CIO have notable records of opposition to world Communism and Soviet imperialism. Both have also resolutely opposed Fascism, Nazism, Falangism, Peronism and every other form of dictatorship. The united organization that has grown out of the merger of the two American trade union centers will not slacken in that opposition.

Fortunately, the American labor movement has not limited itself to verbal assaults on Fascism and Communism and rhetorical affirmations of democracy. It has been in the forefront of many constructive undertakings to aid the cause of free trade unionism everywhere. We have also in the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, a practical instrumentality for engaging and defeating the totalitarians in the fields and factories, on the ground where they have made their greatest bid for the allegiance of the peoples of the world.

The main objectives of sound American foreign policy are: (1) to foster good relations with other nations in order to preserve and promote enduring peace and freedom and (2) to encourage mutually advantageous trade and other relations with other nations—in order to advance their common economic stability and social well-being.

In every country, there is a close inter-relationship between foreign and domestic policy. Neither our government, nor any other government, can

consistently pursue a genuinely democratic foreign policy, if it pursues a reactionary domestic policy. No government which wages war against its own people at home—by denying them their rights and liberties and by depressing their standards of life and labor—can be truly peaceful towards the peoples abroad and be worthy of their trust. A government guilty of aggression against its own people tends to be aggressive against its neighboring and other countries; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, Conscious of our responsibilities at this crucial period, the AFL-CIO herewith declare their support of the following guiding principles for an effective American democratic foreign policy and sound international

labor relations.

1. Effective foreign policy cannot be improvised and piecemeal. It must have a clear and definite orientation and be consistent, sustained and vigorous in its application. Its motivating and paramount aims must be the mobilization of all our moral and material resources for developing a system of international relationships to maintain peace, protect freedom and national security, and enable a growing population to enjoy a rising standard of living.

2. Integration of our foreign political and economic policies is essential, if the great technical resources and mighty industrial potential of the United States are to be geared to increasing the productivity, raising the purchasing power, and improving the living standards especially of those economically underdeveloped countries which are devoted to human liberty and peace.

3. Undeveloped and underdeveloped continents and regions, where many hundreds of millions nurse their grievances and their hopes—constitute a fertile field for Communist operations. In dealing with rudimentary human problems the world over, we must be concerned primarily with two immediate needs—the need for food, health and irrigation in the underdeveloped countries, and the burning desire for independence and equality. By ministering to such fundamental needs we will be on firmer ground as we seek to win new adherents to the free world.

4. We know that Communism is a false solution; we believe that democracy is the true solution. Communism is weakened when democracy is strengthened. The representatives of democracy must go out into the underdeveloped regions with specific plans, programs and projects to help raise living standards, for helping to end all colonialism, for winning these peoples as equal members of the free world community. Thus we will make it possible for them to have a stake in the defense of a civilization worth defending.

5. Our country has done some of this. UNRRA was a beginning. American labor supported the Marshall Plan because it was conceived and largely administered in this spirit. Point Four was an imaginative gesture in the same direction but tragically all too little. Towards the same end, the Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development, (SUNFED), provides real possibilities for developing and expanding worthy projects for the fundamental improvement of the economic conditions of the needy peoples. Our

responsibilities include, but are not limited to, a firm and effective military defense of established positions against Communist subversion and aggression. Positive measures for social and economic betterment are an indispensable part of the program for the defense and victory of the free world.

6. Categoric rejection of any idea of imposing our form of government or economic system on any other nation and relentless opposition to the efforts of any power to impose its political or economic system on our country. Support for free peoples who resist attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures on their free institutions is vital.

7. While Communism is currently the main totalitarian threat to freedom and peace, we must be equally opposed to every other brand of dictatorship (Falangist, Fascist, Nazi, Peronist, Titoist) as reprehensible foes of

human dignity, decency and liberty.

8. Welcome as our allies self-reliant, independent nations held together by binding principles and cooperating for peace, freedom, and human well-being. Satellites or vassals herded together by fraud and force cannot serve peace and freedom. A common purpose, sense of urgency, and machinery for permanent cooperation are indispensable to the collective security of the allied free peoples. The struggle for peace and freedom demands not only military strength sufficient to deter and defeat aggression but the development of the alliance into an association of free peoples for positive political and economic cooperation and mutual assistance.

- 9. Rejection of all colonialism—the old declining western as well as the new rising Soviet colonialism—should be cardinal to our nation's foreign policy. In line with our national traditions, positive steps should be taken to help all peoples aspiring to self-government or national independence under conditions which will enable them to assume equal status among the free peoples of the world. All peoples—in Europe no less than in Asia or Africa—who have been subjected to the yoke of alien despotism should be encouraged in their efforts to regain the right of self-determination which will enable them to choose the form of government they desire and enjoy national sovereignty and the fundamental human rights proclaimed in the Charter of the United Nations.
- 10. While never shutting the door to negotiations with Moscow, our country and its allies must build up their political unity, economic power, and adequate military strength. Readiness to negotiate is not appeasement. It takes courage to meet aggression. It also takes courage to seek patiently and persistently for peaceful and acceptable settlements. Appeasement of the demands of any expansionist power, however, only encourages and invites aggression. Hence, our government should never assume as settled and final any conquests the Kremlin or any other totalitarian regime made through direct military aggression, threat of armed intervention, Communist subversion, aggression by proxy, or any combination of these methods.

11. In its efforts to lessen international tension and eliminate the vestiges of war bitterness, our government should make the strongest effort to hasten the release of all hostages forcibly detained by Moscow—either as

war prisoners, fighters for democratic rights, or as striking workers imprisoned after the Soviet armed suppression of the June 1953 revolt in the

Soviet Zone of Germany and in any other satellite areas.

12. Maximum efforts to seek gradual effective disarmament through adequate international inspection, control and supervision, backed by provisions for strong non-vetoable sanctions against all violators—with a view of ultimately assuring abolition of the atomic and all other weapons of mass destruction.

13. Until such time as an adequate system of world disarmament has been attained, the security and freedom of our country call for the build-up of sufficient actual and immediately available military strength to deter and, if need be, defeat aggression. The defense efforts should be meshed with non-military economic efforts into a common program for assuring social as well as national security. Only a prosperous and progressive, as well as powerful, America can make effective and sufficient contributions to world peace, freedom and human well-being.

14. Invigorated efforts to promote international cooperation for enabling all mankind to share the benefits of the peaceful utilization of atomic energy and technique. To assure the people's sharing equitably in the benefits of the atoms for peace program, the free trade unions should be repre-

sented in the planning and setting up of such projects.

15. It is imperative that there be a marked expansion of cultural, political, and economic relations among the nations of the Western Hemisphere with a view of raising living standards, strengthening democracy, and enabling the entire New World to play a unified and greater role in the preservation of peace and the furtherance of freedom. An intensified effort to reinvigorate democracy is urgent in view of the recent defeat of Peronist totalitarianism in Argentina and the Communist-tainted regime in Guatemala.

16. In an effort to lessen world tension and remove dangers to world peace, the U.N. should adopt a universal policy of the holding of free elections in all divided and strife-torn areas with a view to employing peaceful means rather than war for establishing legitimate governments which are to enjoy full sovereignty. Despite continued Soviet opposition, the U.N. must

persist in advocating free elections in the satellite states as well.

17. Particularly in view of the recent grave developments in the Middle East, our country and its allies in concert with the United Nations should take positive steps to prevent aggression in the Middle East, to improve the economic conditions of its people and to promote peaceful relations among its various peoples—based on mutual recognition of each other's national existence and territorial integrity. Towards this end, the AFL-CIO urges the United States, Britain and France to re-affirm their Tri-Partite Declaration of 1950, and to implement it by enabling the Republic of Israel to obtain arms and all other means necessary for the maintenance of its territorial integrity and national independence. The best interests of our country and the needs of world peace and social progress demand that our government enter into a Mutual Security Pact with the Republic of Israel. Such

a pact would be strictly defensive in character and would not be aimed at any neighbor of Israel. Such an American-Israel Mutual Security Pact might well serve as the model for similar accords between our country and the Arab lands, thus paving the way for a Middle East Mutual Security Treaty Organization embracing all the nations in this pivotal area, within the framework of the U.N. and dedicated to the furtherance of world peace and human well-being. Adequate economic, technical and military assistance should be made available only to those governments supporting these aims and prepared to cooperate in the peaceful solution of such pressing problems as the plight of the Arab refugees and the undisturbed use of the Suez Canal. American labor greets the Histadrut as the dynamic force in the building of Israeli democracy. We further pledge ourselves to aid the development of free trade unions throughout the Middle East as the most effective instruments for advancing social progress, human freedom and stable peaceful relations among all the nations of this vital area.

18. American labor supports the U.N. and its Specialized Agencies and believes that efforts to build the U.N. into a more authoritative and effective instrument for maintaining world peace and promoting the fundamental human rights proclaimed in the Charter of the United Nations should be redoubled. It is our firm belief that the specialized agencies of the U.N. have aided the peoples of the underdeveloped countries by bringing to them the benefits of health, sanitation, and technical knowledge. These agencies have proven their worth to the cause of freedom and peace. We of the American labor movement pledge our continued support to ILO, WHO, UNESCO and other specialized agencies of the United Nations. Our government should firmly adhere to the policy of prohibiting the admission into the U.N. of any regime which (a) has been imposed on any nation by a foreign power, (b) which exercises effective control of the country only through denying its people the fundamental human rights specified in the U.N. Charter and (c) which is engaged in war or has been found guilty of aggression against the U.N.

19. In accordance with our traditional stand, we favor cultural relations with the peoples behind the Iron Curtain—a curtain which we have always sought to lift and the maintenance of which the Kremlin continues to enforce. We are firmly convinced that if it were possible to have such an exchange of ideas and information among the peoples of both sides of the Iron Curtain, it would always work to the advantage of the democracies. It is not we but the totalitarian regimes who have every reason to fear any contrast between the free world and the plight of the peoples under dictatorships.

20. The AFL-CIO rejects, as a matter of principle, the idea of free labor sending delegations to any country which prohibits free trade unions, outlaws all free trade union activities, and penalizes workers for advocating free trade unionism—whether such country be Communist or Fascist or any other totalitarian hue. We oppose the Moscow-Peiping Axis maneuver to have free trade union delegations visit the Soviet slave orbit as a vital phase of the

sinister Big Smile strategy calculated to confuse and divide the democratic camp. Moscow wants free trade union delegation visits to lend moral respectability and legitimacy to its regime which has robbed its people of every fundamental human right, keeps millions of its subjects in slave labor camps, and denies the workers the right of freedom of association and organization, the right of genuine collective bargaining, and the right to strike.

- 21. In view of the intransigent Soviet opposition to German national reunification in freedom and the restoration of the national independence of the satellite countries, speedy action should be taken to make the West European Union "a focus of European integration." We should seek to further European unity through economic aid and technical assistance to specific projects for free European integration, such as the establishment of a free Europe Authority to construct and operate continental oil pipelines; unify rail, water, and air transport systems; co-ordinate atomic energy, electricity and waterpower resources along the lines of the present Iron and Steel Community. The free trade unions of the co-operating countries should be drawn into the policymaking bodies of such projects in order to assure the great mass of the people sharing equitably in the benefits thereof. This implementation of the London-Paris Accords should be combined with a program to enable NATO to fulfill not only its primary purpose as a military defense body but in addition as an organ for greater economic and political cooperation in advancing peace, human rights, and improved living standards.
- 22. United American labor-the AFL-CIO-realizes the urgency of strengthening the organization and enhancing the influence and prestige of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), and of ORIT, the Regional Organization to which we belong. We urge our affiliates to join and participate actively in the work of the various International Trade Secretariats. The ICFTU will (1) become increasingly effective in promoting the economic interests, as well as the larger aspirations of labor, regardless of race, nationality, color or creed; (2) defeat the Communist attempts to subvert and destroy the free trade unions; (3) play an increasingly effective role in aiding the working people of the underdeveloped countries to establish strong free trade unions which shall play an ever more decisive role in improving the conditions of life and labor and in advancing the cause of national freedom and democratic rights of the people; (4) and in developing into a most powerful force for building a world free from the perils of poverty, the terror of all despotism and dictatorship, and the horrors of war.

In this spirit, we shall encourage a greater knowledge of and a greater interest in international affairs among our membership, toward the end that the wage earners' great stake in our country's foreign policy will be more clearly recognized and reflected in its formulation and conduct.

MIGRANT FARM WORKERS AND FOREIGN CONTRACT LABOR

The AFL-CIO is greatly concerned with the continued national neglect of the plight of the hundreds of thousands of migrant men, women and children who harvest our nation's foods and fibers. Action to stamp out the poverty and ignorance, crime and disease, and international discord and ill will that are being bred in our fields of plenty is long overdue.

The evil consequences of the failure of Congress and the state legislatures to face up to the ever-worsening plight of our migrant farm workers affect—and therefore directly concern—all our people. While food prices and profits for food processors have been rising steadily, the wages paid to workers who harvest this food have been forced steadily downward.

Since the end of World War II the plight of our domestic farm workers has been worsened by the hiring by U. S. farm employers of ever-increasing numbers of foreign laborers. Because of loose certifications of an alleged "need" for foreign workers which clearly does not always exist, too often these foreign workers have driven our own U. S. farm workers into the ranks of the unemployed while taking their jobs at lower wage levels and under

conditions to which native workers rightfully will not submit.

We recognize that, under certain conditions, domestic agriculture may require the services of foreign contract labor. We appreciate the tremendous debt we owe to workers from Mexico, the British West Indies and Canada for the part they played during the war in enabling our nation to provide the food and fibers needed for victory. However, as convincing evidence of the falsity of the exaggerated claims by farm employers of the extent of their present needs for foreign labor, we point out that instead of the improvement in wages and working conditions of agricultural labor which should be expected if a real shortage existed, the wage trend has been static or downward in recent years in those areas where most foreign labor has been employed.

The AFL-CIO see in this a serious threat to the welfare of the vast majority of our nation's farmers, particularly the family farmers, who must market their crops in the same competitive market as the big farm employers using cheap foreign labor. Moreover, exploitation of Mexican braceros in the Southwest has been in the past, and remains, a real blot upon the reputation of the U. S., not only in Mexico, but throughout all of Latin

America; now therefore, be it

RESOLVED, 1. This Convention heartily endorses the efforts made by the AFL and the CIO to deal with this problem during the past year and directs

the new federation to continue and expand such efforts.

2. We urge the enactment of laws designed to meet the special needs of migratory farm workers by Congress and State Legislatures and call particularly upon Congress to take the long-overdue action of enacting legislation to regulate labor contractors, establish regulations for safe transportation, provide better housing and health facilities, and insure education opportunities to migrant children.

3. We urge Congress to end the discrimination which now exists against our own citizen farm workers under the Mexican Contract Labor Program by enactment of legislation requiring employers to offer terms and conditions of employment to U. S. workers at least comparable to the higher standards they must now offer Mexican braceros in order to be eligible to obtain Mexican labor.

4. We recommend increased appropriations for the Farm Placement Service of the Department of Labor in order that it may expand its efforts to provide year-round employment for domestic migratory farm workers. In meeting the needs of employers for farm labor, the Labor Department should give emphasis to the placement of U. S. workers, including Puerto Ricans, in

preference to bringing in workers from other countries.

5. When foreign labor must be brought in, however, we favor the principle of an International Agreement such as that which governs the Mexican Contract Labor Program. We urge repeal of the "go-it-alone" Amendment to the Mexican Contract Labor Law which the Administration pushed through the 83rd Congress. We urge that Congress take immediate action to establish a uniform law governing all foreign agricultural labor, regardless of its country of origin, by extending the bilateral principles of the Mexican Contract Labor Law.

6. We commend the U. S. and Mexican Border Patrols for their recent actions to reduce illegal border crossings. We point out, however, that illegal "wetback" traffic still continues on a large scale, and call upon Congress to vote an additional increase in funds for the Border Patrol so that all

"wetback" labor may be eliminated.

7. The Joint U. S.-Mexican Trade Union Committee, set up under the auspices of the Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers, is to be commended for the work it has done in this area, as well as in other matters affecting the labor movements of the U. S. and Mexico. We thank the free labor movement of Mexico for its cooperation and pledge the full support of the AFL-CIO in the effort of the Joint Committee to improve the

working and living conditions of Mexican migrant workers.

8. The U. S. Department of Labor, which is charged with the responsibility for enforcing the international agreement with Mexico and the terms of the individual contracts of Mexican workers, has been denied adequate appropriations to do this job. We urge an immediate increase in appropriations for the Department of Labor compliance staff so that there will be at least one full-time compliance officer for every 2,000 braceros brought into this country.

We renew our request for legislation penalizing persons who hire or transport illegal workers, as has been recommended by the Attorney General

of the United States.

10. We demand that legal foreign farm labor be guaranteed full rights and social benefits equal to those enjoyed by U. S. labor, including protection against any kind of discrimination, and the exercise of their right to union affiliation and representation.

11. We again call attention to the fact that United States farm workers

are excluded from virtually all labor and social legislation, including the Wage-Hour Act, the National Labor Relations Act, State Safety and Workmen's Compensation laws, etc. Congress and state legislatures should act to end this inequity.

PUERTO RICO

In recent years the government of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico has striven diligently to bring about the rapid industrialization of the island. To this end the Puerto Rican government has offered numerous inducements to businessmen to establish new industries in Puerto Rico or to transfer mainland industries to Puerto Rico. These inducements include government loans, training of workers, and exemptions from various taxes for a period of ten years. This industrialization program has met with considerable success.

Certainly the industrialization of Puerto Rico is a necessary and desirable objective. Industrialization would give employment to the island's abundant labor force, which has suffered acutely from unemployment and from underemployment. Further, the people of Puerto Rico cannot prosper while tied to an economy dominated by a handful of industries—sugar, coffee and tobacco—particularly since these industries are basically agricultural in a land-poor area.

We therefore support the industrialization of Puerto Rico, and the establishment of new industries there. We vigorously condemn, however, the luring of mainland industries to Puerto Rico by means of the low wage structure prevailing there or of unsound financial subsidies. Moreover, the removal of mainland industries to Puerto Rico would bring hardship and unemployment to the areas of this country abandoned by these industries.

Further, industrialization will not of itself produce the needed improvement in the living standards of the Puerto Rican people, unless industrial development is accompanied by corresponding improvement in the wages, working conditions, and security of the Puerto Rican workers. An industrialization that brings new wealth to those already wealthy and continued poverty and insecurity to those already poor does not represent progress for the workers of Puerto Rico.

Two steps must be taken to raise Puerto Rican living standards both in the interests of the workers of Puerto Rica and to protect mainland industry from unfair sweatshop competition.

First, the workers of Puerto Rico must be organized into strong unions. The labor laws of Puerto Rico are for the most part fair and progressive, and the workers of Puerto Rico have made some progress in forming unions and in bargaining collectively. But much remains to be done. The bulk of the island's workers are still unorganized. They need and are entitled to receive our help.

Second, federal legislation affecting the living standards and security of Puerto Rican workers must be improved. Most important is the federal Fair Labor Standards Act. On the mainland the antiquated 75-cent minimum hourly rate was recently raised to a dollar an hour. In Puerto Rico, however, not even the old 75-cent minimum rate applies to all industry. Under a special industry committee procedure established by the Fair Labor Standards Act, the Wage and Hour Administrator has established minimum rates far below 75 cents an hour for various Puerto Rican industries. The Puerto Rican minimum wage must be brought as rapidly as possible to the same level as the mainland minimum wage. Otherwise Puerto Rican workers will continue to be denied the minimum income necessary for decent subsistence, and mainland industries will continue to be subjected to unfair sweatshop competition.

Further, there is no system of unemployment benefits in effect in Puerto Rico. For Puerto Rican workers the loss of a job means complete destitution. The extension of unemployment benefits for Puerto Rican workers would be a substantial contribution to reducing the hardship unemployment now brings to them, and would aid in achieving a high standard of living for the island, now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, 1. The AFL-CIO pledges to the workers of Puerto Rico that it will expend every effort to bring to them the benefits of militant and democratic trade unionism.

- 2. We urge immediate revision of the minimum wage law provisions applicable to Puerto Rico, with the objective of raising the Puerto Rican minimum wage to the mainland level, at the earliest possible date.
 - 3. We urge that unemployment insurance be extended to Puerto Rico.
- 4. We call on the government of Puerto Rico to institute policies that will assure to the workers of Puerto Rico their rightful share in the benefits of the island's industrialization, and that will prevent unscrupulous employers from establishing sweatshop operations there.

STATEHOOD FOR ALASKA AND HAWAII AND HOME RULE FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

The platforms of both political parties in 1952 urged immediate statehood for both Alaska and Hawaii and endorsed home rule for the District of Columbia.

Despite the unequivocal language in these platforms favoring statehood for both Alaska and Hawaii and home rule for the District of Columbia, elements in both political parties have continued to play politics with these important issues. We unequivocally condemn this sordid political maneuvering; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, Manifest justice supports the demands for statehood of both Alaska and Hawaii, and we urge that it be granted without further delay.

We declare our support for District home rule and national suffrage as an act of simple justice to the citizens of the nation's Capital.

MILITARY MANPOWER POLICIES

Organized labor has a direct concern with military manpower policies since the methods adopted to select individuals for service in the armed forces have a direct impact on the effectiveness with which the civilian economy functions.

Labor is also concerned that the nation's program for service in the armed forces be equitable and fully consistent with our democratic heritage.

We recognize that it is essential today for the United States to maintain its armed forces at adequate strength to defend ourselves against military aggression as well as to aid our allies around the world.

The past year has witnessed a further reduction in the size of the nation's military forces. This continuing decline raises a serious question in our minds: Does the nation now have sufficient forces to meet the country's international commitments around the globe?

With these reductions in the armed forces, the work of the Selective Service system has eased, although at the present time, the Selective Service is being utilized to supplement volunteers for the Navy as well as for the U. S. Army. We think it important that the nation continue to rely on this equitable method of selecting individuals for military service to maintain the desired strength of our armed forces.

The problem of maintaining sufficient military forces involves questions of the reserves as well as the standing forces. The problem of reserve policy has proved a particularly troublesome one. Until this year service in the reserves has been completely voluntary. An individual who had completed his active duty training was not required to engage in any reserve training. During the past year, however, Congress passed, in response to demands from the Administration, a law which drastically changes the basis for service in the reserve forces. The new law makes reserve service obligatory for all those entering the armed forces after August 9, 1955. The number of years of reserve duty will vary with the individual's length of service in the active forces. The normal total military obligation is six years, at least two in three to six months and the rest in reserve training.

A special program, however, permitting shorter active service combined with longer reserve service, is available to young men under 18½, to a maximum of 250,000 men a year. They are permitted to volunteer for a total of eight years' service, which would be made up of active duty of but three to six months and the rest in reserve training.

Organized labor will be watching carefully developments under this Act. We will be watching particularly to find out whether the Defense Department revises its outmoded reserve training program and institutes a more energetic and effective training procedure for reservists. We also want to make certain that passage of this law does not lead to a full-scale system of Universal Military Training. The adoption of compulsory military training would be contrary to the traditional American way of life. It would disrupt family life and educational opportunities. It would turn over to the mili-

tary control of the nation's youth at a time when young men are in a very

formative stage; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, 1. The AFL-CIO urges the Defense Department to develop an adequately conceived and effective reserve training program under the Armed Forces Reserve Act of 1955 to supplement the armed forces of the United States.

2. We strongly support continuation of the Selective Service system as long as this is needed to maintain the strength of our armed forces against the threat of Communist aggression.

3. We oppose the adoption of any program of Universal Military Train-

ing.

MANPOWER POLICY FOR FULL MOBILIZATION

Last summer the federal government conducted a test exercise of government operations under a mock atomic bomb attack on the continental United States. This exercise, called "Operation Alert," involved a mass evacuation of government agencies from the Nation's Capital.

In response to this attack, President Eisenhower, at a meeting of the Cabinet in the midst of Operation Alert issued a mock order establishing martial law throughout the United States. He said that if the attack had been real the extent of the damage would have been so great that he saw no

other way to handle the resulting chaos and confusion.

Yet this declaration served only to add confusion to a complicated administrative problem. The military forces who were given broad and sweeping authority under the mock martial law, were of course not experienced in such civilian problems as production, manpower, and stabilization. By the end of the exercises, even many government officials were convinced that a better arrangement than martial law would have to be devised. At the present time, a special Cabinet Committee is reviewing the entire problem raised by martial law.

This controversy over the possible application of martial law in a national emergency focuses attention on a critical manpower problem: whether in a time of emergency the mobilization of manpower is to be accomplished through voluntary measures or by emphasizing compulsory measures such as national service legislation. On this issue, both labor and management are basically in agreement. Both groups are represented on the National Labor-Management Manpower Policy Committee composed of representatives of major labor and business organizations and co-chaired by the Office of Defense Mobilization and the Department of Labor.

Over a two-year period, this Committee developed "A Manpower Policy for Full Mobilization" which it submitted to the Director of the Office of

for Full Mobilization," which it submitted to the Director of the Office of Defense Mobilization. This program is based on the conviction that "the way to mobilize civilian manpower is through voluntary measures . . . The Committee is unanimously opposed to national service legislation and other similar controls." The Committee also stated that even in the event of an attack on the United States, ". . . the self-imposed discipline of free men

and women facing a situation of ultimate danger can give the nation the

stability and flexibility it must have to survive."

The report specifically recommends that a National Labor-Management Manpower Policy Committee "advise the over-all mobilization agency." The Committee, according to the recommendation, should have ". . . authority and responsibility to participate in all policy developments and recommendations, including the right to initiate the consideration of manpower policies."

The report did not advocate a manpower program in which individuals—workers or employers—are free to act in any way that they wish. There must be government leadership and certain government penalties worked out with the help of management and labor, even in what is essentially a

voluntary manpower program.

In order to be fully prepared for any emergency, it is essential that the National Labor-Management Manpower Policy Committee remain in full operation and that its local and regional structure be kept at least on a standby and semi-active basis, so that some type of organizational arrangements would be available for immediate action in case of a national emergency; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, 1. We vigorously oppose the use of martial law as a response to atomic attack. We do not believe that military authorities should be made responsible for deciding questions which are essentially civilian in character. In the event of an emergency, the major responsibility of the armed forces of necessity will be to conduct military operations. They should not be diverted from this primary task to decide issues for which they are normally not responsible. The regular civil authorities, supplemented where necessary by individuals or groups recruited under the civil defense organization, must continue to be responsible for making the major governmental decisions in the event of a national emergency. There is little to be gained by maintaining an Office of Defense Mobilization to develop policies for national emergencies if military authority is to be substituted for civilian responsibility when war comes.

2. We reiterate our firm conviction that all manpower planning for mobilization should be based upon the principle of voluntarism. The Office of Defense Mobilization and the Department of Labor should insure that their planning for potential mobilization is based on voluntary principles.

3. The development of manpower mobilization measures should be continued by the Administration through consultation with the National Labor-Management Manpower Policy Committee. The "Manpower Program for Full Mobilization," recommended by the National Labor-Management Manpower Policy Committee, should serve as the basis for manpower mobilization planning.

MERCHANT MARINE

At a time when the entire economy of the United States is expanding and the commitments of our nation abroad, both economic and military are increasing, the United States merchant marine stands as a paradox: its ships are overage and unsuited for today's international competition; it is totally incapable of supplying a war of even the Korea size; it is constantly shrinking in size as more and more of its numbers are transferred to nations offering substandard wages and low taxes; it is under attack at home by various partisan interests and it is without a policy for correcting this downward slide.

Maritime unions are aware of this situation and, despite these many handicaps of the industry, have managed to build strong, vigorous, democratic unions and have consistently negotiated contracts which provide for our members excellent working conditions, wages and fringe benefits.

Nonetheless, maritime unions see a host of problems that affect every seagoing or waterfront worker. These conditions present clear dangers to all and could conceivably lead to a weakening of the rights and benefits now enjoyed by our members.

Now, therefore, be it RESOLVED:

St. Lawrence Seaway: The threat to the American and Canadian seamen is also being felt on the Great Lakes. We deem it imperative that before the St. Lawrence Seaway opens legislation be undertaken to ban Canadian coastal and U.S.-Canada lake ports trade to foreign flag vessels. This is customary in almost all maritime nations. It is also imperative that the pilots taking over on ships entering or leaving the St. Lawrence Seaway be either nationals of Canada or the United States, a practice adhered to in virtually every world port. Further, we urge a change in the status of British ships so they will be classed as British vessels instead of Canadian vessels as they are at present.

Anti-Union Legislation: The host of anti-labor legislation on the city, state and national level, such as the "right to work" legislation and the recent Congressional proposal which would have in effect frozen the wages of seamen and required compulsory arbitration, are all restrictive moves aimed at weakening and destroying the labor moment in the Martime Industry. Therefore, we urge a vigorous campaign on the national and local levels to protect the rights of union members in all industries against a regulated and regimented labor movement in America.

"50-50" Law: The maintenance of the cargo preference or "50-50" Law is a basic necessity to U. S. shipping, even though the maritime industry felt that it would be fair and proper to insist upon 100 percent. Without the law requiring that half of the U. S. Government-generated cargoes be carried on U. S. flag ships, hundreds of ships would have to be idled and thousands of seamen laid off. An alliance of foreign shipowners, along with the U. S. State and Agricultural Departments, has conducted a continuing campaign to cripple the law. We therefore urge that the "50-50" Law be made permanent and irrevocable, and diligently enforced.

Marine Hospitals: The Marine Hospital Program for seamen is of vital importance to an industry that ranks third in accidents and whose

personnel are constantly exposed to pestilence and disease peculiar to the ports throughout the world at which they must call. We urge that sufficient annual appropriations be forthcoming to maintain the marine hospitals and that an end be put to the constant threat of decreasing medical facilities for seamen.

Hiring Hall: The practice in use in Maritime Hiring Halls as in other industries where men must change jobs frequently is the best method to insure fair and equitable distribution of work and at the same time guard against abuses, such as the shape-up. The maritime unions have been built around the hiring hall and have fought countless struggles to maintain it; therefore, we urge that federal legislation be undertaken at once to guarantee that the hiring hall be recognized as the proper medium for employment in all industries in which its use has been in accepted practice.

Coastal and Intercoastal Trades: Coastal and intercoastal shipping have declined substantially over the past years and seamen have suffered a consequent loss in employment opportunities. We urge all-out effort to promote a revival of these vital trades, and that the Maritime Administration encourage new methods of operation, such as "roll-on, roll-off" operations, to give impetus to this revival. We urge further that the Merchant Marine Act of 1936 be amended to provide construction subsidies as an inducement to new companies to enter these services. We believe, too, that inducements could be offered in the form of relief on Panama Canal tolls for U. S. shipping.

Foreign-Flag Transfers: Within the past year, over 100 U. S.-flag ships have been transferred to foreign registry by their American owners in order to avoid U. S. wages and taxes. The Government allowed these transfers and is still allowing American-built and paid for ships to go under flags where they immediately drive U. S.-flag ships from the seas. In addition, U. S. owners are also chartering foreign-flag ships for use in trade to the United States and Canada thereby causing American seamen to lose jobs. We urge that the government immediately stop approval of any further transfers and that legislation be undertaken to halt the practice of American interests using foreign-flag ships in competition against U. S.-flag vessels.

Government Training Program: As a civilian industry we are unequivocally opposed to the government training of personnel to turn loose on a saturated industry already suffering from heavy unemployment. The maritime industry has ample provision within the industry for upgrading men from the lowest rating to master without the necessity for maintaining a million dollar a year government apparatus. At the moment, there are licensed officers who have been awaiting berths for over two years, yet the federal subsidized schools continue to turn out men by the hundreds. Therefore, we urge the immediate closing of government academies.

International Labor Organization: As participants over the years in the conventions of the International Labor Organization, we recognize the constructive work which this body can and does perform in the interests of workers throughout the world, even though American standards are seldom affected. We urge endorsement of the ILO maritime conventions that have been approved by the labor designated representatives of the United States to conferences of the International Labor Organization.

Military Sea Transport Service: Direct and indirect government competition with private enterprise is a generally frowned upon practice. The operation of vessels by the MSTS in competition with privately-owned vessels is harmful to the maritime industry in general and to the interests of organized seafaring men, as well as those manning the government ships. We, therefore, urge elimination of the government from competition with private shipping.

Protection of Seamen's Legal Rights: On the Federal Statute Books are numerous maritime laws that work to protect American seamen and have functioned well over the years to provide basic protection of seamen's rights. Attempts have been made to propose "streamlining" of these laws by government bureaus, insurance companies and ship-owners, which would undoubtedly result in the reduction of a sizable number of the rights seamen now enjoy by law. Therefore, we urge that all steps be taken to vigrously enforce all United States laws enacted to protect the rights of seamen.

Ship's Radio: There have been moves recently within the industry to replace ship's radio telegraphy with the radio telephone. Aboard a ship at sea, radio telegraphy is its only contact with the outside world and it is vital that the method of communication be the best and without failure to protect the lives of the crewmen aboard. We urge that all steps be taken to safeguard the essential and vital radio operator aboard ship under the U. S. flag.

Unemployment Insurance: The unemployment insurance benefit programs in practice in the states of California and New York as relate to seamen are examples of state action that should be adopted elsewhere. We urge action by the state labor bodies toward raising their state benefit level and toward improving the administration of their programs to obtain fair treatment for all seamen.

Seamen's Charity and Private Welfare Groups: American seamen enjoy the highest maritime wages in the world and through their unions have first-class protection against the enemies of seamen both home and abroad. It has been the practice of some charity groups and private welfare agencies to picture to the rest of the labor movement seamen as badly in need of care and aid, both here and in foreign ports, thus soliciting funds from the labor movement as a whole. Inasmuch as the American seaman has full and adequate protection through his contract benefits and his union, he is not in need of outside charity; therefore, we urge that the entire labor movement cooperate toward eliminating these so-called seaman's charities which have come to exist solely as bureaucracies for their officers and employes. This was also the recent position taken by Seafarers Section, including the Amer-

ican delegates, of the International Transport Workers Federation, affiliated with the ICFTU.

Coast Guard: Attempts to further restrict and control the American seamen through Federal legislation have been put forth by the United States Coast Guard, which during World War II secured and retained the power to certify and issue documents to seamen, hold trials, suspend a man's right to work and carry out a security screening program. The current attempt at restricting seamen's rights is a so-called profiling system to black-ball from the industry on phony physical and psychological grounds men it wishes to remove from ships. No civilian industry is under the military control that must be endured by the seamen. Therefore, issuance of seamen's documents, licenses, the U. S. Shipping Commissioner, the Marine Inspection Service, and the administration of U. S. Government in Maritime matters be returned to the Department of Commerce, from which it was taken.

Subsidies: The entire question of subsidies for the nation's merchant marine is referred to the Executive Council for consideration and action.

The experience of the seamen's unions indicates that the fight to prevent restriction of their inherent rights as trade unionists must be a constant one. This is a fight that must be waged in concert with all unions and to this end we ask all affiliates of the AFL-CIO to join in combatting attempts at restrictive government controls and in the elimination of those already in existence.

SHIPBUILDING

While shippards are booming in all of the other important shipbuilding countries of the world, the trend in the U. S. has continued downward during the past year.

The American shipbuilding industry, vitally essential to the defense of the nation, is in a greatly depressed condition with a large number of highly skilled workers unemployed.

Figures just released by the Maritime Administration indicate that during the twelve months ending with June, 1955 deliveries of ocean-going vessels of 1,000 gross tons or over by the shipyards of the world totaled 594 vessels with a gross tonnage of close to four and three quarter millions.

New construction on hand or contracted for on July 1, 1955, which is the last date on which world comparisons are available, discloses an estimated total of 1,437 vessels of all types (1,000 gross tons and over) under construction or on order in the principal shipbuilding countries of the world on that date, totaling almost 12,600,000 gross tons.

Our yards held only 1.7 percent of this total tonnage, on 14 vessels (3 cargo and 11 tankers) to put us in 10th place behind Great Britain, Germany, Japan, Sweden, Holland, France, Italy (excluding Trieste), Norway and Denmark.

The latest available employment figures also show a decline in the total employment in private United States shipbuilding and repair yards during the past year. On July 1, 1954 the Bureau of Labor Statistics showed employment in all private shipyards at 106,300. By July 1, 1955, the Bureau's figure had dropped to 101,700.

Reliable estimates indicate that a minimum of 130,000 employes equitably distributed on all coasts, constitutes the minimum employment necessary for maintaining this industry ready for any national emergency.

Does this currently depressed condition of our shipbuilding industry, while yards in other major shipbuilding countries are booming, mean that United States companies are not ordering new ships? Far from it.

A large portion of the shipbuilding work stacked up in foreign yards has been placed there by United States companies and their foreign affiliates.

The latest comprehensive survey of foreign yard orders for American and affiliated companies reveals some startling facts.

The great volume of new shipbuilding orders placed in foreign yards by American companies and their affiliates began in 1949 and now far exceeds the total orders placed in United States yards since World War II.

More than 300 vessels, most of them large oceangoing tankers, bulk carriers and freighters, have been ordered from foreign yards by United States companies and their affiliates since the end of the war. These vessels total over 6 million deadweight tons. A large portion of this staggering total is still under construction or on order.

What is the current picture? As of June 30, 1955, United States companies and their affiliates were building or had on order in foreign yards and for foreign registry 62 vessels totaling 1,278,172 gross tons. These vessels include 41 tankers (720,272 GT), 18 ore carriers (438,400 GT) and 3 dry cargo vessels (19,500 GT). These figures were just released by the Maritime Administration.

As of the same date, according to Shipbuilders' Council figures of United States yard construction, U. S. companies and their affiliates were building or had on order in United States yards only 8 vessels totaling 128,600 gross tons. These included 7 tankers 124,860 GT and one ore carrier (3,800 GT).

Why has this tremendous volume of ship construction by American firms and their affiliates gone foreign since the war?

The answer lies principally in the large cost advantages gained both by

foreign construction and foreign flag operation.

This difference in construction costs is partially due to the far lower wage rates and the less favorable working conditions which prevail in foreign yards, to lower material costs, and to the subsidies and tax advantages which some of the foreign governments have granted to encourage the growth of their shipbuilding industry.

Thus, even though our shipyards are more efficiently operated than those

in foreign lands, the end product costs more.

Our American shipbuilding worker is entitled to keep pace with other American workers and to enjoy an American standard of living. This is recognized under existing legislation which makes it possible for a United States company to apply for and obtain approval for a construction subsidy und r which the United States Government will pay that portion of U. S. construction cost which exceeds the foreign construction cost. However, it is necessary for the company to comply with numerous regulations of the Maritime Administration, and it has no assurance that the subsidy portion of its construction cost will materialize as it must be presented to and be authorized by the Congress after the application is approved by the Maritime Administration.

As a result, the advantage of such a possible subsidy arrangement on construction costs is lost and the business goes overseas, except in such cases where the company applying is presently operating vessels under United States Government operating subsidies which require that its vessels be U. S. built; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, The AFL-CIO supports a comprehensive, long-range program for the shipbuilding industry of America. Such a program must in-

clude the following points:

1. Congressional recognition of the serious nature of this current crisis

in the American shipbuilding industry.

2. A long-range ship replacement program by private U. S. shipping companies designed to prevent obsolescence of our merchant fleet and to retain skilled workers in our private shippards. The restoration of the revolving fund of the U. S. Maritime Administration is most important to achieve this goal.

3. Because of the depression in our private shipbuilding industry, Congress must seek to bring to U. S. private shippards the shipbuilding being done in foreign yards for American shipowners and the U. S. government in its offshore procurement program. It is important to repeal U. S. laws which restrict our yards from building ships for foreign accounts while there are no restrictions on foreign yards building ships for American accounts.

4. Congress must enact a carefully drawn subsidy program for the American shipbuilding industry under which subsidies would be strictly limited to the actual auditable cost differences between American and foreign construction.

POLITICAL ACTION

Since the Founding of our Republic, American labor has been in the

forefront of the fight to advance the welfare of our community.

Down through the years the American labor movement has constantly endeavored to raise the level of wages, to improve working conditions, and to raise the over-all standard of living of all the working people of our country. Through strong organization following sound collective bargaining procedures we have helped make our economy healthy and enabled our democracy to withstand all assaults upon it.

Today, as a result of the efforts of our organizations, we have achieved laws embodying the 40-hour week, providing for workmen's compensation and compensation for persons thrown out of work through no fault of their

own, protecting the health and safety standards of our working population,

and providing a measure of security for our aged.

Despite these achievements and the strength they have given to our country's economy, a small but powerful core of reactionary business groups continues to oppose the legitimate efforts at betterment of our organizations. Failing to thwart and frustrate the labor movement on the collective bargaining front, they have carried their destructive program to the legislative halls of the nation. Through unfair and inequitable legislation they have sought to punish American trade unions and to destroy, or render useless, our collective bargaining strength.

The enactment of the Taft-Hartley law and the enactment of "right to work" laws in 18 states of our union spearheaded the attempt to return American working people to a condition of economic serfdom. These laws constitute a dagger at the throat of American trade unions and a threat to

the standard of living of every working man and woman.

To protect the gains we have achieved on the collective bargaining front and to stop the assaults upon our standards of living in the national Congress and the legislatures of the various states, we have been forced to turn to the field of political education and activity. We have sought to alert our members to the assaults being made upon our organizations and the standards of living which we have established.

We have sought to inform them of the records and actions of the legislators and other public officials who seek their votes in order that our members may exercise their independent judgment at election time. We have urged them to register and to vote in order that they may participate fully in the government of our country and we have urged them to contribute voluntarily to our political education funds in order that worthy candidates for public office need not rely solely upon the contributions of wealthy individuals and interests; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, This first convention of the world's largest trade union organization affirms the need for a continuing and expanding non-partisan program of political education designed to protect and secure the legitimate economic and political aspirations of America's working men and women.

We call upon each and all of the affiliated organizations to render the Committee on Political Education of the AFL-CIO all aid and assistance that it may require in the achievement of our purpose.

The political activities of organized labor should be expanded and the AFL-CIO should provide assistance, direction and coordination to the political education work of state, county and city federations and councils and also provide all possible aid and cooperation to the political education and action activities of the affiliated national and international unions.

One important phase of our political work should be the development of a program to place the appropriate voting records of our elected officials in the homes of each member of our affiliated organizations in order that they may know the actions of these officials with respect to the issues which affect our national well-being and security.

Political activity among the wives, sisters and daughters of our membership as well as among the women members of our organization should be intensified to the end that their vast resources of skill, energy and devotion to the cause of good citizenship may be enlisted on our behalf.

We reaffirm organized labor's traditional policy of avoiding entangling alliances with any other group and of supporting worthy candidates regardless of their party affiliation. We will cooperate wherever practical and feasible with other groups which have the same ideals and aims as our organization but we seek neither to capture any organization nor will we submerge our identity to any other group in any other manner.

To finance the program herein set forth, an annual campaign should be conducted for voluntary contributions from our members and we call upon each affiliated organization to render every possible cooperation and as-

sistance in this endeavor.

It is our firm belief that our democratic form of self-government as set forth in the Constitution of the United States is the best that has ever been devised to meet the needs of free men. We pledge to it unselfish and unstinting support and vow that our every effort shall be directed to its preservation.

WOMEN'S POLITICAL ACTIVITIES

For the past several years women have been playing an increasingly active role in the political life of our nation. In recent elections larger numbers of women than ever before registered and voted. In the campaigns which preceded these elections more women than ever before served on campaign committees in every capacity.

We view this development with approval and express the hope that it continues. We believe it represents a long over-due recognition by women that politics affects the lives and well-being of each individual citizen and that democracy imposes upon each citizen the responsibility to participate.

In this increasing political activity the wives, sisters and daughters of our trade union members are playing their part. They are active at all levels of our political movement and are serving the cause of good government in every capacity. They have taken the lead in forming telephone brigades, holding coffee hours in their homes, volunteering their clerical skills, assisting in the canvass of their neighborhoods, and in serving as election day workers at the polls. As their experience increases they are taking part in the active management of campaigns together with their union husbands and brothers in the effort to achieve a common goal.

Many state and local councils and federations have recognized the worth of their activity and have established programs for its furtherance. Many have appointed to their political action committees and educational leagues persons with the specific responsibility of developing and carrying on the

program of family participation.

This program has been, and should be, an integral part of the political action program of our state bodies and international and national unions.

The preponderance of women over men of voting age is concentrated in the industrial areas where their votes are of particular importance to organized labor. Furthermore, it is in these areas where anti-labor forces are at work to win the votes of trade union wives; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, In the coming elections there will be ample opportunity for us to continue to carry forward our program for family participation

and we urge that this opportunity be utilized to the fullest extent.

We authorize and direct the Committee on Political Education to continue to strengthen its program for integrating the family voter into the political action program of our organization through the continuance of family participation training conferences and the establishment and encouragement of the women's divisions of the labor leagues.

We further urge our state and city central bodies and councils which have not as yet conducted family participation training conferences or established women's divisions to do so forthwith so that we may face the challenge of

election day with our resources fully mobilized.

ELECTORAL REFORMS

Democratic government depends, for its fullest realization, upon the greatest possible participation of those who live under that government and upon the full responsiveness of the government to the will of the majority. Anything less constitutes an imperfection in our form of government.

Unfortunately, such imperfections still exist in the form of outmoded election laws and practices and in antiquated Congressional procedures. Together they operate to prevent full expression of the will of the majority, and to relieve our officials and other elected representatives from the full responsibility they should have to the majority will.

At a time when the United States is the world leader of democratic nations, we cannot tolerate these blots upon the methods by which we govern ourselves. We cannot meet the problems of today with procedures and

practices of yesterday; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, The President and Vice President of the United States should be elected by direct popular vote. The electoral college system has

outlived its usefulness, and should be abolished.

We believe, further, that a uniform primary law should be adopted by each state in order to permit direct and open primaries and to afford each person who desires it the opportunity to place his candidacy before the voters.

We believe, further, that a uniform registration system for each state, designed to facilitate rather than hinder free voting should be adopted. All poll taxes should be abolished, and legalisms and technicalities which have done much to hamper voting should likewise be done away with.

ETHICAL PRACTICES

The democratic institutions of the United States of America were established on the foundation of honesty, integrity, responsibility. The free and

democratic labor movement of our country similarly rests upon the foundations of brotherhood, honesty and integrity.

Any departure from the most exacting ethical principles is harmful not only to the people directly affected but to the whole fabric of our civilization.

The American labor movement has ever been quick in its denunciation of public officials who betray their trust. We have been equally critical of businessmen who have used corrupt methods and bribery to gain their selfish, acquisitive ends. We must be equally quick to recognize and condemn those instances of racketeering, corruption, and disregard for ethical standards when they occur inside our labor movement.

The vast majority of labor union officials accept their responsibility and trust. They endeavor honestly to carry out the democratic will of their members and to discharge the duties of their office. Yet the reputations of the vast majority are imperiled by the dishonest, corrupt, unethical practices of the few who betray their trust and who look upon the trade union movement not as a brotherhood to serve the general welfare, but as a means to advance their own selfish purposes or to forward the aim of groups or organizations who would destroy our democratic institutions.

By the adoption of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, the American labor movement has clearly accepted the responsibility for keeping its own house in order and to protect the movement "from any and all corrupt influences and from the undermining efforts of Communist agencies and all others who are opposed to the basic principles of our democracy and free and democratic unionism." Only by their wholehearted dedication to this constitutional objective can labor unions meet their obligations to their memberships. Failure to meet these responsibilities can only result in governmental assumption of what are properly trade unon functions. Reliance on the agencies of government for keeping our movement free from the infiltration of racketeers, crooks, Communists, Fascists and other enemies of free democratic unionism would constitute a threat to the independence and freedom of the entire movement; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, 1. The First Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO calls upon all its affiliated national and international unions to take whatever steps are necessary within their own organizations to effect the policies and ethical standards set forth in the constitution of the AFL-CIO. When constitutional amendments or changes in internal administrative procedures are necessary for the affiliated organizations to carry out the responsibilities incumbent upon autonomous organizations, such amendments and changes should be undertaken at the earliest practicable time.

2. This First Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO pledges its full support, good offices, and staff facilities of the AFL-CIO Committee on Ethical Practices to all national and international unions in their efforts to carry out and put into practice the constitutional mandate to keep our organization "free from any taint of corruption or Communism."

IMMIGRATION

In 1952 the Congress of the United States passed, over the veto of President Truman, the McCarran-Walter Act, regulating the conditions under which immigrants may come to this country, either temporarily or for permanent residence. The Act established many new restrictions on immigration, and provided new grounds on the basis of which persons who have been admitted may subsequently be deported. At the time of its passage, fears were expressed that the Act might be unfair in its treatment of immigrants and naturalized citizens.

Nearly three years of operation of this law have shown critical deficiencies in the law. To the extent that our immigration policy does not fully reflect democratic and humanitarian traditions of the nation, we suffer in our own self-esteem and forfeit the support of the other democratic nations.

Experience with the existing immigration quota system, in particular, has pointed up the need for amending the law. This system divides the total allowed immigration among the various countries on the basis of the national origin of the American population in 1920. Experience has shown that some countries send far fewer immigrants to the United States than their quota allows, while others—frequently those where there is the greatest desire for immigration—are able to send only a few of those who want to come.

In 1953, the Administration recommended, and the Congress passed, the Refugee Relief Act, designed to permit the entry of some 214,000 refugees from Europe on a non-quota basis. In the main, it was sound and desirable legislation. However, this law has been so administered that only a limited number of refugees has in fact been admitted. Furthermore, only a year remains before the Act is scheduled to expire.

We believe that admission of reasonable numbers of immigrants is of benefit to this nation; and that a fair and humanitarian immigration policy can be effected which would not undermine the employment opportunities of American workers. We assert the need for humanitarian treatment of those who, having borne the burdens of economic misfortune and war, now seek a new home and new opportunities within our borders; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, 1. We urge that the McCarran-Walter Act be revised and liberalized, to reflect the democratic and humanitarian traditions of our country and to provide an immigration policy attuned to the present requirements of our own nation and of the entire free world.

2. The Congress should remove technical and restrictive provisions from the Refugee Relief Act so that there will be no further delay in admitting the full number of refugees authorized by the law. The present expiration date of the Refugee Relief Act should be extended if necessary to assure that at least the full number of immigrants presently authorized by that Act may be admitted.

ATOMIC ENERGY

Developments in atomic science have reached the stage of technologically translating theoretical scientific knowledge into increasingly practical peace-

ful application. A widening impact on most of industry can be expected soon.

At the Geneva Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy an impetus to early application of many uses was given by broadened declassification of secret atomic information and a freer exchange of scientific discoveries than had existed in many years. Further developments along this line will undoubtedly result from the establishment of an international agency on atomic energy, which is now under active consideration by the United Nations.

To organized labor these developments provide an opportunity and a challenge to serve as a public interest force seeking the maximum application of this new science and industry for the broadest beneficial uses for all of mankind. Organized labor must act also to assure maintenance of adequate protection from harmful radiation both for workmen exposed to

radioactive materials and for the general public.

The worldwide importance of the growing application of nuclear science led the free trade unions of the world, through the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, to convene an International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy in Brussels, Belgium, last August, just prior to the Geneva Atomic Conference. The ICFTU conferees, while supporting the measures taken by various governments and the United Nations, called especial attention to the need for:

democratic control over the production and use of atomic energy; the association of the free trade unions with such control;

the application of all necessary safety measures in plants extracting and producing fissionable materials, producing atomic energy and using its products;

the ensuring of high social standards in plants extracting and producing fissionable materials and atomic energy, with the cooperation of the free trade unions, in the first place by means of collective bargaining;

adequate safeguards for the rights and interests of the workers wherever displacement of manpower might result from atomic developments.

Here in the United States, where the greatest investment of public funds has been made in developing this new technology, action for more rapid and broadened application of peaceful uses of nuclear science must be urged upon the Atomic Energy Commission.

After several years of hesitation, the Commission finally in the past year has been nudged into stepping up the pace of both government and private development for peaceful purposes, but still is proceeding slowly and, as far

as the public is concerned, largely in the dark.

In stimulating a more aggressive program of development for civilian uses, the AEC and the nation must remain alert to the danger of commercial monopoly. The Government must vigorously enforce its authority to prevent any firm from using patent rights to gain monopolistic control of any important phase of nuclear development.

A relatively few industrial giants have had the opportunity as contrac-

tors for the Government in the military development phases of the atomic program to gain special "know-how" and personnel in this complex field. They must not be allowed to convert their head start or inside knowledge into an unduly favored position or exclusive control of any aspect of private application.

The widening of private activity in this field must take place on a truly competitive basis to bring to the American people the benefits to which their investment in atomic energy entitles them. The Government must therefore encourage participation by as wide a variety of responsible private enterprises as practicable and must assure such enterprises an equal opportunity through appropriate provisions for access to necessary atomic information and resources; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, The AFL-CIO urges the following as fundamental elements in an enlightened United States atomic energy program in the best interests of the American public and the world as a whole:

- (1) The United States should participate wholeheartedly in the formation and operation of an International Agency on Atomic Energy adhering to the principles urged upon the members of the United Nations by the ICFTU.
- (2) The United States should encourage, and participate in, regional agreements under the United Nations Charter to make possible for several countries within the appropriate region to assure mutual availability of capital, technical know-how and equipment, as well as to develop common programs in whose benefits all would share.
- (3) Development of peaceful uses of the atom should be promoted as rapidly, fully and equitably as possible, to hasten the day when the atom's potential is reflected in improved standards of living for all.
- (4) The tasks of overcoming technological obstacles and of putting atomic energy into practical everyday civilian use in this country, including the construction of large-scale power reactors, must be carried through both by the Federal Government itself and by expanded participation of private enterprise.
- (5) In encouraging broadened participation by private industry, the Federal Government must not relinquish its responsibility to assure that atomic energy is developed and applied in the public interest and under standards established and maintained to that end. Federal policy must prevent the development of monopoly in any aspect of this new industry.

Full consideration must be given to the probable need for Federal standards to be established either through the licensing power of the Atomic Energy Commission or by legislation.

- (6) Since expanded peacetime atomic development will have a marked economic and social impact, its likely effects must be weighed carefully in advance and a program must be drawn to meet the human needs arising out of any dislocation of existing industry.
 - (7) The public must be kept informed fully of the nation's peacetime

atomic plans and progress. The program of easing and eliminating secrecy restrictions on nonmilitary technical information must be greatly accelerated.

- (8) The growth of atomic energy operations requires that particular attention be directed to the development of:
 - (a) A sound labor-management relations program, with maximum emphasis on free collective bargaining as an integral part of broadened private enterprise.
 - (b) Effective health and safety standards to meet the special hazards presented in work with radioactive materials.
 - (c) Provisions for fair compensation for workmen suffering radiation injury.
 - (d) A voluntary manpower program to assure a necessary supply of competent skilled labor to meet our atomic needs.
- (9) A statutory Labor-Management Advisory Committee should be established to advise the Atomic Energy Commission in developing these programs.

POWER

There is now general recognition, as organized labor has long advocated, that the expanding economy of the U. S. needs additional power and energy beyond even the most optimistic estimates of the recent past. The best informed sources predict the necessity of increasing the available supply from the present level of 7.7 kilowatt hours per man hour of work in all of industry to 14 kilowatt hours per man hour of work by 1970.

The need for increased power also stems from the increased use of electrical devices and processes in industry, in agriculture and in the home.

Many new industries use electro-process methods which require large amounts of electricity. Aluminum and titanium are two new industries in this category. Application of automation in industry generally requires tremendous increases in the use of electric power. The new atomic industry is both a large user and potential source of electric power. This total use of electric power at major AEC installations will increase in the one year from 1955 to 1956 by 20 billion kilowatt hours. Total AEC use of electricity which constitutes 9 percent of sales to consumers in 1955 will in 1956 increase to 12.8 percent of total consumption of electricity in the entire U. S. Part of this increase could be obtained from nuclear power reactors.

There are many new appliances in the homes. As additional power becomes available, more of it is used in the home for these appliances, and all of society benefits from the increased use. Experience in low-cost areas proves that the increase in use of power brings a higher standard of living in the home and on the farm, as well as expanded output and employment in the factory and in the mill. The housewife benefits. The worker benefits when low rates bring increased use. While residential users in Rhode

Island paid \$8.74 for the identical amount of power which cost \$4.92 in Tennessee, the average residential use in Providence, Rhode Island, was 1,230 kilowatt hours contrasting with an average residential use of 7,020 kilowatt hours in Chattanooga, Tennessee.

We are proud of the achievements of the TVA and will oppose all efforts to weaken or cripple this outstandingly successful program. We want no

more Dixon-Yates proposals.

Only the Federal Government can provide effective leadership to develop our large river basins, and only the Federal Government can provide for the multi-purpose planning that can bring the maximum flood control, power, navigation, recreation and irrigation which so many of our river basin areas need.

Hydroelectric power without expanding nuclear and conventional fuel power plants cannot meet the total needs of our expanding economy. We must develop an expansion of our total supply. Public policy should encourage the development of power using all possible sources of energy with both public and private ownership. We believe that, whatever the form of ownership, workers employed in the construction or operation of power plants or the sale of electric power, are entitled to the same rights, benefits, and privileges of free organization and collective bargaining as workers in industry generally. We call for the repeal of any special restrictions on collective bargaining rights of workers in electric power industries; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, The AFL-CIO in Convention assembled supports programs for the expansion of electric power supply at the lowest feasible cost practical under the terms of programs which have been established since the use of electric power became widespread throughout the country.

- The federal government should encourage the development of power using all possible sources of energy with both public and private ownership.
- 2. We ask the federal government to provide effective leadership to develop our large river basins. Specifically, we call for the earliest possible Congressional action for the authorization and construction of the high dam at Hells Canyon on the Snake River.
- 3. We call upon the various state governments involved to repeal legislation which denies to employees of publicly or privately owned electric power systems collective bargaining rights and privileges available to workers in industry generally in their respective states.

NATURAL GAS

A determined effort is being made by the producers of natural gas to pass legislation which would exempt the primary production of gas from regulation by the Federal Power Commission. The House of Representatives during the past session of Congress passed the Harris Bill. The issue is now pending in the Senate.

There is ample evidence that removal of regulation would increase prices to consumers of gas by many millions of dollars and unreasonably swell the profits of the producers. Historically, organized labor has consistently supported the interests of consumers; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, This Convention of the AFL-CIO instructs its officers to vigorously oppose any bill designed to exempt the primary production of gas

from regulation by the Federal Power Commission.

FEDERAL FLOOD INSURANCE

Insurance to protect real and personal property from the ravages of floods and hurricanes is rarely available, and then at almost prohibitive premiums. Damage from recent floods in six northeastern states alone is estimated at nearly two billion dollars, ninety-eight percent of which is uninsured.

Federal and state grants to disaster areas are limited exclusively to the removal of debris and the restoration of public property and buildings, utilities, streets and highways. Other assistance to the victims of floods and hurricanes is severely limited by the meager resources of voluntary agencies such as the National Disaster Services of the American National Red Cross and other forms of community relief.

Flood victims often become debt victims because of the mortgage and personal loans they are forced to obtain to rehabilitate themselves after disaster. Many families, such as retired workers, are, however, not eligible for loans; now therefore, be it

RESOLVED, The AFL-CIO urges the Congress of the United States to create a system of federal insurance to protect citizens from the loss of houses, furniture, factories and heavy equipment in floods, hurricanes and other natural disasters.

COMMUNITY SERVICES

The AFL-CIO is dedicated to the proposition that what is good for the community is good for labor.

It is in this spirit that members of the AFL-CIO function first and foremost as citizens of their communities.

Further to encourage the active participation and total integration of union members and their families in community affairs, the AFL-CIO, by constitutional provision, has established a permanent national committee on community services.

The objectives of the AFL-CIO in the area of community organization for health, welfare and recreation shall be as follows:

- 1. Encourage equitable labor representation on agency boards and committees.
- 2. Stimulate labor participation in formulating agency policies and programs.

- Develop techniques and methods to interpret for union members agency programs and practices.
- 4. Assist union members, their families and other citizens in time of need.
- Plan for union participation in civil defense and disaster relief programs and operations.
- 6. Help in the development of health and welfare services, such as blood banks and multiple screening.
- 7. Coordinate fund-raising drives, through voluntary federation wherever possible, for voluntary health and welfare services.
- 8. Cooperate with other agencies in dealing with and in solving social and health problems.
- 9. Participate in all genuine efforts designed to improve social work standards and practices; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, The AFL-CIO urges:

- 1. All national and international affiliates to establish community services departments with full-time staff wherever possible.
- 2. All state and city central bodies to establish community services committees with full-time staff wherever possible.
 - 3. All local unions to establish community services committees.
- 4. All affiliates to extend full cooperation to the National Committee in the development of its policies and programs.

HOUSING

No material need of the average American family is more neglected than housing. Despite our great resources and abundance of manpower and skill, our nation has been unable to produce enough housing to meet the pressing needs of millions of families.

Most low-income families and many middle-income families are forced to live in overcrowded, dilapidated slums located in blighted neighborhoods. Housing conditions of Negro and other minority families, who have been virtually barred from the market for new housing, are especially bad.

One-third of the nation is still ill-housed. More than 10,000,000 dwellings are so dilapidated that they should be torn down and some 5,000,000 more require major overhaul to make them fit places in which to live. Each year more homes are added to these categories than are torn down or adequately overhauled.

The housing industry and the present governmental housing programs have failed to meet this challenging situation. In fact, new housing construction, even though at near record levels, barely keeps pace with the formation of new families and other basic continuing needs. Despite billions of dollars of aids extended to the housing industry by the government each year through mortgage insurance, direct lending, slum clearance, land cost write-downs and other devices, no significant progress has been made toward

increasing the supply of good housing. Unless the rate of housing construction is raised to at least 2 million units a year, millions of families will continue to be denied the opportunity to obtain decent homes. We will not achieve this goal unless a substantial proportion of the homes built are within the means of low and moderate income families.

In recent years the need for a comprehensive program to achieve the goal of good housing for every family has been increasingly recognized and accepted. Our nation cannot evade its responsibility for eradicating slums and slum conditions. Every American has the right to a genuine oppor-

tunity to obtain good housing in a good neighborhood.

The National Housing Conference for more than 20 years has made an outstanding contribution to the welfare of the American people by its efforts to win the support of national organizations, local citizen groups and governmental officials for effective measures to assure decent housing to every family. By its outstanding efforts in the fight for better housing the National Housing Conference merits the continued support of the AFL-CIO and its affiliates.

We believe the very foundations of our private enterprise system and our democratic way of life require that our people be properly housed. We believe this can be achieved in a manner fully consistent with our economic system; in fact, an adequate housing program will greatly enhance the basic

strength of our economy; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, 1. Construction of two million new dwelling units a year should be the immediate objective of national policy and should form the

basis of government programs.

2. In order to achieve the goal of two million new housing units a year, a major portion of the new homes constructed should be constructed and marketed at costs within the reach of low and moderate income families with incomes below \$5,000 a year, most of whom are now priced out of the

private housing market.

3. To meet the needs of our lowest income families, a large-scale low-rent public housing program is needed. Such housing is built and financed by private enterprise under a proven formula combining federal financial assistance with local community initiative. Public housing unquestionably offers the only effective means for making good housing available to low-income families at costs they can afford. An adequate supply of low-rent public housing is an absolute prerequisite for effective slum clearance and urban redevelopment since no other sound method is available for rehousing the major portion of the slum dwellers.

The 1949 Housing Act provided for 135,000 new public housing units a year with presidential discretion to increase the program to 200,000. The long delay in carrying out the program, the steady deterioration and expansion of the slums and the new urgencies created by redevelopment and other public improvement programs which have displaced large numbers of low-income families all require rapid completion of the 810,000 unit goal set in 1949. Therefore, an annual rate of at least 200,000 new units

a year should be established and achieved without further delay.

- 4. In recent years the living standards of millions of wage earning families have risen, but despite these income gains, most workers' families are unable to pay more than \$50 to \$80 a month toward housing expenses (including maintenance and utilities, taxes and all other costs). With rising incomes, the deep desire of workers' families for private home ownership has been reinforced, but it can be realized only if its cost can be reduced to a level moderate income families can afford. Therefore, a sound housing program must include as a major plank the means of meeting this growing demand for home ownership among moderate income families involving a total monthly housing cost which does not exceed 20 percent of family income. To achieve this end, we propose a program of low interest long-amortization loans for cooperative, non-profit rental and sales housing for middle-income families, meeting adequate standards of construction, space and availability of community facilities and services. This program should include the following specific features:
- (a) Mortgages should be made available to finance individual purchase, rental, or cooperative ownership of housing for moderate income families on a 40-year term with nominal down payments and at a rate of interest equal to the cost of money to the government plus ½ percent to cover administrative costs. (At present rates, this would total approximately 3 percent.)
- (b) These liberal credit aids should be made available only for homes which are priced within the reach of the moderate income family and are well constructed and large enough for sound family living. To protect against abuse, the home must be finished and include all the features reasonably essential to good and proper living such as sewerage, basic landscaping, finished kitchens and basements or utility rooms, and other essential facilities.
- (c) Cooperative housing should be especially encouraged. The credit aids set forth above as well as special technical assistance should be made available to cooperatives which offer a particularly effective means of bringing monthly costs within the reach of moderate income families.
- (d) To assure success of this moderate income housing program, funds must be available. Experience has demonstrated that private banks, insurance companies and other mortgage lenders are reluctant to pioneer with new programs but embrace them once they have been proved practical through actual trial. This was true of the original FHA program itself.

Therefore, we propose that the Federal Government establish a National Mortgage Corporation to make funds available directly to initiate these programs through loans not to exceed four billion dollars a year. Since these loans will be secured by tangible and valuable real estate, they would result in no ultimate cost to the Government.

5. To provide moderate priced rental housing, much needed in virtually every city, we propose liberal aids to builders and operators who will construct suitable housing at rentals which are within the financial means of the moderate income family. Such housing should be placed under strict

rent ceilings so that the liberal credit aids provided will actually benefit the tenant and not result in excessive profits.

6. The basic principles involved in providing urban housing for low and middle-income families should be applied to appropriate programs for farm housing and we stand ready to support proposals along such lines.

7. To enable families of moderate income to purchase homes on a sound basis, the Federal Government should establish a fund to insure against foreclosure in the event of illness, temporary unemployment, or other emergencies. The cost of such insurance should be added to the mortgage payment but should be set at a very reasonable figure so as not to make it prohibitive.

8. To protect the prevailing labor standards of building trades workers, payment of the prevailing wage should be required to all employees engaged in construction of housing under any program involving Federal

financial assistance.

9. To halt the menacing spread of urban blight, we call for expansion of the urban redevelopment program with emphasis placed primarily upon slum clearance and genuine city rebuilding. Reliance should be placed upon less effective measures, such as "rehabilitation" and "conservation" only where clearly feasible and economical. All such programs in which the government is involved must be carried on with full consideration for the consumer; neither redevelopment nor rehabilitation must be allowed to result in price increases which put the housing beyond the reach of the families who need good housing the most.

10. Because of reduced incomes and special needs, many of our older citizens are confronted with especially acute housing problems. Unfortunately, the needs of elderly couples and single individuals have been virtually ignored in existing housing programs. We recommend a special

Federal program of housing for the elderly which would include:

(a) Authorization for annual construction of 50,000 units of public housing especially suited for the elderly.

(b) Federal assistance for construction of old age rest homes for

elderly persons or couples needing or desiring institutional care.

11. One of the most pressing phases of the housing problem concerns minority families whose housing opportunities are restricted by the withholding of available land and by other forms of discrimination. We believe all housing built with the aid of Federal funds or credit or any other form of financial assistance should be made available to minority families on an equal basis with all other families. The Federal Government has a positive responsibility to see to it that an opportunity to obtain adequate housing is available to all families without regard to race, color, creed or national origin.

12. To provide proper leadership and to assure adequate emphasis on housing and other urban problems in the conduct of our national affairs, we support the proposal that a Secretary of Housing and Urban Affairs be added to the President's Cabinet with jurisdiction over all Federal programs affecting housing and urban affairs.

PUBLIC RELATIONS

Organized labor is aware of the need for attaining and maintaining good public relations. The enemies of labor have sought to isolate our free, democratic trade unions from the rest of the community, in order better to attack our objectives and our activities. These hostile forces have sought to cloak and minimize the constructive achievements of our labor movement in the hope that the public will develop an erroneous and hostile concept of the functions, purposes and accomplishments of trade unions.

Both the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations and their affiliated unions have made notable progress in improving labor's public relations in recent years.

Our Public Relations activities have been compounded of many factors. First of all, the actions and policies of our labor movement have demonstrated its true nature as an organization devoted to the public good and concerned with the welfare of our nation and all of its citizens.

The bona fide labor press, with its large and growing circulation and the continually improving quality of the various union publications, has kept our members alert and informed of the issues of the day in every section of the country.

The AFL and the CIO and their affiliated unions, through the use of radio, have presented their viewpoint directly to the people.

In addition, the AFL and the CIO, by sponsoring liberal commentators like Edward P. Morgan and John W. Vandercook, have brought a fair and unbiased presentation of the news to millions of American listeners—news undictated and uninfluenced by the sponsors. Through the public service announcements on these programs, the constructive viewpoints of the two federations were brought to millions of American homes; now, therefore, be it

- RESOLVED, 1. The AFL-CIO authorizes and instructs its officers to inaugurate an effective and forward-looking public relations program, making use of all available media, including radio and television. The objective of this program shall be to give the American public a true concept of labor's activities and its role in our domestic society.
- 2. The AFL-CIO commends the progress of the bona fide labor press and calls on all our affiliated unions and membership to give full support to the labor press, including the newly created AFL-CIO News.
- 3. The AFL-CIO commends the merger efforts of the International Labor Press of America and the CIO Editors and Publicity Directors Conference as a method of bringing together the editors of union publications and union public relations directors into a common organization best adapted to serving the interests of our organization.
- 4. The AFL-CIO specifically authorizes the Executive Officers to conclude appropriate arrangements for the continued sponsorship of radio news broadcasts.

VETERANS

There is at present in the United States a veterans' population of over 22,000,000. With the continuation of the Selective Service System, and with other induction laws remaining in operation, it is anticipated that each year an additional 1,000,000 veterans will be added to this already large segment of our American population.

Many of these veterans, or members of their immediate families, are members of our affiliated unions. These veterans share with the rest of the nation an interest and concern in the general economic and social conditions which determine whether we have jobs or unemployment, decent standards of living or privation, social legislation and medical care or avoidable illness and disability, adequate housing or slum tenements.

Any veteran being discharged from service faces problems of readjust-Organized labor has always recognized that the returning veteran is entitled to full restitution and protection against the loss of any of his rights, benefits and opportunities which he may have been deprived of as a result of his absence from civilian life.

The demands of these veterans for jobs, security, housing, education and a decent standard of living are identical with the demands of the labor movement; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, The AFL-CIO pledges its complete, active and renewed support to aid the veterans of our nation through legislation and contract

negotiations to accomplish the following program:

- 1. The AFL-CIO shall continue to take such action as is found necessary to insure proper re-employment rights and reinstatement rights for all returning veterans, including persons entering upon active duty for limited periods of training. These rights should include an absolute guarantee that such veterans and trainees will receive full credit for all accumulated employees' benefits to which they would have been entitled if they had not left their employment to enter the armed forces.
- 2. To make the GI Bill of Rights and the Veterans' Readjustment Assistance Act of 1952 more fully effective in the protection of veterans by recommending and supporting legislation providing the following: pensions for all disabled and their dependents, taking into account the increased cost of living conditions; more liberal and effective provisions for direct loans to veterans for the purchase of homes, businesses and farms; improvements in veterans' unemployment compensation; and an increase in Veterans Administration's Impartial Appeal Committees, to review and act upon the great backlog of veterans' claims for compensation and pension entitlements.
- 3. The AFL-CIO shall continue its efforts to have Congress enact into law legislation which would make possible a housing program calculated to assure immediate large-scale housing construction of decent low-cost homes. with no increase in the present GI four and one-half percent interest rate.
- 4. We shall recommend such enlargement of Veterans Administration hospital facilities and services as are necessary to meet fully the medical

care to which veterans are entitled, and the continuation of out-patient treatment and dental care for persons presently returning from the armed forces identical to that granted World War II veterans.

- 5. The AFL-CIO will constantly and vigorously work for fair and equal treatment for all citizens subject to the draft under the Selective Service Act as amended, or similar laws, through the elimination of preferential treatment to any occupational group under these laws or their administration.
- 6. We call upon each affiliated union to establish a veterans committee for the purpose of cooperating with our Committee on Veterans Affairs, to protect the interest of our membership in the Selective Service processes, in the armed forces, and in their readjustment to civilian life following their service to their country.
- 7. We cooperate with the forward looking forces of all existing veterans organizations to aid veterans rehabilitation.
- 8. We ask for a complete review of the present outmoded and antiquated "court martial system" of the armed forces. Every effort should be made to bring about the necessary revision of this system to correct the many injustices committed, under the present provisions, and to insure fair and equal treatment of our men and women while under the jurisdiction of the military, and thereby insure the justice fundamental to our democratic principles.

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT EMPLOYES

The place of the Government worker in the trade union movement has long been recognized, and the benefits which have resulted to those employes and to the Labor movement as a whole are many.

The enactment of the Lloyd-LaFollette Act in 1912, secured for all employes of the Federal Government the right to membership in organizations that would not impose an obligation to strike or participate in strikes against the Federal Government. The growth of Postal and Federal Employes' organizations since that time is directly attributable to that Act.

Starting with World War I, Government Employes unions have occupied a clearly defined place in arsenals, naval shipyards, postal, administrative, technical, scientific and in other facilities in the Executive Branch of the Government. In practically every instance where advancement, for such employes have been made, the improvements in their work standards have resulted from their efforts through their organizations.

As a result of their organization intelligent leadership and the cooperation of the Trade Union Movement, the employes of our Federal Government have made tremendous strides in their effort to secure for their members benefits comparable to those enjoyed by workers in private industry.

Because of the nature of their employment and the total lack of the accepted collective bargaining machinery common to private industry, benefits secured for Postal and Federal Employes almost invariably require Acts of Congress and programs for their future benefits are as a result stated in

terms of legislation. This legislation results from their persuasive efforts

based on sound practices and justifiable demands.

In the past, legislation in the interest of Federal employes has taken many forms, including, but not limited to, the length of the work-week and work-day, the number of holidays, rates of basic and overtime compensation, retirement, unemployment compensation, disability compensation and other benefits for active service or superannuation. Many of these benefits have been achieved slowly but certainly through the coordination of employe efforts through their affiliated unions.

The Federal Community and the control of the contro

The Federal Government must recognize its responsibility to provide wages, hours and conditions of employment at least equal to those enjoyed in private industry; indeed Government should assume the role of leader in advocating improvements in employe welfare. Such a program can only result to the best interest of the Federal Government and its employes. The average citizen or taxpayer has a stake in this endeavor. He has a right to expect the best possible results from his tax dollar and this result may only be obtained through enlightened personnel policies on the part of our Federal Government.

These notable gains would not have been possible except for the whole-hearted support and cooperation of the American Labor Movement.

There remains much to be done to bring the wages, hours and conditions of the employes of the Federal Government up to the levels of people em-

ployed in private industry.

The officers and delegates of affiliated Federal employe organizations solicit the full support of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations in bringing to a successful conclusion the following legislative and administrative program:

Retirement liberalization.

Postal and Federal Employes salary increases. Statutory recognition of employe organizations.

Opposition to the assumption of management functions by the Postal Inspection Service.

Technological Developments. Detailed Legislative Program.

Printing in the United States of all foreign currency, stamps and securities financed by the U. S. Government.

The use of steel intaglio printed postage stamps instead of metered mail.

Claims before the Employes Compensation Board should be expedited.

The Post Office Department's work standards program should be eliminated.

Wages and hours for Federal Firefighters should be standardized. The Postal Savings System should be continued.

Provision should be made for mentally ill overseas employes.

Provision should be made for adequate housing for Department of Defense employes overseas.

Now, therefore, be it RESOLVED:

Retirement

The Federal Retirement System is long overdue for liberalization and modification to keep abreast of the times. We vigorously support legislation to amend the Federal Employe Retirement Act, and we endorse the provisions of S. 1153—Johnston (S.C.) and H.R. 3791—Morrison (La.), to allow optional retirement after 30 years of service regardless of age. We ask Congress to amend and liberalize the Federal Employe Retirement Act in the computing of annuities, and use the formula as provided for in Public Law 303 of the 83rd Congress, that computes the annuities of members of the Congress and employes in the Legislative Branch.

Postal and Federal Employes' Salaries

Salaries of Federal and Postal Employes have historically lagged behind the cost of living. The First Session of the 84th Congress after protracted consideration passed Public Law 68 and Public Law 94 providing an extremely modest though totally inadequate salary increase for Federal and Postal Employes.

Despite all the pronouncements concerning the devotion and dedication to merit principles allegedly espoused by the present administration, the actions of its administrators have consistently been directly in opposition to those basic requirements of a sound civil service system such as adequate salaries, and a recognition of the dignity of those employed by our Federal Government.

In the recent effort to enact necessary salary legislation these politically appointed administrators have on all possible occasions used every parliamentary device, every trick, to erect barriers to confuse and befuddle not only the employes but the Congress and the American people as well, by dragging into the salary question such extraneous matters as postal rates and postal reclassification, as well as minor so-called "fringe benefits," such as insurance, hospitalization and bond premiums, all of which employes could readily purchase for themselves if they were properly compensated.

No question of postal rates or taxes can be germane to the question of a

proper salary for the employes of our Federal Government.

We pledge continuation of efforts in behalf of just and equitable treatment for Postal and Federal employes. We hereby support the efforts of affiliated unions of government employes to obtain an adequate and permanent salary increase in an amount to be determined by them, on the basis of the demonstrated needs of such employes including recognition of the employes' acknowledged increased productivity and without consideration of extraneous matters which are not germane to the salary question. This section will assure equal pay for equal work for American citizens employed outside continental United States.

We call upon the Second Session of the 84th Congress to make this matter an early order of business to the end that justice will no longer be denied

these loyal and faithful servants of our nation.

Statutory Recognition of Organizations

We support legislation for statutory recognition of organizations of postal and federal employes and collective bargaining and impartial arbitration of disputes between agencies and union representation on area and departmental wage boards and AFL-CIO unions representing postal and federal employes.

Opposition to the Assumption of Management Functions by the Postal Inspection Service

We urge the Postmaster General to instruct Post Office Inspectors to discontinue their assumed management functions of the postal service and return to the original duties of the prevention of depredations in the mail.

Technological Developments

Rapid technological advancement made during the last ten years has increased individual productivity without corresponding remuneration to the Postal and Federal employe.

Automation has resulted in elimination of many positions and opportunity for advancement in the Postal and Federal civilian service; at the same time, private industry has generally accepted a shorter basic work week of less than 40 hours.

Postal and Federal Government Administrators meanwhile have failed to give proper consideration to human values when the effects of automation eliminate the opportunity for continued employment.

The Federal Government should properly provide leadership in recognizing the adverse long range economic impact upon our national economy if automation continues to eliminate opportunity for employment. A shorter basic work week for Postal and Federal employes would objectively solve, to a degree, the adverse economic impact of present and future automation.

We pledge active support to enactment of legislation to establish a 35-hour basic work week in the Postal and Federal civilian service; without loss of hourly, weekly, biweekly, monthly or annual salary to the Postal and Federal civilian employes. Minimum overtime one hour; time and a half for all Saturday work; double time for Sunday work.

Detailed Legislative Program

We propose the following:

(a) Enactment of legislation or regulations that will provide for inservice-training programs regardless of race, creed, or color, within the Classified Civil Service where such training programs do not violate the principle of recognized crafts apprentice programs and the General Policy of promotions-from-within that service with seniority being the determining factor, all other conditions being equal.

(b) Favor removal from Government service of any known member of

the Communist Party or other subversive groups and the discontinuance of the practice of labeling as security risks separated employes whose dis-

loyalty has not been proved or even questioned.

(c) Endorse and vigorously support revision of the Classification Act of 1949 for Federal classified employes to reflect equitable application of modern classification principles with equal voice granted to AFL-CIO unions in determining grade levels. Development of Government-wide promotion standards; promotion from within agency wherever practicable.

(d) Actively support legislation to grant all employes of the United States Government 26 days' annual leave—15 days sick leave annually, to

be cumulative.

(e) Support enactment of Rhodes Bill H.R. 4082 relating to automotive equipment for special delivery messengers.

(f) Enactment of legislation to provide equitable overtime pay for

Federal employes.

(g) Extension of the principles of the Employes' Compensation Appeals Board with provisions for the Board to hold hearings in geographical centers.

(h) Urge enactment of legislation to remove multiple taxation.

- (i) Support legislation to exempt retirement annuities from Federal Income Tax.
- (j) Amendments to Civil Service Employes Retirement Act giving greater benefits and protection to those now retired and to those that will retire.

(k) Establishment of seniority principles among all United States Gov-

ernment Employes.

- (1) Support legislation providing time credits to postal transportation clerks assigned to runs in which the average speed of trains exceeds 42 miles per hour.
- (m) Enactment of legislation to prevent use of military personnel in Federal Government positions which by their nature could effectively be filled by civilian employes.

(n) Enactment of legislation to provide additional compensation to

classified employes for temporary hazardous duties.

(o) Oppose any merger of the Civil Service Retirement Act and the

Social Security Act.

(p) Vigorously oppose establishment of one Central Wage Board and support amendments to the present Wage Boards looking to the establishment of a system to bring true collective bargaining between agencies of Government and the Unions representing its employes.

(q) Legislation or an executive order to establish a Safety Program throughout the Federal Government in keeping with the principles as outlined

in S. 368 introduced by Schator Murray in the 83rd Congress.

- (r) Legislation to amend, clarify and strengthen the 1950 performance rating act.
- (s) Support the intent of H.R. 3255 to protect all employes (Wage Board, Classification Act and Field Service Postal Employes) in protecting their salaries when their positions are downgraded.

(t) Support legislation making it mandatory for at least one member of the U. S. Civil Service Commission be appointed from AFL-CIO membership.

(u) Approval of a prompt and impartial appeals machinery available to all postal and federal employes encountering adverse personnel actions.

(v) Recognition of human values and the impact on federal and postal workers of the increased use of electronic devices and other automatic

methods of increasing employe productivity.

- (w) Hospital and medical insurance program for Federal employes with employe representation in administration of plan and Federal Government to underwrite at least 50 percent of the total cost, and with administrative principles consistent with those approved by the AFL-CIO for administration of health and welfare funds negotiated with employers in private industry. Legislation to provide for the admittance to federally operated and/or state-supported institutions for those American citizens federally employed and their dependents who are outside continental limits of the United States.
- (x) Adequate legislation to restore to civilian employes of the Defense Department outside continental United States, standards of living comparable to those citizens in continental United States.
- (y) Vigorously oppose the Post Office Department's recently instituted speed-up system, misnamed "Works Standards Program." Continue to oppose the abolition of the Postal Savings System.

(z) Support legislation to correct inequities and injustices existing for

Federal Firefighters in all branches of the Defense Department.

(aa) Support legislation to observe on Friday all legal holidays that fall on Saturday.

Other Issues

We also believe that the use of steel intaglio postage stamps should be encouraged instead of metered mail; claims before the Employes Compensation Board should be expedited; Post Office Department's work standards program should be eliminated; wages and hours for Federal Firefighters should be standardized; the Postal Savings System should be continued; and provision should be made for mentally ill overseas employes and for adequate housing for Department of Defense employes overseas.

PAY TELEVISION

There are now pending before the Federal Communications Commission certain applications which would provide for and permit the granting by that Commission to specified interests, exclusive licenses to broadcast, and charge for, television programs which are now being received without charge in the private homes of America.

It is our sincere belief that such a plan known as "Pay Television" would constitute and become an infringement on the property right now enjoyed by

the general public on c no fee basis. Such a plan would be an intrusion into and a violation of the privacy of the home, and would curtail greatly the free use of a medium which has become a part of the American home; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, The AFL-CIO opposes the granting by the Federal Communications Commission of licenses permitting "Pay Television" and request the Officers of the AFL-CIO to make known to the members of the Federal Communications Commission and to the Members of the Congress of the United States the position expressed in this resolution.

PERMANENT COMMITTEE OF BUILDING AND CONSTRUCTION TRADES DEPARTMENT AND INDUSTRIAL UNION DEPARTMENT TO RESOLVE DIFFERENCES

WHEREAS, A committee representing the Building and Construction Trades Department and a committee representing the CIO Industrial Unions met in Washington, D. C., on November 14, 1955, and again in New York City on November 29, 1955, for the purpose of exploring possible solutions to existing conflicts, and

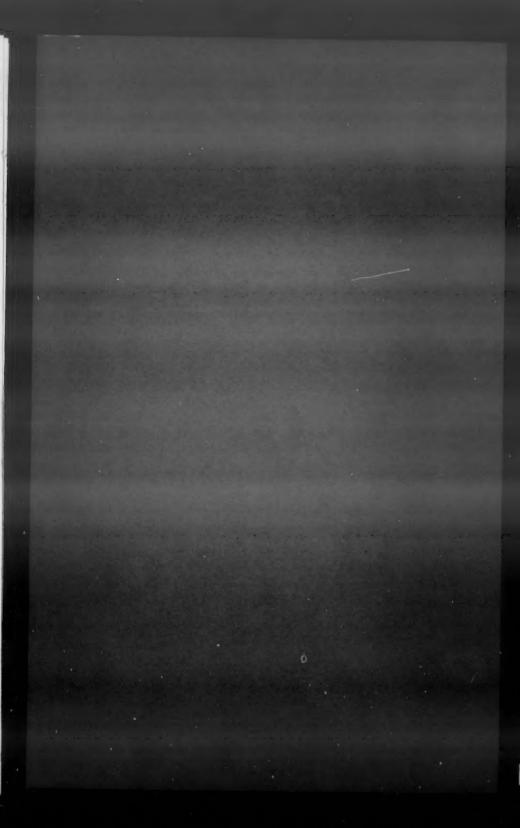
WHEREAS, It was the consensus of agreement between the two committees that a permanent committee should be established to resolve present conflicts and those that may arise in the future, and

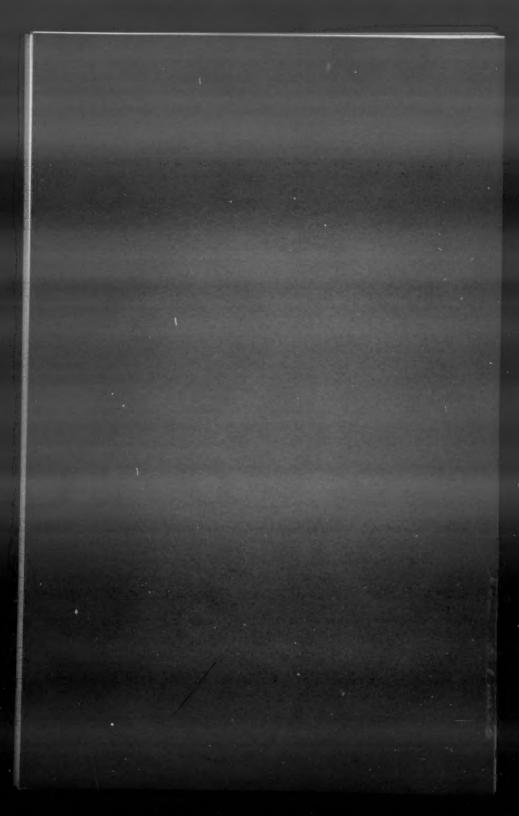
WHEREAS, the agreement between the two committees was to the effect that the respective committees would report to President Reuther of the CIO and President Meany of the AFL recommending a joint committee from the Industrial Union Department of the merged organization and the Building and Construction Trades Department of the merged organization, and

WHEREAS, Both committees reported and obtained approval from President Meany and President Reuther to the establishment of a permanent committee, and

WHEREAS, It was further agreed between the two committees that the duties of the permanent committee to be established shall be to develop rules of procedure by mutual agreement for the adjustment of any conflict of interest that may presently exist or may arise in the future, such rules of procedure to be subject to the approval of the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO merged federation; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That a permanent committee be established composed equally of representatives of the Building and Construction Trades Department and from the Industrial Union Department, and that the duties of this permanent committee shall be to develop rules of procedure for the adjustment of any conflict of interest that may presently exist or may arise in the future, said rules of procedure when formulated shall be subject to the approval of the Executive Council of the merged federation, in accordance with the Constitution.





AFL-CIO Resolutions on ECONOMIC ISSUES



Adopted by the

FIRST CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION of the

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR
AND

CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

December 1955

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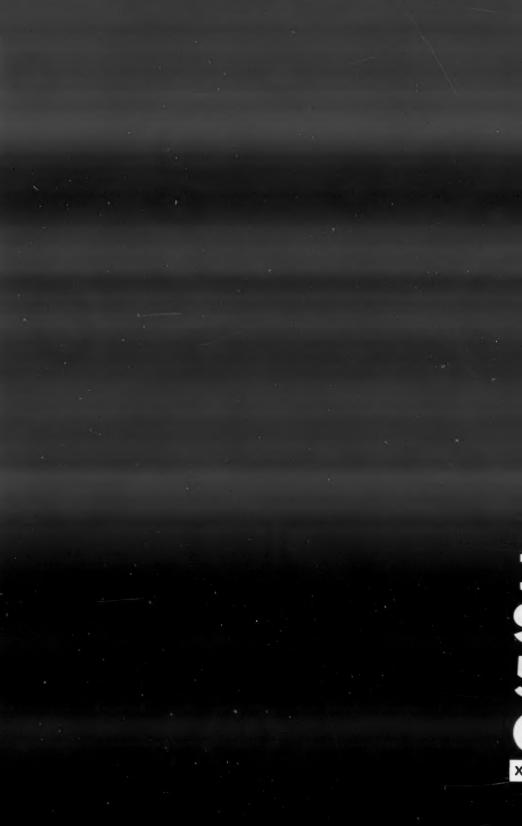
GEORGE MEANY
President

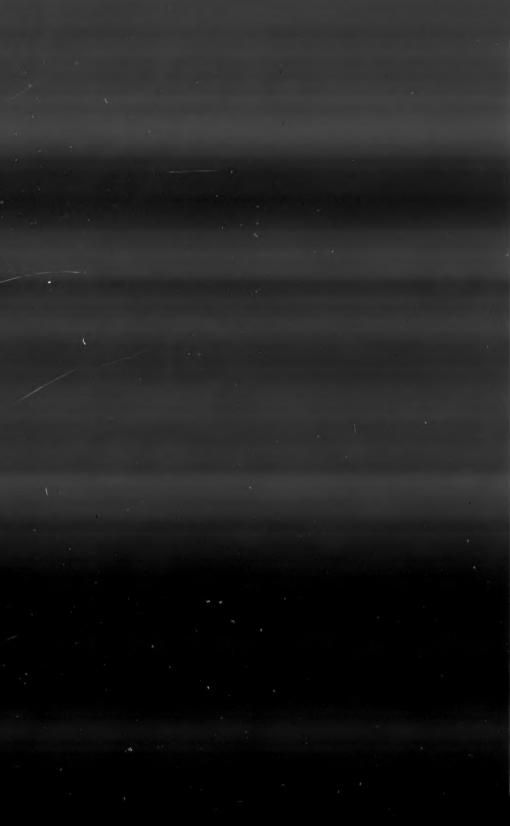
WILLIAM F. SCHNITZLER
Secretary-Treasurer

JANUARY, 1956

AFL-CIO Publication No. 4







AFL-CIO Resolutions

on

ECONOMIC ISSUES

Adopted at the first constitutional convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations at New York City, December 5-8, 1955.

Resolution	Page
Economic Policy	3
Distressed Areas and Industrial Migration	7
Taxation and Budget Policy	9
State and Local Taxes	11
Wage-Hour and Walsh-Healey Acts	12
Farmer-Labor Unity	15
Surplus Foods	17
Puerto Rico	18
Government Statistical Programs	19
Cooperatives	20

THE establishment of this Federation through the merger of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations is an expression of the hopes and aspirations of the working people of America.

We seek the fulfillment of these hopes and aspirations through democratic processes within the framework of our constitutional government and consistent with our institutions and traditions.

At the collective bargaining table, in the community, in the exercise of the rights and responsibilities of citizenship, we shall responsibly serve the interests of all the American people.

We pledge ourselves to the more effective organization of working men and women; to the securing to them of full recognition and enjoyment of the rights to which they are justly entitled; to the achievement of ever higher standards of living and working conditions; to the attainment of security for all the people; to the enjoyment of the leisure which their skills make possible; and to the strengthening and extension of our way of life and the fundamental freedoms which are the basis of our democratic society.

We shall combat resolutely the forces which seek to undermine the democratic institutions of our nation and to enslave the human soul. We shall strive always to win full respect for the dignity of the human individual whom our unions serve.

With Divine guidance, grateful for the fine traditions of our past, confident of meeting the challenge of the future, we proclaim this constitution.

ECONOMIC POLICY

The healthy functioning of our economic system is of paramount concern to American workers. Workers know that a high level of employment and a constantly improving standard of living cannot be achieved without a sound and growing economy. When the economic system falters, workers are the first to suffer from the cutbacks in production, resulting layoffs, and rising tides of unemployment.

Since World War II, the American economy has shown an amazing vitality. Although our nation, has had to absorb the impact of two recessions, in 1949 and 1954, neither of these temporary setbacks has led to a general catastrophe similar to that of the 1930's.

Organized labor is proud of the American economy and the role which unions have played in helping it achieve its present high level of production. By their pressure for improved wages, unions have succeeded in winning continuing advances in living standards for American workers. The nation's rising level of wages has contributed to the rapid expansion of workers' ability to buy the products of their labor.

Organized labor has likewise taken the lead in urging the federal government to assume a more positive responsibility for the nation's economic growth and stability. In the past 20 years, such government measures as those dealing with labor standards, taxation, social security, and housing, enacted at the urging of our labor movement, have introduced a greater degree of stability into our economic system. The passage of the Employment Act of 1946 providing for government efforts to "promote maximum employment, production and purchasing power" and the acceptance by both political parties of the obligations imposed by this Act, testify to the significant change that has taken place in the federal government's role in economic affairs.

The economic situation we face today is quite different from that of a year ago. General economic activity has increased substantially since the fall of 1954, when increased consumer spending began to lift the levels of output and sales out of the recession. Trade union strength together with economic and social legislation, had helped reduce the impact of the 1954 downturn and has contributed to the improvement in economic conditions of the past year.

The nation's total production of goods and services has risen over 9 percent since the spring of 1954, when the low-point of the economic downturn was reached. This increase in output, one of the largest in recent years, stands as a concrete demonstration of the nation's capacity for continued economic growth.

A substantial expansion of consumer credit and mortgage debt, com-

bined with a rise in inventories, has helped sustain the great advances in

production and sales during the past year.

The gains of the 1955 recovery have not been distributed evenly among all groups in the population. Between the first nine months of 1954 and the same period of 1955, farm income has dropped 10 percent. Compensation of employees has increased 6 percent in that period. Corporate profits, however, have risen 28 percent and stockholders' dividends, which increased during the downturn last year, have risen by 8 percent. Business failures—among small businesses, for the most part—remain high.

The improvement in employment has lagged considerably behind the rise of total production. The number of non-farm jobs, in the third quarter of 1955, was still below the peak levels reached in 1953, before the downturn started. Manufacturing jobs are still almost half a million below the 1953

level.

Despite the general improvement in economic activity, substantial unemployment has persisted in many communities, particularly those in which coal mining, textile manufacturing and railroad repair shops are located. Only a few days ago, the Labor Department reported that in 93 labor market

areas, 6 percent or more of the labor force was unemployed.

The lag of employment behind the sharp increase in output during the past year reflects a substantial rise in productivity, which has tended to reduce production costs and to increase profit margins. In addition, during the year, several major sections of American industry seized the opportunity presented by the recovery in business conditions to raise prices of their products by an amount far higher than justified by increased costs. This failure by business to exercise reasonable restraint in setting prices can seriously endanger sound and balanced economic progress.

American corporations already have profited more than handsomely from the economic recovery. Corporate profits, after taxes, in the first nine months of 1955 were 28 percent greater than in the same period of last year. Dividend payments to stockholders, which were rising during the economic

downturn in 1954, continue to increase at a marked rate.

Business failures, especially of smaller firms, however, have continued at surprisingly high levels, considering the over-all prosperity of business enterprise. In September, there were 822 business failures, compared with 819 in the same month of 1954, 686 in September 1953, and 539 in September 1952.

With both the productivity and the size of the labor force rising, continued economic expansion is essential to attain full employment, production and purchasing power. While the economy as a whole is operating at a high level of activity, dangerous weaknesses in some of the economy's vital areas are discernible.

A major weakness in the current economic picture is the continuing decline in farm income. Net farm income in the first nine months of the year was 10 percent below the same period of 1954 and was at a yearly rate of 26 percent below 1951.

Some of the forces that lifted economic activity so sharply in the past year seem now to have slowed down. Residential construction, which remained strong during the 1954 downturn, and provided part of the basis for the 1955 pick-up, is leveling off. Automobile production in 1956, according to many observers, may decline by as much as 10 percent below 1955.

With the expected easing off of the rate of growth in automobile and residential construction, other key areas must develop substantially to serve as a base for a continued upward impetus for the economy as a whole. No sector of the private economy appears ready to provide a stimulus of the magnitude offered by auto and residential construction in the past year. This gap in economic growth underlines the importance of both private and

government economic policy for the months ahead.

Unfortunately, there is a serious question whether the current policies of the federal government will produce conditions required to sustain economic growth in the months ahead. The Administration seems more interested in tilting with the windmill of inflation by increasing interest rates than it is in creating the environment necessary for economic expansion. While we recognize the monetary policy is a legitimate tool for stabilizing the economy, it is merely one among many weapons in the arsenal of economic programs. Moreover, unless used with extreme caution and precision timing, monetary measures can boomerang against the expansion of the economy and precipitate the economic decline they are intended to prevent. Thus, during the past summer the Federal Housing Administration and Veterans Administration increased down payments and cut the time period for mortgage payments. This had the effect of reducing housing construction, particularly of lower-priced homes; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, In the coming months, both private and government action will be needed to maintain economic growth and to sustain full employment levels in the years ahead. Such action should include the following:

1. Free collective bargaining must be encouraged by the federal, state and local governments. Reasonable wage and fringe-benefit improvements should be agreed upon at the bargaining table to enable wage and salary earners to share adequately in the fruits of industrial progress. Wherever feasible, provisions such as guaranteed employment plans should be negotiated to promote stability of workers' incomes and to eliminate unnecessary fluctuations in employment.

2. The federal government's tax policy must be revised to strengthen consumer buying power, especially among low and middle income groups, and to eliminate tax law loopholes that grant special privileges to wealthy families and corporations. Tax revisions should be made as soon as possible. State and local tax systems should also be revised to establish tax

structures based more largely upon ability to pay.

3. Low-income families—whose earnings are less than \$3,000 a year.—require special attention. The federal legal minimum wage should be extended to millions of low-paid workers who now lack its protection, and the minimum rate, raised to \$1.00 an hour by the past session of Congress, should be further increased to at least \$1.25. The inadequate coverage and minimum wage standards under state laws should be improved without further delay.

4. Congress should enact a specific program of special assistance to areas of persistent economic distress. It is the obligation of the federal government to assist these areas back to economic health. The government should discourage the continued pirating of plants and job opportunities by unscrupulous politicians and business associations—to prevent the spread of further distress in the older industrial centers.

5. The inadequate unemployment compensation system must be modernized. Congress and state legislatures must substantially increase both the amount and duration of unemployment compensation payments. Harsh dis-

qualification provisions in the state laws must be removed.

6. The Social Security Act should be improved to raise old age and survivors' benefit payments to an adequate level of living requirements and to provide adequate protection against the hazards of long-term and temporary disability. A national health program should be adopted, including national health insurance as part of the social security system and with full reservation of free choice of doctors and patients.

7. Two million new housing units a year should become the national housing goal. Interest rates on home loans must be reduced to meet the housing needs of families whose earnings are between \$3,000 to \$6,000 a year. A government program is required to stimulate the construction of new housing for middle income groups. Public housing construction should be substantially increased to provide adequate housing for low-income families.

8. The continuing decline of farm income must be halted. Farm programs—such as price supports, conservation, low-cost credit and rural electrification and telephone service—should be improved to strengthen the income position of the family farmer, while making it possible to increase the consumption of agricultural products.

9. Low-interest loans, under liberal terms, are necessary to encourage business and farm investment, particularly for small businesses, as well as

to sustain high levels of residential construction.

In addition, the federal government must make a major contribution to economic growth by reducing the backlog of pressing public needs. Public services have been in a state of neglect for many years, despite the need for continuing improvements and expansion to meet the needs of a growing population. The sad state of our schools, hospitals and roads, as well as other public service facilities, indicates the urgent requirement for a vast program of improvement and growth. The federal government should start on a program of expanded federal aid to education, health facilities and roads, through direct federal programs, as well as grants and loans to states and local governments. Since many states have legal limits on the amount and type of borrowing, legislation should be adopted to enable the federal government to make special loans and grants to the states and local communities to get their much-needed programs under way. A public works program should be viewed as a continuing one, to keep the structure of society strong; in periods of economic decline, such programs should be accelerated without long delays.

DISTRESSED AREAS AND INDUSTRIAL MIGRATION

Although production and employment reached record levels during 1955, many American communities failed to share in the general prosperity.

Of the 149 major labor market areas in the United States, 26 were classified last September by the U. S. Department of Labor as suffering from a substantial labor surplus. In addition, 94 smaller areas also had a substantial labor surplus, that is 6 percent or more of the total labor force was unemployed.

Even of more serious consequences, in many of these areas unemployment is not only high, in some cases in excess of 12 percent, it also has been of long duration and no relief is expected in the foreseeable future. These are the "chronically distressed" areas and there are more than 50 of them in the United States.

The problem of chronic unemployment is not new. In the past it was largely associated with the gradual decline of areas in which the depletion of minerals and other resources was occurring. Today, however, the causes are more complex and the impact upon the affected communities and upon the nation is far more severe.

In modern times technological innovation, shifting product demand, and changing competitive factors, as well as raw material exhaustion, lead to shutdowns and drastically reduced operations in many industries and in all parts of the country.

In a number of instances, the depressed areas are the result of the movement out of the locality of particular firms and industries. Upon investigation many of the affected unions have found that these migrating firms have left their locality not for sound economic reasons, but because of special financial inducements that were offered them in their new location.

These special attractions have been of two types: (a) special financial subsidies in the forms of free plants or equipment, tax exemptions or payments, reduced utility rates, and the like, or (b) more concealed types of subsidies in the form of lower wage rates, open hostility to unionism, and a lower level of labor standards legislation. In effect, the use of these subsidies has seriously dislocated the nation's economy, caused widespread unemployment, and needlessly disrupted the pattern of industrial development.

The problem of chronic area unemployment predominates in, but it is not limited to, textile, coal mining, and railroad centers. Wherever and whenever a facility is closed or its output is sharply curtailed, and no alternative employment exists in the area, an economic calamity confronts the affected locality.

In earlier times communities were often forewarned of an impending employment decline by the visible exhaustion of natural resources. Furthermore, the affected populations were generally small and often transient. The chronically distressed area of 1955, on the other hand, has at its center an established city of homes, churches, schools, hospitals, commercial structures, and all of the other facilities essential to urban living. For years, and sometimes for generations, families have lived and worked there and invested their savings to create a modern community.

We cannot solve the surplus-labor problem of places like Lawrence, Terre Haute, Scranton, Charleston, Duluth, and Providence—or of substantially smaller ones—by telling the people to "pack up and go." The teacher, the doctor and storekeeper, as well as the wage earner, have deep roots in their home communities and a mass exodus is not the answer.

A valiant local effort has already been made by many stricken communities to find employment for their displaced workers. These local "bootstrap" operations, however, have seldom achieved their objectives. Outside

aid is clearly needed.

Surely the entire nation has a stake in helping the hundreds of thousands of our fellow citizens who live in distressed areas. Americans have always had a reputation for their responsiveness to human need wherever it exists. Besides, the creation of suitable employment for displaced workers would add millions of dollars to our national output while at the same time, millions would be saved by eliminating the social cost of idleness.

When Congress passed the Employment Act of 1946, it pledged all the resources of the federal government to the battle for maximum employment. In seeking to achieve this goal, surely the federal government must recognize and deal with unemployment as a local problem and not merely as a na-

tional one; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, The AFL-CIO calls upon the federal government to utilize all of its resources and to work unceasingly—in cooperation with labor, industry, the states, and the affected local governments—to alleviate chronic

area unemployment in the United States.

Federal assistance should include the establishment of a central coordinating agency to assist distressed areas, and the inauguration of a comprehensive program of technical aid, public contract priorities, loans and tax amortization benefits for new and expanding enterprises, public works grants, vocational retraining and supplementary compensation for displaced workers. This program should be geared exclusively to the needs of substantial labor-surplus areas and its benefits must be specifically denied to any employer who undertakes to close or curtail his operations in one community in order to seek special advantages in another.

Furthermore, federal action is necessary to discourage plant piracy—a practice which leads to the creation of distressed communities. The most important first step to be taken is to remove the federal tax-exempt status that now applies to interest received from municipal bonds, the proceeds of

which are used to build plants for runaway employers.

Additional federal and state legislation required to meet the problem of subsidized industrial migration includes an expanded Fair Labor Standards Act, a strengthened Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act, and improved state labor legislation.

TAXATION AND BUDGET POLICY

Tax policy becomes increasingly important as the federal government continues to assume a major role in the economic life of the country. Budget problems, as well as economic conditions, must be carefully considered in determining the composition of an adequate and equitable tax program. Our federal government has assumed perhaps the most serious domestic and foreign responsibilities in its history. Of necessity, the present requirements for heavy expenditures, in turn, mean a heavy burden of taxation must be borne by all the American people.

Organized labor recognizes the necessity for these high taxes. The nation's wage earners do not shirk their responsibility for paying their fair share of these taxes. They insist, however, that the nation's tax system as a whole must be fair and equitable to all, regardless of level or source of income.

Our tax system has been built largely upon the principle that taxes should be levied according to the individual's ability to pay. Organized labor fully supports this basic principle of taxation. In recent years, however, Congress has weakened the progressive character of the personal income tax schedule by enacting tax-escape provisions favoring certain groups of taxpayers.

The most flagrant example of tax legislation for special interest groups was the tax revision bill enacted in 1954. The most important effect of this legislation was to reduce taxes upon the very small minority of taxpayers who receive the overwhelming proportion of dividends from stocks. Taxes on corporations, for all practical purposes, were reduced without cutting the tax rates by altering the method of calculating depreciation. The few minor concessions granted to a few taxpayers in the low- and middle-income brackets were palliatives, which did not offset the billions of dollars of relief given to corporations and wealthy stockholders. Earlier this year, an unsuccessful effort was made in the Congress to reverse this trend.

Longstanding loopholes and escape clauses continue to weaken the progressive character of our tax structure. Wealthy taxpayers do not really pay the high tax rates applicable to their incomes because of these escape mechanisms. As a result, more and more of the burden of tax payments is placed on the shoulders of those least able to pay. The trend of weakening the progressive character of our tax structure must be reversed; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, The AFL-CIO and its affiliated unions will fight vigorously to reverse the trends toward regression in our tax structure. Equity in our tax structure requires certain tax changes. Some will increase revenue; others will mean a loss of revenue. But, on balance, the acceptance of the following tax program will not result in an over-all loss in revenue, and will establish a more equitable distribution of the tax burden:

- 1. First priority on tax cuts should be given to the following measures:
 - a. Reduction in excise taxes below present levels.

- b. Increase in individual income tax exemptions from the present level of \$600 per person.
- c. Reduction in the 20 percent rate for at least part of the first \$2,000 of taxable income.
- 2. Congress should continue for at least another year the corporate income tax rate of 52 percent, which is scheduled to revert to 47 percent on April 1, 1956. Consideration should be given to easing the tax burden on small business by some such means as changing the two component rates of the corporate tax structure. We now have a 30 percent normal rate and a 22 percent rate on all income above \$25,000. This provision could be changed by applying a normal rate of 25 percent and a 27 percent rate on all income above either the present exemption level of \$25,000 or perhaps even a \$50,000 or \$100,000 exemption level. The total rate would remain 52 percent, but it would be more equitable for small business.
- 3. To close the many loopholes and escape clauses in our tax structure and to obtain additional revenue, Congress should take the following steps:
 - a. Repeal the special tax relief granted to dividend income by the Revenue Act of 1954.
 - b. Repeal the new depreciation provision of the 1954 Revenue Act.
 - c. Eliminate the advantage given married couples and heads of house-holds by the income-splitting tax provision.
 - d. Repeal excessive depletion allowances.
 - e. Tighten the capital gains tax structure by lengthening the holding period of long-range gains and increasing the rate considerably.
 - f. Require withholding taxes on the payment of dividends and interest.
 - g. Eliminate the family partnership provisions which are designed to reduce individual income taxes.
 - h. Eliminate stock option privileges designed to circumvent the payment of taxes.
 - i. Tighten the estate and gift tax structure by eliminating life estate provisions and reducing the total level of exemptions.
 - j. Repeal the tax exempt status of state and local bonds.
 - k. Increase appropriations to permit stricter enforcement of our tax laws.
- 4. We oppose the enactment of any retail sales tax or any other type of general or specific tax on consumption, including the "manufacturers' excise tax."
- 5. We oppose any Constitutional amendment designed to place a top limitation on the federal government's right to tax individuals, corporations or states.

STATE AND LOCAL TAXES

The rapid rise in federal taxes over the last twenty years has focused the attention of most Americans on tax decisions made in Washington. The rapid increase in local and state expenditures emphasizes the need for adopting sound fiscal and tax policies in our state and local tax programs.

Since the end of World War II state and local tax collections have been rising continuously. From \$9 billions in 1945, they have soared to a total of more than \$23 billions in 1955. Total expenditures which approximated \$25 billions in 1953 are now close to \$30 billions. Moreover, current local and state tax revenues are inadequate to meet developing needs for services and facilities. State and local debt which stood at \$13.6 billions in 1946 now exceeds \$30 billions.

Furthermore, as federal tax collections within the last two years have been tending downward, the revenue needs of state and local governments have continued to go up. Vast un-met public needs for capital improvements, to meet the demands of not only a growing but shifting population, require a constant search for new tax sources by all state and local governments.

The rising burden of state and local taxes is increasingly being shifted to the shoulders of families with the least ability to pay. Families in the income groups below \$5,000 are paying a larger share of their income for local and state taxes than families in the income groups above that figure.

Under our federal tax structure, a substantial portion of revenue comes from progressive income taxes. Almost 60 percent of all state tax revenues, on the other hand, comes from general and selective sales taxes imposed upon all consumers. On the local level, almost 90 percent of the tax revenue comes from property levies. More and more municipalities are now instituting supplementary sales and payroll taxes which are combining to make the over-all tax system even more regressive.

State and local difficulties in securing necessary revenue have been complicated by the following factors:

- The property tax has been permitted to disintegrate. A declining
 portion of total state and local taxes relative to income in most states
 from 1932 to 1950 has come from property taxes. More recent increases in property tax revenue during the past several years have
 been confined largely to a relatively few states.
- The adoption of sales taxes and other consumer taxes have thrown a disproportionate share of the tax load on low income taxpayers.
- 3. With few exceptions, states have adopted inadequate personal and corporation income taxes.
- State and local legal and constitutional restrictions on taxing power interfere with sound taxing policies.
- The unrepresentative character of state legislatures prevent the enactment of needed constitutional and legislative tax changes.

The competition between states is used as an excuse to hold down taxes needed to provide necessary service.

7. Certain poorer states, largely because of inadequate resources and

income, fail to provide needed state and local services.

The wage and salary earners of America have always borne a tremendous portion of the cost of public services. The fifteen million members of the AFL-CIO will gladly continue to bear their just share. We seek no tax avoidance for ourselves.

In the long run, at both federal and state levels all taxes must be paid from income. Progressive, graduated taxes—based on income after reasonable deductions for dependents and other legitimate reasons—must fairly

reflect ability to pay.

Tax reform is a long and arduous task. The efforts to withstand the growth of sales and payroll taxes, to ultimately eliminate existing ones and to make our property tax systems more equitable, is a long range undertaking. Yet this is a duty the American labor movement cannot ignore if social justice is to be achieved; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the AFL-CIO urges all of its affiliated unions to intensify their efforts to secure a more just and equitable system of taxation

in all states and localities.

Enactment of tax measures and grant-in-aid programs at the national level are needed to develop a greater degree of local-state-federal coordination through the use of the federal taxing power and credit that is not available to states and local communities.

WAGE-HOUR & WALSH-HEALEY ACTS

Perhaps the outstanding achievement in domestic legislation of the first session of the 84th Congress was the increase in the federal minimum wage from 75 cents to \$1.00. The \$1.00 minimum was passed over the objections of the Administration and its spokesmen in both Houses of Congress.

It was not a complete victory. Organized labor, although very few organized workers in the country were in a position to gain directly, called upon Congress to enact a \$1.25 minimum which was fully justified by increases in living costs, productivity and the general wage level. No action was taken in the last session to extend coverage of the Fair Labor Standards Act to the millions who are not now protected. The sub-minimum wage rates in Puerto Rico were left unchanged. Despite all this, the enactment of a \$1.00 minimum constitutes a major step forward.

In testimony presented to both Houses of Congress, AFL and CIO spokesmen called upon the Congress to take action which would bring the completely unrealistic minimum wage of 75 cents up to a more appropriate level.

President Meany, in presenting the AFL's case for a \$1.25 minimum, told the Congress that part of America's job "is to make sure that all Americans have a decent chance to share the abundance all of us are creating. We fail in this part of the job as long as the much-vaunted American standard of living is denied to any group of Americans."

President Reuther summarized the CIO's case for a \$1.25 minimum by declaring: "It is morally right because there is no excuse for the payment of sweatshop wages in an era of atomic energy and automation. It is economically sound because an expanding economy requires an ever-rising

consumer income to match our ever-rising productive power."

The Administration, which failed to make any recommendations in 1953 and 1954, finally endorsed an increase in the minimum—but to only 90 cents an hour. This would have done no more than adjust the 75-cent minimum for the increased cost of living since 1949. It would have meant no recognition of the tremendous productivity gains in the American economy and the general wage advances won by organized labor. Despite impressive evidence justifying a higher minimum, and despite improvement in the general economic picture during the course of the year, the Administration stood firm and did not yield from its 90-cent position.

The stubbornness of the Administration and the short-sighted belief of many Congressmen that a higher minimum would be harmful, made it impossible to reach labor's full objective. But enactment of the \$1.00 minimum, despite Administration opposition, is a tribute both to the leadership of the Congress and the tremendously effective work done by organized

labor back home.

Unfortunately, no action was taken to extend the benefits of the law to workers now denied its protection. After the retail lobby testified before the Senate Labor Committee, the Administration withdrew even its inadequate proposal for extension of coverage which it had made earlier in the year. Under this proposal, less than 2 million employees working for interstate chain stores would have been brought under coverage. When the Administration pulled back from this modest proposal, it became impossible to

obtain extension of coverage.

Less than one-half of the nation's wage earners are now given the protection of the Fair Labor Standards Act. Individual states cannot prescribe adequate minimum wages for plants manufacturing for an interstate market without putting their industries at a competitive disadvantage. Only the Congress can take meaningful action in this field. In 1956, extension of coverage to millions of additional workers will be a major legislative objective of organized labor. The Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare has promised that its Subcommittee on Labor, under the Chairmanship of Paul Douglas (D., Ill.), will hold early hearings on extension of coverage. It is hoped that the House Education and Labor Committee will take similar action.

Under the present Fair Labor Standards Act, the statutory minimum does not apply to Puerto Rico. Instead, industry committees determine individual rates for the respective industries. This practice has not worked well. Wide wage differentials have become wider year by year. To meet this situation, the Senate last year included in its bill a provision which would have raised all existing Puerto Rican rates by a modest amount. The House refused to take similar action and, as a result, the final bill did not raise the minimum wage for Puerto Rico. In 1956, it is to be hoped that the Congress

will take the necessary action to lift the minimum wage rates in Puerto Rico to more realistic levels. The economic development of Puerto Rico must not and cannot depend upon a low-wage structure.

Another year has passed without action being taken to correct the damage which has been done by the Fulbright Amendment to the Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act. It is this amendment which has prevented enforcement of the few wage determinations which have been made in recent years.

The Walsh-Healey Act should be amended: (1) to make clear the authority of the Secretary of Labor to issue minimum wage determinations on an industry-wide basis, (2) to make clear the application of the Act to all articles actually purchased by the government on specific contracts, whether or not available in the open market, and (3) to revise the Fulbright Amendment to prohibit the issuance of injunctions suspending the effectiveness of wage orders pending litigation.

With the increase in the minimum wage, it becomes particularly essential that the Labor Department be given adequate appropriations for careful enforcement of the Fair Labor Standards Act as well as the Walsh-Healey Act.

Dramatic advances in improved technology, such as automation and atomic energy, have meant and will continue to mean tremendous increases in productivity. These advances make it both economically feasible and desirable to consider the reduction of the work week. The Congress should give the earliest possible consideration to amendments to the Fair Labor Standards Act to provide for a shorter work week; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, 1. International unions, state bodies and local organizations are commended for the effective work done in the past year to assure the enactment of the \$1.00 per hour minimum wage.

- 2. Congress is called upon to take further action to improve our wage laws. Specifically, we call upon it:
 - a. As a matter of first priority, to extend the full protection of the Fair Labor Standards Act to all workers in industries engaged in or affecting interstate commerce.
 - b. To increase Puerto Rican wage rates promptly and substantially so that the mainland level may be achieved at the earliest possible date.
 - c. To raise the minimum wage to at least \$1.25 an hour as soon as practicable.
 - d. To revise the Public Contracts Act, to restore that Act's effectiveness and utility.
 - e. To provide adequate funds for the enforcement of the Fair Labor Standards Act and the Public Contracts Act.
 - f. To amend the Fair Labor Standards Act and Public Contracts Act to provide for a shorter work week.

FARMER-LABOR UNITY

Since its beginning the American labor movement has sought to befriend and to aid the farmer, whether he works as an agricultural wage earner, a tenant, or on his own land.

It is only natural that organized labor should have a feeling of kinship toward those who work so hard to raise the nation's food and fibre. Millions of AFL-CIO members grew up on farms. Many of their families and friends are still in agriculture. We of labor recognize that the needs and aspirations of farm families differ little from our own. We are fully aware, too, that farmers and city workers mutually depend upon each other and that one group cannot long prosper unless the other prospers too.

Because of these convictions, organized labor has consistently supported efforts to secure a just return and a better life for all who work in agriculture.

We have actively supported farm cooperatives, rural electrification, an adequate system of price supports, farm credit aids, soil conservation, crop insurance, farmer coverage under social security, and other measures to raise rural housing and health and educational standards.

While many of these programs involve sizable public outlays which all taxpayers share, organized labor has supported and defended them as vital to the welfare of seven million farm operators and farm wage earners and their families. We recognize, in fact, that they are vital to the well-being of the entire nation.

Since the ordeal of the depression we have observed, with great satisfaction, the gradual improvement in rural living standards, as special efforts were applied to meet the complex and often changing problems of American agriculture. This hopeful upward movement reached its peak, however, in 1951. Since then the income of farm families has lagged far behind the forward strides taken by other parts of the economy.

This new misfortune has not come about because of any slackening of effort on the part of the American farmers. Both agricultural output and efficiency are now at record highs.

The fault lies beyond the farm. It is, rather, the failure to establish a federal program to divert a larger part of our agricultural abundance to millions of potential consumers at home and overseas who want and need it, and to provide a more just return to the American farmer who produces it.

During the last three years the responsibility for policies to meet the decline in farm income has rested squarely on the Administration in Washington. Yet, the Secretary of Agriculture and other Administration spokesmen are now telling the farmer that his plight is due to rising farm costs and the labor unions that supposedly bring them about.

This transparent alibi for the failure of his own agricultural policies surely does not elevate the stature of the Secretary of Agriculture or of the present Administration.

Since January 1953, when he took office, the combined price of all of the items for which the farmer pays did not rise; actually it declined by 1½ percent.

On the other hand, prices received by farmers have gone down 14 percent and total net agricultural income of farm operators, which includes all government payments, has dropped from almost \$15 billion in 1952 to a yearly rate of about \$10.5 billion today.

Sometimes it is argued that this tremendous farm income loss is really of little consequence since the number of farmers is also going down. Looked at on a "per farm" basis, however, the income drop since 1952 totals a staggering 20 percent.

It is true that, while over-all farm production and living costs have gone down, certain costs to the farmer have risen; but this is in no sense the fault of organized labor.

Since 1952, the interest rate on the money farmers borrow has risen most of all, by over 16 percent. Yet this misfortune, which labor also shares, stems directly from the "hard money" policy of the Administration.

The price of farm machinery, trucks and autos is also up; but the prices for these products were raised completely out of all proportion to any increase in labor costs.

Under these circumstances, the trade unions of America cannot be held responsible for today's agricultural crisis. The cause lies elsewhere and the Secretary knows this full well; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, A soundly conceived program to raise the income of America's farm families is basic to the welfare of trade unionists. Similarly, our effort to raise city workers' standards, through collective bargaining and legislative action, ultimately helps to increase the consumption of food and fibre and thereby underpins and enlarges the market of American agriculture.

Labor eagerly desires and will vigorously support corrective measures to restore and to raise agricultural income. In particular, we wish to aid the family operated farm through measures to increase its efficiency and its income so that the independent farmer may effectively compete with corporation farming and may remain the dominant producer in American agriculture.

Surely this great nation must assure to its farmers, who have fed and clothed us through war and depression and flood and drought, a full partnership in the unlimited promise of the United States.

The AFL-CIO and its affiliated organizations shall dedicate themselves to building an unshakable bond of mutual understanding and cooperative action between farmers and workers, thereby to advance their common welfare and the well-being of the entire nation.

SURPLUS FOODS

There is at present the need for a greater distribution of surplus foods without the restrictions which the Department of Agriculture is apparently trying to put on the much-too-limited program now under way.

We in the American labor movement support in principle the surplus commodities distribution program and urge its extension, as we feel that through this program many communities across the country will be able to supplement the sometimes meager welfare assistance to the permanently disabled, the handicapped, and especially those on fixed incomes; for example, old age assistance recipients and those receiving pensions. Surplus foods will also help those who have exhausted unemployment benefits and are unable to find work as well as those who are seeking work and drawing unemployment compensation. The surplus foods program would be an immeasurable supplement to the aid given to dependent children programs.

We in the organized labor movement believe that this proposed extension of surplus commodities would help to bolster and strengthen the work of both the tax-supported welfare agencies and the many private health and welfare agencies in their job of helping to meet the unmet needs of many people.

We must make clear that we do not see in the surplus foods distribution program a final or even more than a temporary and partial solution to the over-all welfare problem. This type of program, we must point out, runs the great danger of being turned into a government subsidy for low standards of living. We believe that the basic solution to the problem of low-income families must be, not charity or welfare aid, but a more fundamental concern for proper economic measures which will insure better job opportunities and a higher level of income.

We recognize the surplus foods program only as a temporary and stopgap measure. We point out, too, that unless other steps are taken to remove the economic shortcomings which bring about the present need of these lowincome families through such measures as a higher minimum wage, an expanding economy to provide jobs for those now unemployed and a sound social security program, that the problem will be forever with us; now therefore, be it

RESOLVED, This convention goes on record as urging all affiliated unions and councils and central labor bodies to actively participate in the extension of the surplus foods distribution to all people in need. This convention also goes on record as urging the Congress of the United States to extend and enlarge the surplus commodities distribution program to include all people in need regardless of the cause of that need.

PUERTO RICO

In recent years the government of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico has striven diligently to bring about the rapid industrialization of the island. To this end the Puerto Rican government has offered numerous inducements to businessmen to establish new industries in Puerto Rico or to transfer mainland industries to Puerto Rico. These inducements include government loans, training of workers, and exemptions from various taxes for a period of ten years. This industrialization program has met with considerable success.

Certainly the industrialization of Puerto Rico is a necessary and desirable objective. Industrialization would give employment to the island's abundant labor force, which has suffered acutely from unemployment and from underemployment. Further, the people of Puerto Rico cannot prosper while tied to an economy dominated by a handful of industries—sugar, coffee and tobacco—particularly since these industries are basically agricultural in a land-poor area.

We therefore support the industrialization of Puerto Rico, and the establishment of new industries there. We vigorously condemn, however, the luring of mainland industries to Puerto Rico by means of the low wage structure prevailing there or of unsound financial subsidies. Moreover, the removal of mainland industries to Puerto Rico would bring hardship and unemployment to the areas of this country abandoned by these industries.

Further, industrialization will not of itself produce the needed improvement in the living standards of the Puerto Rican people, unless industrial development is accompanied by corresponding improvement in the wages, working conditions, and security of the Puerto Rican workers. An industrialization that brings new wealth to those already wealthy and continued poverty and insecurity to those already poor does not represent progress for the workers of Puerto Rico.

Two steps must be taken to raise Puerto Rican living standards both in the interests of the workers of Puerto Rica and to protect mainland industry from unfair sweatshop competition.

First, the workers of Puerto Rico must be organized into strong unions. The labor laws of Puerto Rico are for the most part fair and progressive, and the workers of Puerto Rico have made some progress in forming unions and in bargaining collectively. But much remains to be done. The bulk of the island's workers are still unorganized. They need and are entitled to receive our help.

Second, federal legislation affecting the living standards and security of Puerto Rican workers must be improved. Most important is the federal Fair Labor Standards Act. On the mainland the antiquated 75-cent minimum hourly rate was recently raised to a dollar an hour. In Puerto Rico, however, not even the old 75-cent minimum rate applies to all industry. Under a special industry committee procedure established by the Fair Labor Standards Act, the Wage and Hour Administrator has established minimum rates far below 75 cents an hour for various Puerto Rican industries. The Puerto

Rican minimum wage must be brought as rapidly as possible to the same level as the mainland minimum wage. Otherwise Puerto Rican workers will continue to be denied the minimum income necessary for decent subsistence, and mainland industries will continue to be subjected to unfair

sweatshop competition.

Further, there is no system of unemployment benefits in effect in Puerto Rico. For Puerto Rican workers the loss of a job means complete destitution. The extension of unemployment benefits for Puerto Rican workers would be a substantial contribution to reducing the hardship unemployment now brings to them, and would aid in achieving a high standard of living for the island, now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, 1. The AFL-CIO pledges to the workers of Puerto Rico that it will expend every effort to bring to them the benefits of militant and

democratic trade unionism.

2. We urge immediate revision of the minimum wage law provisions applicable to Puerto Rico, with the objective of raising the Puerto Rican minimum wage to the mainland level, at the earliest possible date.

3. We urge that unemployment insurance be extended to Puerto Rico.

4. We call on the government of Puerto Rico to institute policies that will assure to the workers of Puerto Rico their rightful share in the benefits of the island's industrialization, and that will prevent unscrupulous employers from establishing sweatshop operations there.

GOVERNMENT STATISTICAL PROGRAMS

In collective bargaining negotiations and formulation of economic policies trade unions have increasingly turned to the statistical services of the federal government for information on wages, income levels, prices, profits, employment and unemployment, production, construction and housing developments, social security, productivity an a host of other economic trends.

Unfortunately, the federal agencies charged with providing these services are hampered by lack of sufficient funds. Therefore, they have often been unable to obtain and to make available to trade unions and other inter-

ested groups necessary statistical information.

Inadequate appropriations have particularly handicapped the U. S. Department of Labor, on which unions have relied most heavily for statistical

information; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, the AFL-CIO recommends that the Congress appropriate increased funds to permit needed expansion of government statistical services, especially those carried on by the U. S. Department of Labor, the Bureau of the Census, the Social Security Administration, the Federal Trade Commission, and the Securities and Exchange Commission.

We particularly hope that Congress will appropriate additional funds for the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics so that it can provide more complete information on employment and unemployment, wage and collective bargaining developments, productivity, housing and construction, and industrial

accidents.

COOPERATIVES

For many years the American trade union movement has befriended and supported all genuine cooperative organizations in the United States. In many parts of the nation our own members have, in fact, provided the leadership which has resulted in the successful growth of these democratic and useful enterprises.

Often, when neither a private profit undertaking nor a public agency has been able to meet an urgent need, groups of people have themselves estab-

lished their own cooperative in order to fill the gap.

One of the most useful types of cooperatives is the credit union through which a group pools its own savings and then lends funds to its own members at a low interest rate. In recent years credit unions have grown spectacularly and hundreds of AFL-CIO unions have established them, thereby saving millions of dollars which otherwise would have been paid out to small loan companies which charge extortionately high interest rates. Besides, the credit unions earn a substantial return for their members in the

form of interest paid on their savings.

Encouraging gains are also being made in the field of cooperative health services despite the vicious attacks made on them by reactionary elements led by the American Medical Association. In cities like Philadelphia, St. Louis and New York, labor-operated health centers have expanded both in membership and services and provide the highest quality of medical care. In a number of other communities, AFL-CIO affiliates support and assist cooperative health plans which are meeting the highest standards at the lowest possible cost to the families participating in them. Everywhere we continue to be in the forefront of a vigorous campaign to protect the right of consumers to organize cooperative health centers of their own.

Taking a useful place alongside credit unions and cooperative health services there is a growing number of cooperative housing and insurance enterprises and other consumer cooperatives, all of them helping to bring closer together those who produce and serve on the one hand and those who consume on the other; as a result, highest quality goods and services are being provided at lower costs to hundreds of thousands of our members.

The growth of the cooperative movement, furthermore, not only increases the purchasing power of wages and salaries, but also is a powerful force in the battle against monopolistic elements in our economy. In addition, cooperative enterprises are an excellent means through which organized labor can unite with other groups in a joint effort to advance the public welfare.

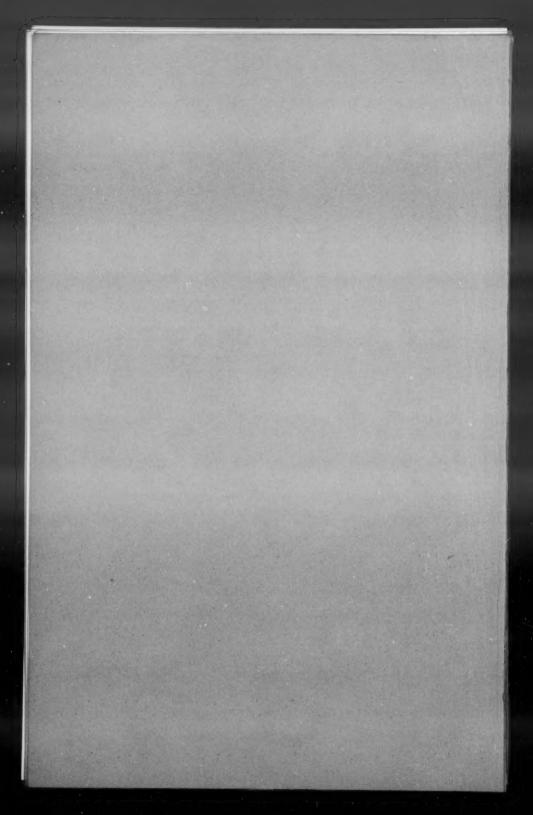
Finally, since the cooperatives have traditionally supported the objectives of organized labor, their own collective bargaining practices have almost always led to the highest type of employer-employee relations; now, there-

fore, be it

RESOLVED, The AFL-CIO reaffirms its support for all genuine cooperatives and urges its affiliates to continue to give them all possible aid so that their growth will be assured and their benefits can be more broadly shared and enjoyed, but also maintain labor-management relations that carry out trade union principles.

20





AFL-CIO

1955 Convention Resolution

or

POLITICAL EDUCATION

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POLITICAL ACTION

Since the Founding of our Republic, American labor has been in the forefront of the fight to advance the welfare of our community.

Down through the years the American labor movement has constantly endeavored to raise the level of wages, to improve working conditions, and to raise the over-all standard of living of all the working people of our country. Through strong organization following sound collective bargaining procedures we have helped make our economy healthy and enabled our democracy to withstand all assaults upon it.

Today, as a result of the efforts of our organizations, we have achieved laws embodying the 40-hour week, providing for workmen's compensation and compensation for persons thrown out of work through no fault of their own, protecting the health and safety standards of our working population, and providing a measure of security for our aged.

Despite these achievements and the strength they have given to our country's economy, a small but powerful core of reactionary business groups continues to oppose the legitimate efforts at betterment of our organizations. Failing to thwart and frustrate the labor movement on the collective bargaining front, they have carried their destructive program to the legislative halls of the nation. Through unfair and inequitable legislation they have sought to punish American trade unions and to destroy, or render useless, our collective bargaining strength.

The enactment of the Taft-Hartley law and the enactment of "right to work" laws in 18 states of our union spearheaded the attempt to return American working people to a condition of economic serfdom. These laws

constitute a dagger at the throat of American trade unions and a threat to the standard of living of every working man and woman.

To protect the gains we have achieved on the collective bargaining front and to stop the assaults upon our standards of living in the national Congress and the legislatures of the various states, we have been forced to turn to the field of political education and activity. We have sought to alert our members to the assaults being made upon our organizations and the standards of living which we have established.

We have sought to inform them of the records and actions of the legislators and other public officials who seek their votes in order that our members may exercise their independent judgment at election time. We have urged them to register and to vote in order that they may participate fully in the government of our country and we have urged them to contribute voluntarily to our political education funds in order that worthy candidates for public office need not rely solely upon the contributions of wealthy individuals and interests; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, This first convention of the world's largest trade union organization affirms the need for a continuing and expanding non-partisan program of political education designed to protect and secure the legitimate economic and political aspirations of America's working men and women.

We call upon each and all of the affiliated organizations to render the Committee on Political Education of the AFL-CIO all aid and assistance that it may require in the achievement of our purpose.

The political activities of organized labor should be expanded and the AFL-CIO should provide assistance, direction and coordination to the political education work of state, county and city federations and councils and also provide all possible aid and cooperation to the political education and action activities of the affiliated national and international unions.

One important phase of our political work should be the development of a program to place the appropriate voting records of our elected officials in the homes of each member of our affiliated organizations in order that they may know the actions of these officials with respect to the issues which affect our national well-being and security.

Political activity among the wives, sisters and daughters of our membership as well as among the women members of our organization should be intensified to the end that their vast resources of skill, energy and devotion to the cause of good citizenship may be enlisted on our behalf.

We reaffirm organized labor's traditional policy of avoiding entangling alliances with any other group and of supporting worthy candidates regardless of their party affiliation. We will cooperate wherever practical and feasible with other groups which have the same ideals and aims as our organization but we seek neither to capture any organization nor will we submerge our identity to any other group in any other manner.

To finance the program herein set forth, an annual campaign should be conducted for voluntary contributions from our members and we call upon each affiliated organization to render every possible cooperation and assistance in this endeavor.

It is our firm belief that our democratic form of self-government as set forth in the Constitution of the United States is the best that has ever been devised to meet the needs of free men. We pledge to it unselfish and unstinting support and vow that our every effort shall be directed to its preservation.

WOMEN'S POLITICAL ACTIVITIES

For the past several years women have been playing an increasingly active role in the political life of our nation. In recent elections larger numbers of women than ever before registered and voted. In the campaigns which preceded these elections more women than ever before served on campaign committees in every capacity.

We view this development with approval and express the hope that it continues. We believe it represents a long over-due recognition by women that politics affects the lives and well-being of each individual citizen and that democracy imposes upon each citizen the responsibility to participate.

In this increasing political activity the wives, sisters and daughters of our trade union members are playing their part. They are active at all levels of our political movement and are serving the cause of good government in every capacity. They have taken the lead in forming telephone brigades, holding coffee hours in their homes, volunteering their clerical skills, assisting in the canvass of their neighborhoods, and in serving as election day workers at the polls. As their experience increases they are taking part in the active management of campaigns together with their union husbands and brothers in the effort to achieve a common goal.

Many state and local councils and federations have recognized the worth of their activity and have established programs for its furtherance. Many have appointed to their political action committees and educational leagues persons with the specific responsibility of developing and carrying on the program of family participation.

This program has been, and should be, an integral part of the political action program of our state bodies and international and national unions.

The preponderance of women over men of voting age is concentrated in the industrial areas where their votes are of particular importance to organized labor. Furthermore, it is in these areas where anti-labor forces are at work to win the votes of trade union wives; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, In the coming elections there will be ample opportunity for us to continue to carry forward our program for family participation and we urge that this opportunity be utilized to the fullest extent.

We authorize and direct the Committee on Political Education to continue to strengthen its program for integrating the family voter into the political action program of our organization through the continuance of family participation training conferences and the establishment and en-

couragement of the women's divisions of the labor leagues.

We further urge our state and city central bodies and councils which have not as yet conducted family participation training conferences or established women's divisions to do so forthwith so that we may face the challenge of election day with our resources fully mobilized.

ELECTORAL REFORMS

Democratic government depends, for its fullest realization, upon the greatest possible participation of those who live under that government and upon the full responsiveness of the government to the will of the majority. Anything less constitutes an imperfection in our form of government.

Unfortunately, such imperfections still exist in the form of outmoded election laws and practices and in antiquated Congressional procedures. Together they operate to prevent full expression of the will of the majority, and to relieve our officials and other elected representatives from the full

responsibility they should have to the majority will.

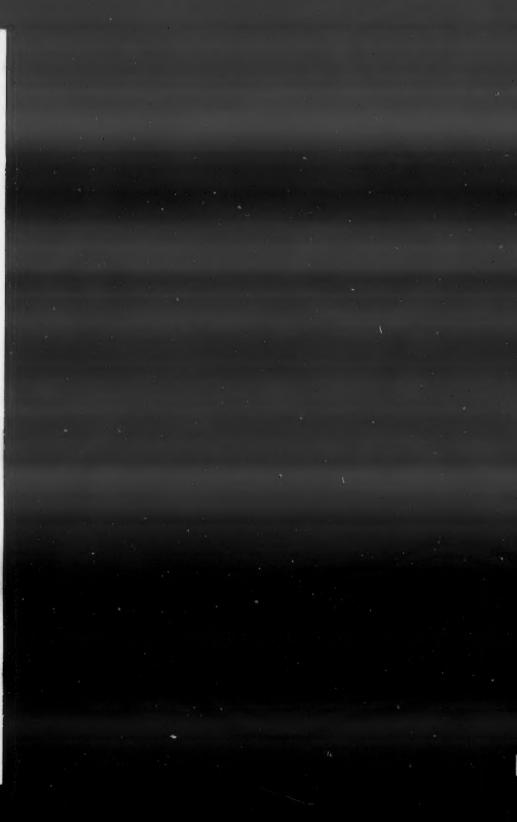
At a time when the United States is the world leader of democratic nations, we cannot tolerate these blots upon the methods by which we govern ourselves. We cannot meet the problems of today with procedures and practices of yesterday; now, therefore, be it

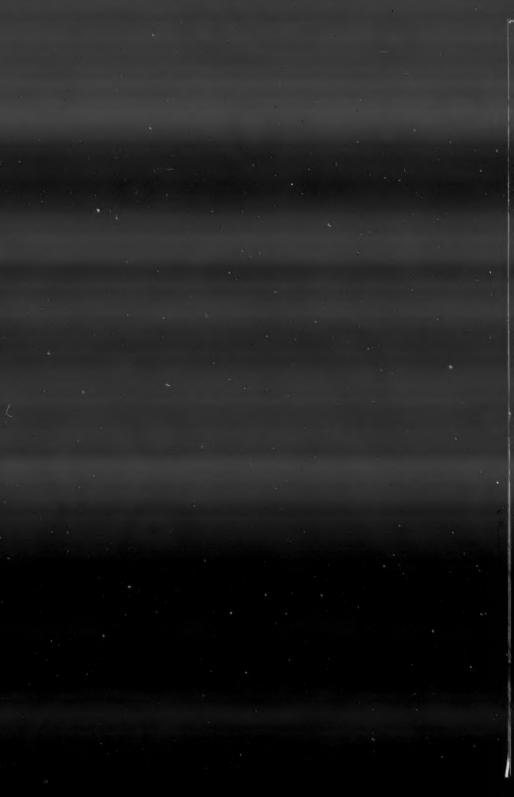
RESOLVED, The President and Vice President of the United States should be elected by direct popular vote. The electoral college system has

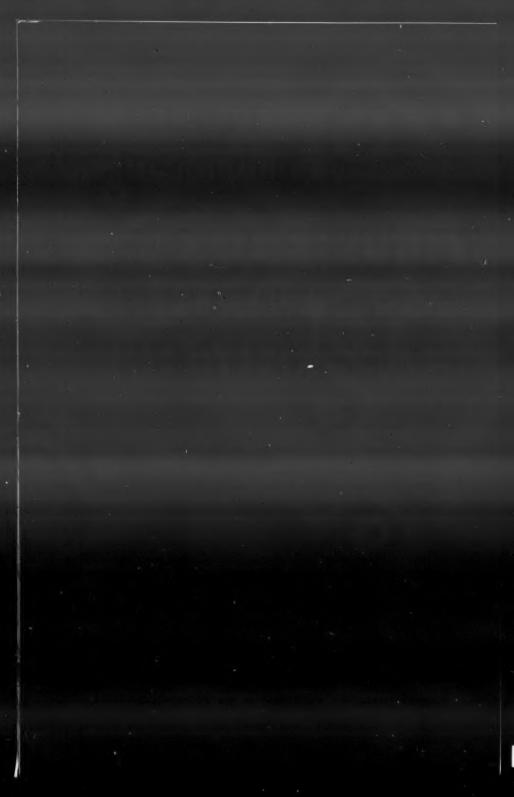
outlived its usefulness, and should be abolished.

We believe, further, that a uniform primary law should be adopted by each state in order to permit direct and open primaries and to afford each person who desires it the opportunity to place his candidacy before the voters.

We believe, further, that a uniform registration system for each state, designed to facilitate rather than hinder free voting should be adopted. All poll taxes should be abolished, and legalisms and technicalities which have done much to hamper voting should likewise be done away with.







AFL-CIO Resolutions

on

SOCIAL SECURITY, WELFARE

and

RELATED ISSUES

Adopted at the first constitutional convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations at New York City, December 5-8, 1955.

Resolution	Page
Old-Age and Survivors Insurance, Disability Insurance and Public Assistance	3
Unemployment Insurance and the Employment Service	4
Health Programs	6
Workmen's Compensation	9
Children and Youth	11
Women Workers	12
Physically Handicapped	. 13
Occupational Safety and Health	. 15

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OLD-AGE AND SURVIVORS INSURANCE, DISABILITY INSURANCE, AND PUBLIC ASSISTANCE

During the twenty years it has been in existence, the national system of old-age and survivors insurance has fully proved its worth. Most Americans are now contributing regularly to the trust fund, and over seven million persons are receiving benefits.

Our members are well aware, however, of serious limitations that remain in the OASI legislation. In spite of amendments which organized labor helped to secure in recent years, benefits are still too low, no insurance payments are made for permanent and total disability or temporary disability, and many workers do not receive any protection.

The Lehman-Dingell bill, which both the AFL and the CIO supported in 1954, would have substantially remedied these shortcomings.

The House this year passed a bill (H. R. 7225) which was supported by organized labor and which embodies important though restricted forward steps. It would initiate the payment of benefits to the permanent and totally disabled at age 50, with the same eligibility requirements now provided for freezing the pension rights of such disabled persons. For women, the bill would lower the qualifying age for OASI benefits to 62 years in recognition of the fact that many wives are younger than their husbands and that older women have even greater difficulty than men in obtaining steady employment.

The House bill would likewise extend coverage to additional groups, including employees of the TVA and many self-employed professionals. It would continue benefits for disabled dependent children of beneficiaries after age 18.

To finance these improvements, a one-half per cent contribution by employers and employees would be added to the schedule previously enacted. An advisory council on social security financing would be established to review the status of the trust fund in relation to the long-term commitments of the program. These provisions are consistent with the historic position of American labor in support of a social security system soundly financed on a long-term basis.

This House bill is now awaiting action by the Senate Finance Committee. Unfortunately, powerful groups, including the U. S. Chamber of Commerce and the American Medical Association, are planning a strenuous fight against these long-overdue changes, especially the provision for disability benefits.

While labor has emphasized the development of rounded social insurance programs under which benefits are paid without a needs test, our unions have also favored improvements in the public assistance provisions of the Social Security Act designed to provide decent incomes for those not adequately reached through social insurance. In many states payments to the aged, dependent children, and other groups are pitifully small, and the terms for qualifying are too harsh. Proposals such as those of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce for eliminating Federal grants for public assistance overlook the common national interest in the health and welfare of old people. Some attention to the public assistance programs must be given by Congress this year because of the coming expiration of a special \$5 a month Federal grant; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, This Convention supports comprehensive expansion and improvement of the existing system of old-age and survivors insurance to provide adequate benefits as a matter of right to the aged, the permanently and totally disabled, and those suffering from temporary illness or accident.

The provisions for improving benefits should include the following:

- 1. an increase in the wage base to keep pace with rising wage levels
- 2. an annual increment of one-half of one per cent of the primary benefit for each year of contributions
- 3. a two per cent increase in the primary benefit for each year of continued employment beyond age 65
- 4. the inclusion of "tips" as wages.

The success of the OASI program and of other social insurance systems which provide disability benefits has amply demonstrated the practicality and value of such measures. We likewise favor use of OASI funds to aid in vocational rehabilitation of disabled persons so that they may become self-supporting.

We favor continuation of Federal grants for the public assistance programs, more adequate assistance payments to individuals on a basis consistent with human dignity and self-respect, and removal of harsh require-

ments with regard to eligibility and residence.

We shall continue our efforts to achieve adequate social security both through collective bargaining and through Federal and state legislation.

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE AND THE EMPLOYMENT SERVICE

In 1954, the conventions of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations both pointed out the serious defects of the present federal-state system of unemployment insurance. Affiliates were urged to undertake strenuous efforts to secure improvements in the great

majority of states where legislatures met in 1955.

We can report a certain measure of success, due in many states to constructive cooperation among the various labor groups. Unfortunately the continued opposition of organized employers to adequate protection, and other difficulties inherent in the state-by-state approach, continued to prevent improvements of the kind required for adequate protection of unemployed workers. Benefits are still too low, maximums put a restrictive ceiling on

the amounts that can be received, duration is far too short, and harsh disqualification and eligibility provisions deprive many thousands of workers of all insurance benefits.

In too many cases, a rise in the maximum benefit could be obtained only by sacrifice in some other respect. In some states no advances whatever were made.

Experience of the last year thus lends new weight to the contention of organized labor that federal action is required to build an adequate unemployment insurance program. Both the AFL and the CIO have long supported a national system of unemployment insurance that would provide sufficient incomes to unemployed workers throughout the nation, in place of the present fifty-one competing systems. Last year, both federations supported a federal bill which provided certain minimum steps towards the reconstruction of the unemployment insurance system. This bill included uniform national minimum standards as to benefit amounts, duration, eligibility requirements, and disqualification. It established a re-insurance fund as a source of grants-in-aid to states whose benefit reserves are in danger of insolvency. Further, it struck at the present unsound system of individual employer experience rating by permitting an alternative method by which states can reduce employer tax rates where such reductions are justified by the condition of benefit funds.

Recently many unions have negotiated collective agreements that provide guaranteed wages, supplementary unemployment benefits, and dismissal pay to provide more protection against unemployment. Many such agreements contemplate simultaneous receipt of unemployment insurance and the privately-negotiated benefits. This is a desirable objective, and it would be most unfortunate if narrow provisions and rulings were to interfere with rree collective bargaining and the development of a combined arrangement that will better protect millions of workers and promote a more liberal insurance program for all wage earners.

The Federal Advisory Council on Employment Security, a tripartite body established by law, has in recent years provided constructive advice to the Secretary of Labor on methods of improving unemployment insurance and the public employment offices. However, employer organizations have supported a bill to replace the tripartite body with separate consultative groups of labor and management. Provisions for tripartite advisory bodies in the states would also be eliminated.

The proposal by the Administration for basing old-age and survivors insurance benefits on annual reports of earnings, rather than quarterly reports as at present, likewise constitutes a threat to unemployment insurance. If quarterly reports by employers for OASI purposes are abolished, the drive of employers to substitute so-called request reporting for quarterly reports under the unemployment insurance laws will be strengthened. Such a change would work to the detriment of unemployment insurance claimants unless proper safeguards can be provided; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, This Convention supports a comprehensive overhauling

and improvement of the unemployment insurance system. The ultimate answer to present shortcomings lies in the establishment of a single federal employment security system, with adequate benefits for all workers and a sound system of financing.

Pending the establishment of such a system, we support federal legislation providing uniform minimum standards with regard to benefits, duration, eligibility and disqualifications, providing for re-insurance as a source of grants-in-aid to states, and permitting states to make flat-rate reductions in taxes in place of individual employer experience rating.

· We support a coordinated national approach by the employment service

and the continuation and expansion of its various activities.

We oppose employer proposals for abolishing the tripartite Federal Advisory Council on Employment Security and similar state advisory bodies.

We favor repeal of the Reed amendments which will shortly result in automatic federal grants to the states, regardless of need, which can be used to supplement federal appropriations for employment security administration, thus undermining proper federal leadership without meeting essential requirements.

We urge the Secretary of Labor to enforce strictly the labor standards provisions of the unemployment insurance section of the Social Security Act, and to oppose all efforts by employer representatives to weaken or abolish the Federal Advisory Council on Employment Security and similar state advisory committees.

We urge affiliated unions to continue their efforts to improve the state unemployment insurance laws so that they will replace a higher percent of the individual's lost wages, so that maximums are realistic in terms of present wage levels, and so that harsh, restrictive provisions in regard to eligibility and disqualifications are removed.

We favor extension of coverage to all wage earners and the establishment of a system of unemployment insurance in Puerto Rico.

HEALTH PROGRAMS

Adequate health services must now be considered one of the necessities of life along with food, shelter and clothing. Yet millions of Americans are still denied the benefits of proper medical care and other health services. Among those who suffer most are many beneficiaries of old-age and survivors insurance.

Public funds invested in health programs are more than repaid by the

increased productivity and well-being of the population.

Organized labor has supported a national health program which would give all Americans access to the highest quality of medical care. In addition, our unions have made notable progress in the development of health centers and collective bargaining agreements providing health protection for our members. We have cooperated in community efforts by private and public agencies to provide more and better health services of many types. Labor

representatives have served constructively on boards of voluntary health agencies and on many public bodies concerned with health problems.

In spite of remarkable achievements in medical science and in limited areas of activity, the national, state and local governments generally lag seriously behind their capacity to develop comprehensive activities essential for the maintenance of good health. Our union-negotiated programs are severely limited by the shortcomings of the public programs, especially by continuing shortages of medical personnel and facilities, with ever-rising costs. Our unions are also handicapped by the scarcity of nonprofit, direct service, prepayment medical plans, which make comprehensive services, including preventive medicine, available at reasonable charges.

Organized labor has favored many types of government action which would overcome these shortcomings and lead toward our ultimate goal of a comprehensive national health program, including national health insurance.

In the last year, the failure of the Eisenhower Administration to provide adequate leadership has had tragic results. The delay in rapid provision of a safe vaccine against polio arose partly from a narrow concept of the responsibilities of the Federal Government and inadequate staffing of the U. S. Public Health Service.

No constructive programs were advocated by the Administration for training more doctors, dentists, and all other types of medical personnel, or for assisting the development of direct service prepayment plans.

Administration budget requests for hospital construction, medical research, and many other health services were inadequate, and so are current appropriations, in spite of additions made by Congress. The Pure Food and Drug Administration and the Industrial Health Division of the U. S. Public Health Service continue to furnish sad illustrations of the effects of the short-sighted economy drive of a business-minded Administration. The marine hospitals, which have provided care for seamen since 1798, have been preserved with difficulty.

At a time when organized labor has been trying to hold down medical costs and promote nonprofit arrangements covering all costs of comprehensive medical service, the Administration has been turning to the life insurance companies in developing legislation for health insurance for Federal employes. As originally introduced in Congress, these proposals threatened to shut out the voluntary nonprofit plans, and in other ways fell far short of the standards our unions in private industry have obtained or are seeking for their members.

The passage of a law for a nation-wide analysis of the problems of mental illness was the most notable health legislation, other than the polio vaccine program, enacted by Congress in 1955. But this accomplishment is limited in scope compared to the nation's vast needs.

In the past, the Committee for the Nation's Health, endorsed and supported by both the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, has served as a central agency for information and for cooperation between our organizations and others. It is desirable that

the functions and structure of such a central clearing house be considered afresh, by the Social Security Committee, in the light of the current situation; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, The AFL-CIO, in recognition of the immensity of the problem of meeting the basic health needs of the nation, will renew organized labor's efforts to obtain more adequate health services through collective bargaining, through community activities, and through legislative efforts in Washington, in the states, and in cities and counties.

We call upon Congress to enact a comprehensive legislative program geared to the nation's needs and resources. Such a program would strengthen national, state, local and private agencies alike. It should include the following:

- Federal assistance to schools training doctors, dentists, nurses and medical technicians, in the form of grants for construction, equipment and maintenance of physical facilities, for student scholarships, and for research.
- 2. Expanded federal matching grants to states and local groups for the construction of hospitals, at least to the level of \$150,000,000 a year authorized under the original Hill-Burton Act, in addition to sums for special types of hospitals added by recent legislation.
- A program of federal aid, such as grants and low-interest loans, to further the development of non-profit, direct service, prepayment medical care plans, based on group practice.
- Expanded federal aid for medical research and for state and local public health units.
- Expanded aid for maternal and child health services, and for programs for physically handicapped children.
- 6. Renewed efforts to develop a mental health program which will improve our mental hospitals, increase the facilities and services throughout the nation for care of the mentally ill, and provide for the training of psychiatrists and other mental health personnel.
- 7. Strengthening of other functions of the U. S. Public Health Service, with special attention to restoring and increasing of its activities for Pure Food and Drug Administration, for advancing of industrial health, and for providing of up-to-date maritime hospitals.
- 8. Hospitalization insurance for persons receiving old-age and survivors insurance benefits.
- 9. A national health insurance system which would make complete prepaid health protection available to all Americans, with contributions geared to income; assure high quality medical services, facilities and personnel in expanding quantity and quality; and at the same time provide free choice of doctors and patients, with control of medical decisions in the hands of the medical profession.

We urge our affiliated unions and central bodies to continue their efforts to improve state and local legislation so that more adequate health facilities and services may be available in all areas. We seek repeal of laws that have been sponsored by medical societies in many states to interfere with the formation of consumer cooperatives for health care. We support the addition of fluorides to water as an excellent preventive step against tooth decay.

We shall press for the continued improvement of our collective bargaining programs in the field of health, which provide immediate protection and could, to a substantial degree, continue to operate under the type of national health insurance which we support. We express special interest in the continued development of direct service prepayment medical plans, making available to their members the advantage of group practice.

We favor more extensive, active and meaningful consumer participation in the determination of policies governing the operations of hospitals, medical service plans and other voluntary health agencies. Our objective is not mere token representation, but sufficiently extensive and active participation by labor and consumer spokesmen to improve the services these agencies render. It should be clear to our unions that labor representation on the board of an agency does not, in itself, mean endorsement by labor.

We recommend that the Social Security Committee consider the best means by which the AFL-CIO can cooperate with other groups interested in the development and promotion of programs to meet the health needs of the nation.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION

American workers injured on the job are today bearing not only the pain and suffering caused by their injuries, but also a shocking proportion of the resulting economic burden. Despite the intention of workmen's compensation legislation to restore to injured workers at least two-thirds of the wage losses due to industrial injuries, this intention is violated in every state in the United States.

While there has been some improvement in state legislation during the past year, there are few states that repay as much as one-third of the losses suffered by workers and their families.

With average weekly earnings of approximately \$72.00, the stated objective of the Workmen's Compensation system would require average weekly benefits of \$43.20 to \$48.00. However, only one state, Arizona, attains this average. In all other states compensation is reduced below the theoretical benefit level because the statutes fix a maximum payment that is not related to the worker's actual earnings.

In addition, there are wide disparities in payments for permanent partial disabilities. The value given an arm in one state is only half the value in another state. In a number of states loss of an arm at the shoulder is given less compensable value than the loss of a thumb in one of the better states.

Increases in workmen's compensation payments since 1940 have been at only one-half the rate of employer contributions to all other social-insurance and related programs during the same period. Abuse of workmen's compensation insurance by private insurers has continued. By design, work-

men's compensation premiums set aside as much as 40 percent for "overhead." In practice, workers often receive even less than half of the premiums in benefits.

The decline of workmen's compensation legislation in America is a matter of grave concern not only to the millions of workers who make up the nation's labor force, and their immediate families, but also the communities in which they live and to the nation as a whole. Injured workers in many instances receive substantially less than they could collect in relief payments. Thus there is a tendency to tax the community for what properly should be a charge against industry. The time has come for the Federal Government, which is an active participant in all other forms of social insurance, to assert leadership in improving workmen's compensation, the most neglected form of social insurance in America today.

Organized labor is fearful that our first social-insurance laws are headed for almost certain collapse. It was the collapse of the common law and employers' liability acts 40 years ago that resulted in widespread investigations and the enactment of workmen's compensation laws. But experience has shown that the 1910 models of workmen's compensation laws do not

meet today's needs; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, 1. We approve of the short initial step taken by the present national administration to make an objective survey through the U.S. Department of Labor of workmen's compensation systems throughout the United States. This survey should give prior attention to the decline in benefits in relation to the wage loss and the relation of the benefit to modest living costs.

- 2. The respective state legislatures are urged to take the following action: eliminate dollar and duration limits on medical care which still exist in too many states; overhaul the permanent partial disability rating schedules; make coverage compulsory for all employers including those in agriculture regardless of the number of employees; make provision for compulsory reporting of all disabling injuries including occupational diseases; maintain a free choice of physicians for the injured worker under proper safeguards established by the State Workmen's Compensation Commission; and expand occupational disease provisions, especially in view of the vast development of new industrial processes and materials.
- 3. Greater consideration must also be given by the states to provisions for rehabilitation of injured workers. One authority has revealed that "true rehabilitation of the injured worker, with a few real exceptions is, from a practical point of view, virtually non-existing under our present workmen's compensation system."
- 4. Abuses, such as excessive overhead charges, arising out of the insurance of workmen's compensation risks by private insurance companies must be corrected.
- 5. We urge all of our affiliated organizations to work for the amendment and improvement of state workmen's compensation laws in accordance with the standards set forth in this resolution.

CHILDREN AND YOUTH

Our nation must be ever aware of and responsive to the needs of our young people, for our future rests in their hands. They are entitled to the best the nation can give them.

Sound child development requires a decent family and community environment. Failure to meet this need adequately has too often prevented youngsters from maturing to their full capacity and has been a major con-

tributing factor to juvenile delinquency.

A well-rounded program to meet the needs of our youth also requires special services to meet particular problems. Our unions have supported many programs which have proved valuable in advancing child welfare. These include the child labor laws, health measures to aid mothers at childbirth and children in infancy, welfare programs to give crippled children a chance to grow whole and to aid in the placement of orphans and abused children in good homes. The Children's Bureau of the U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare and the Bureau of Labor Standards of the U. S. Department of Labor have helped to develop such programs in cooperation with state and local governments and voluntary agencies; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, The AFL-CIO declares its wholehearted support for programs which strengthen and safeguard family life and help to assure to each

child the fullest healthy mental and physical development.

Since child development is rooted in family and community standards, we can best serve our youngsters by working to assure an economy in which families are financially secure, by making available to all families the opportunity to live in homes and neighborhoods which are adequate and comfortable, by developing top-flight school and recreational facilities, and by providing parents with knowledge of how best to protect the child's personal well-being.

Trade unions are doing and will do their utmost in these essential areas. Our efforts to develop and sustain improving standards of living for American families are at the very heart of trade union activities. We urge our affiliated unions to expand their efforts to aid the young people of their

communities through active participation in local programs.

We have insisted that the Federal Government, along with state and local governments and private organizations, fulfill their essential responsibility to act to overcome substandard living and neighborhood conditions and thereby help provide improved opportunities for children throughout the nation. We must not lose sight of the fact that money spent for such programs can be more than recaptured, not alone through savings in expenditures for jails or correctional facilities and mental institutions, but through the greater positive contribution to the community by youngsters who develop into healthy and responsible adults.

In the areas of specialized child needs, we commend the U. S. Children's Bureau and the Bureau of Labor Standards for their efforts in advancing

the welfare of children and in helping to limit child labor.

We urge expansion of the programs providing maternal and child health services and special welfare services for children, including aid to crippled children. We support expansion of research and education in child life which will help parents understand better what makes for healthy, happy childhood.

The problems of juvenile delinquency can be met better also by expanded programs to improve procedures for spotting and aiding maladjusted children and to handle constructively those who get into trouble with the law. These programs should be given full support by our affiliated unions.

WOMEN WORKERS

Millions of working women are members of unions represented in this Convention, and both the AFL and the CIO have long fought for equal treatment of women. Our women members have fully demonstrated their firm devotion to the principles of unionism, and have contributed immeasurably to the many improvements obtained by the labor movement through collective bargaining, community activities, and political action.

Women now constitute one-third of the labor force, many of whom are employed in occupations and industries which have not had the benefits of unionism and where low wages, inadequate security and substandard condi-

tions of work prevail.

Under such conditions, unions are essential for the advancement of economic conditions and human dignity, and we urge these women to enroll in our federation to gain for themselves high living standards and greater

dignity in their work.

In the past, our affiliates have supported many types of labor legislation especially designed to safeguard women from such abuses as substandard wages, excessive hours, and unhealthy working conditions. Such legislation has reinforced collective bargaining advances and has paved the way for laws such as the Fair Labor Standards Act which give similar protection to men. However, even today in many states labor laws designed to protect women, or both men and women, are still inadequate or altogether absent.

These protective labor laws continue to be threatened by the miscalled "Equal Rights Amendment," which organized labor has opposed. While presumably designed to give women rights equal with men, this amendment is so worded that it would place in jeopardy all the many state laws which now offer protection to women against substandard wages, hours and working conditions. Organized labor has taken the leadership in opposing this amendment which is also opposed by a large number of women's organizations as well as the U. S. Department of Labor.

The achievement of equal pay for comparable work has long been a fundamental objective of organized labor. Special efforts have been made both by collective bargaining and by legislation to achieve this objective;

now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, This Convention of the AFL-CIO urges our officers and our affiliates to continue working to advance the conditions of working

women through collective bargaining and by the passage of federal and state legislation.

While we shall continue union efforts to increase the earning capacity of all workers so that wives and mothers are not driven into the labor market by substandard family incomes, we recognize that increasing numbers of women are seeking jobs in order to obtain more adequate family living levels and to contribute to community affairs. We support programs that make it easier for women to earn a living without endangering their own health or the welfare of their families.

We support elimination of restrictions on women's rights as citizens and property owners. We oppose the miscalled "Equal Rights Amendment," which would endanger long-standing federal and state legislation enacted to establish wages, hours, safety and other standards for women workers.

We recommend that the officers of the federation study bill H.R. 6503 providing equal pay for comparable work with a view to taking whatever action seems appropriate,

We urge our officers and our affiliates to continue traditional union efforts to overcome discrimination against women on the job or in the community, and to support actively protection of women's rights through clauses in union contracts providing equal treatment in pay, hiring, upgrading, training, lay-offs, or similar procedures.

We urge that the Women's Bureau of the U. S. Department of Labor consider the advancement of the welfare of women in industry its first objective, as provided by law, and that the Bureau receive adequate funds to expand its work for this purpose and for constructive education on women's rights.

PHYSICALLY HANDICAPPED

Every year hundreds of thousands of Americans are born with physical handicaps or acquire them because of industrial, automobile, and other accidents, or as the result of crippling diseases. Today, an estimated 30 million of our fellow citizens—men, women and children—suffer from some degree of permanent disability.

While about three million handicapped citizens are now employed, an estimated ten million others could be rehabilitated and usefully employed instead of being forced to remain an economic burden on their families, on their communities, and on the nation. To eliminate this economic discrimination, we must create the rehabilitation services and employment opportunities which are required to restore America's handicapped to useful citizenship, integrate them into the activities of our economic and social life, and give them the dignity which is the birthright of all mankind.

As the first step, the federal and state governments must assume their full responsibility. Despite fairly recent Congressional action to increase federal funds for vocational rehabilitation and to encourage the construction of rehabilitation centers, an additional expansion must be undertaken if the rehabilitation of millions of citizens is to be achieved. Secondly, management

and labor must assist aggressively in the process of integrating the physically handicapped into the labor force.

Unfortunately, the facilities of both public and private rehabilitation agencies are so limited that more persons are being permanently disabled each year than are now rehabilitated. Leadership in a comprehensive and vigorously administered rehabilitation program, nation-wide in scope, is a major responsibility of the federal government. The federal program and coordinated state programs must encompass adequate medical services, special educational aids, income maintenance, vocational training and employment services.

Rehabilitation must be closely coordinated with workmen's compensation and disability programs to provide income for the disabled and their families during periods of unemployment and to insure prompt referral of each case to the proper rehabilitation agencies. Rehabilitation services must begin immediately after injury or at the onset of illness. Continuity of treatment must be planned through convalescence. Training or retraining in useful, suitable, and remunerative vocational skills must follow. Finally, restoration

of the individual to employment at his highest attainable skill must be accomplished.

No program to secure employment of the handicapped can succeed without wider support from management and labor. While some employers have learned the value of the handicapped as productive workers, too many still discriminate against them. While unions are working diligently to encourage employment ties for the disabled, more needs to be done.

Organized labor has been represented on the President's Committee on Employment of the Physically Handicapped and has participated actively in its work, as have many labor representatives who are serving on similar

governor's committees in the various states.

The federal government is urged to conduct a census of the handicapped, and to bring together and expand all of the federal services for the physically handicapped in a new and vigorous administrative bureau in the United States Department of Labor, now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, 1. The problems of the nation's handicapped are the problems of all Americans. We recommend our affiliates for the activities in which they have engaged on behalf of the handicapped citizens of our nation and urge that the efforts of our local unions, central labor bodies, and international unions be expanded to meet this tragic and growing need.

- 2. We urge the establishment within the United States Department of Labor of a centralized agency that would bring together the rehabilitation functions that are now scattered among many federal agencies, and give leadership to the rehabilitation services in the respective states.
- 3. While we applaud recent Congressional action to raise federal contributions for vocational rehabilitation and to construct rehabilitation centers under the Hill-Burton Hospital Program for the first time, we urge further expansion of these federal grants-in-aid programs so that millions of disabled citizens not now reached by them will be served.

OCCUPATIONAL SAFETY AND HEALTH

Occupational accidents and health hazards continue to take a relentless toll of the lives and well-being of American workers. Despite a continuous discussion of the problem, statistics indicate that these accidents and injuries continue at a fairly consistent level year after year. The 14,000 death toll and 1,850,000 crippling accidents in 1954 reveal only a slight reduction in the shameful record of 1953.

These tragic problems can be solved only through the cooperation of all concerned, in voluntary activities and in enactment of necessary legislation. Organized labor has consistently requested business management, the other major group directly concerned in occupational safety and health, to join with us in such cooperation. In the isolated instances where the cooperative approach has been tried, the record plainly reveals tremendous improvements

in safety performance.

Major opposition to the cooperative approach can be traced clearly to a group of large industries, the heads of which continue to insist that occupational safety and health programs are the "sole prerogative" of management. Representatives of these industries strive to dominate completely the voluntary and governmental agencies which presumably have been established to reduce accidents and occupational diseases. Thus they prevent any real improvements in occupational safety and health legislation, and adequate governmental appropriations for research, education and enforcement of existing laws.

The limited interest which the U. S. Department of Labor and the U. S. Public Health Service are permitted to take in occupational safety and health is revealed in the Federal budget. The Bureau of Labor Standards in the Labor Department has been allotted \$735,000 for the current fiscal year; the Occupational Health Program in the Health, Education and Welfare Department has been given \$557,000 by the present administration. These amounts together represent an annual expenditure of less than two cents for each American worker. Even these pitiful amounts are constantly threatened with further reductions.

Similarly, the Department of Labor and other agencies concerned with occupational health in the respective states are handicapped by grossly inadequate appropriations. Efforts to improve inadequate state standards meet with steady and relentless opposition; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, 1. We reaffirm the programs for improving occupational safety and health which organized labor has repeatedly recommended.

2. We further urge the 84th Congress to appropriate funds in amounts sufficient to enable the Bureau of Labor Standards of the U. S. Department of Labor and the Division of Special Services, U. S. Public Health Service, to carry out properly and efficiently their respective leadership functions in the prevention of occupational accidents and diseases. We further urge that the Congress provide for Federal grants-in-aid to the state agencies concerned with maintaining standards of occupational safety and health, as

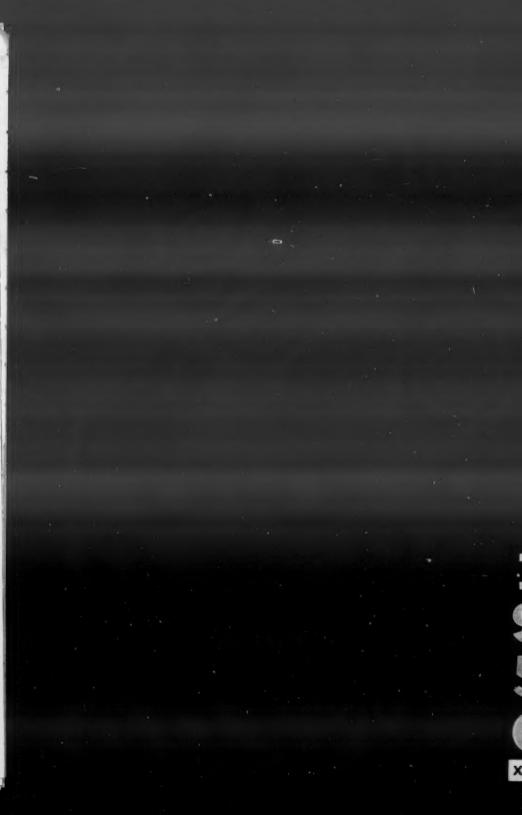
provided in the Bailey bill (H.R. 4877) and the Murray bill (S. 638). We also urge the Congress to vest in the Federal Government enforcement of adequate labor standards in metallic and non-metallic mines as well as in coal mines, and also in quarries, and in the logging and lumbering industry.

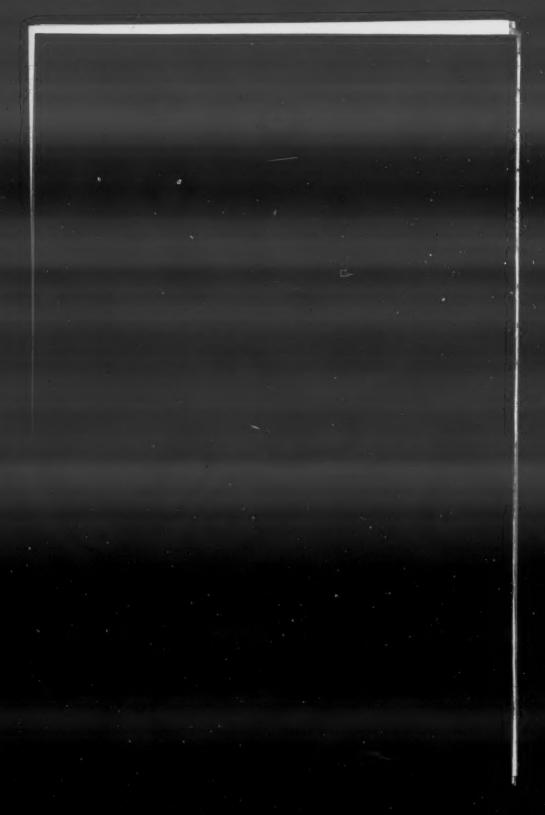
3. We commend the National Safety Council for its decision within the last year to integrate organized labor into the work of the Council through the establishment of a Labor Conference equal in status to other NSC Conferences.

4. We emphasize our conviction that occupational safety and health can be attained only by initial action at the level of each individual plant or workplace. Neither management, nor labor, nor safety technicians can do the job alone. All three groups must work together voluntarily in good faith to attain the objective through joint committees.

5. We urge all affiliates to work diligently in their respective states to bring about the enactment of enforceable, up-to-date occupational safety

and health codes at all levels.





AFL-C10 Resolutions on

FOREIGN POLICY



FIRST CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

AND

CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

December 1955

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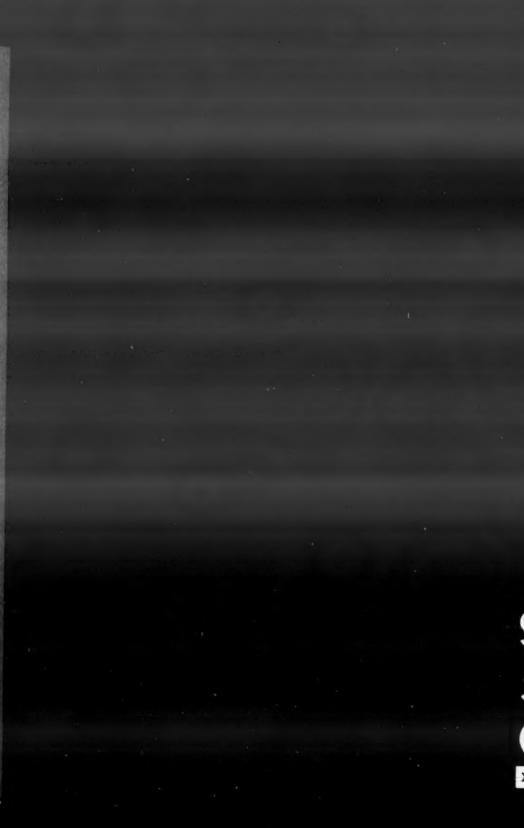
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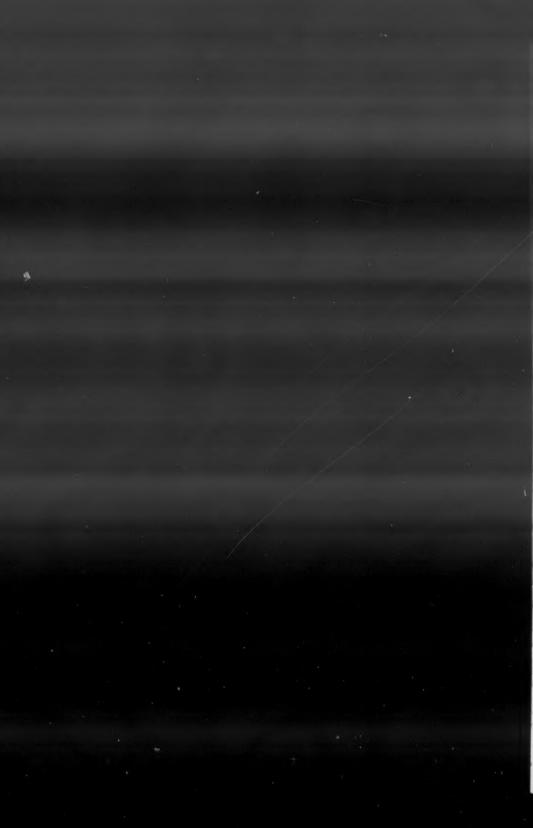
Washington, D. C.

GEORGE MEANY Prodúcus WILLIAM F. SCHNITZLER
Secretary-Treasurer

SANCTARY, 1999

AFT-CIO Publication No. 7





1955 Convention Resolutions

on

FOREIGN POLICY

Adopted at the first constitutional convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations at New York City, December 5-8, 1955.

FOREIGN POLICY

The united American trade union movement, in common with labor everywhere, has the greatest stake in the preservation of peace and the promotion of freedom. Approaching the international crisis as patriotic citizens and free trade unionists, we have the highest interest in building a world free from all dictatorship, poverty and war.

The free trade union movement cannot thrive, or even live, without democracy. In view of the enormous Communist threat to democracy, we of American labor face new significant tasks. At this critical juncture of history, we are in duty bound to help our country meet its heavy responsibilities as a powerful force for the attainment of lasting world peace, freedom and human well-being.

We of the united American labor movement—the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations—have three main areas of activities in our efforts to aid our country in the fulfillment of its new historic role. These are: 1) Through our trade union strength and political actions, help build an ever better and stronger America, a prosperous and progressive land free from economic and social inequity and all racial and every other form of discrimination. 2) Through democratic processes, help our nation evolve and execute an effective democratic foreign policy. 3) Through cooperation with and assistance to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, to aid free labor everywhere in becoming a most powerful force for furthering social justice, national and human freedom, economic well-being and world peace.

On the threshold of the atomic age, the readiness and ability of the unified American labor movement to fulfill these basic tasks are especially important for the security, welfare and liberty of the entire American people and the international free trade union movement. The policies and the practices of the AFL-CIO can also be a source of great hope for the peoples behind the Iron Curtain and in the economically underdeveloped countries aspiring to national independence and human freedom and dignity.

At the "Summit Conference" in Geneva in July 1955, the leading democratic powers demonstrated their determination and readiness to secure international harmony and lasting peace. But at the Geneva Conference of the Big Four Foreign Ministers, November, 1955, the Soviet Union demonstrated that it was willing to do little or nothing to remove, or even reduce, the causes which have produced the acute international tension of the last decade.

The U. S. S. R. has categorically rejected German national reunification in freedom—the holding of internationally-supervised free elections throughout the Soviet Zone and Berlin as well as the Federal German Republic. The latest reaffirmation of Soviet opposition to adequate international inspection

and supervision has dealt a severe blow to the prospects for effective disarmament.

Soviet insistence on the dismantling of N.A.T.O. and the W.E.U. as well as on the withdrawal of American defense forces from Europe shows clearly that Moscow is not interested in security for the weaker nations but is maneuvering to render defenseless the remaining free countries of Europe.

Despite its "Big Smile" and big talk about removing the barriers to communications, Moscow is as unrelenting as ever in its opposition to any arrangement for free travel of individuals between the Soviet orbit and the free world. It is no less hostile to the reciprocal distribution of foreign books, newspapers, periodicals, and radio programs in the Soviet Union. This Soviet talk has been fully exposed at Geneva as having but one aim: The elimination of all barriers to the Moscow-Peiping Axis securing from the western democracies the latest technical knowledge, strategic materials, and up-to-date machinery it so sorely lacks. The Communist bloc desperately needs such vital assistance in order to ease the terrible armament burdens behind the Iron Curtain and to facilitate its building of a most modern and even more massive war machine for aggression.

Indeed, at the very moment that the Foreign Ministers were negotiating at Geneva, the Kremlin brought to a head one of its long-cherished and carefully prepared plans to provoke an armed conflict between Egypt and Israel and promote aggravated tension throughout the Near East. Mastery of this pivotal region is essential to the ultimate and unalterable aim of Communist imperialism—Soviet world domination.

Unlike preceding international crises, the present struggle between the Communist dictatorships and the free world is not a collision between two power blocs, in the old nineteenth century sense, but between two conflicting ways of life—democracy (despite all its imperfections), and Communist totalitarianism with its all-embracing program of world conquest and transformation. Soviet imperialism seeks to subvert and conquer the free world and remold all society in line with its Communist preconceptions of a new social order. This vital difference between the old imperialisms and the new Soviet imperialism accounts for the continuous character of the present crisis as distinct from preceding ones. The AFL and the CIO have notable records of opposition to world Communism and Soviet imperialism. Both have also resolutely opposed Fascism, Nazism, Falangism, Peronism and every other form of dictatorship. The united organization that has grown out of the merger of the two American trade union centers will not slacken in that opposition.

Fortunately, the American labor movement has not limited itself to verbal assaults on Fascism and Communism and rhetorical affirmations of democracy. It has been in the forefront of many constructive undertakings to aid the cause of free trade unionism everywhere. We have also in the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, a practical instrumentality for engaging and defeating the totalitarians in the fields and factories, on

the ground where they have made their greatest bid for the allegiance of the

peoples of the world.

The main objectives of sound American foreign policy are: (1) to foster good relations with other nations in order to preserve and promote enduring peace and freedom and (2) to encourage mutually advantageous trade and other relations with other nations—in order to advance their common eco-

nomic stability and social well-being.

In every country, there is a close inter-relationship between foreign and domestic policy. Neither our government, nor any other government, can consistently pursue a genuinely democratic foreign policy, if it pursues a reactionary domestic policy. No government which wages war against its own people at home—by denying them their rights and liberties and by depressing their standards of life and labor—can be truly peaceful towards the peoples abroad and be worthy of their trust. A government guilty of aggression against its own people tends to be aggressive against its neighboring and other countries; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, Conscious of our responsibilities at this crucial period, the AFL-CIO herewith declare their support of the following guiding principles for an effective American democratic foreign policy and sound international

labor relations.

1. Effective foreign policy cannot be improvised and piecemeal. It must have a clear and definite orientation and be consistent, sustained and vigorous in its application. Its motivating and paramount aims must be the mobilization of all our moral and material resources for developing a system of international relationships to maintain peace, protect freedom and national security, and enable a growing population to enjoy a rising standard of living.

2. Integration of our foreign political and economic policies is essential, if the great technical resources and mighty industrial potential of the United States are to be geared to increasing the productivity, raising the purchasing power, and improving the living standards especially of those economically underdeveloped countries which are devoted to human liberty and peace.

- 3. Undeveloped and underdeveloped continents and regions, where many hundreds of millions nurse their grievances and their hopes—constitute a fertile field for Communist operations. In dealing with rudimentary human problems the world over, we must be concerned primarily with two immediate needs—the need for food, health and irrigation in the underdeveloped countries, and the burning desire for independence and equality. By ministering to such fundamental needs we will be on firmer ground as we seek to win new adherents to the free world.
- 4. We know that Communism is a false solution; we believe that democracy is the true solution. Communism is weakened when democracy is strengthened. The representatives of democracy must go out into the underdeveloped regions with specific plans, programs and projects to help raise living standards, for helping to end all colonialism, for winning these peoples as equal members of the free world community. Thus we will make it

possible for them to have a stake in the defense of a civilization worth

defending.

5. Our country has done some of this. UNRRA was a beginning. American labor supported the Marshall Plan because it was conceived and largely administered in this spirit. Point Four was an imaginative gesture in the same direction but tragically all too little. Towards the same end, the Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development, (SUNFED), provides real possibilities for developing and expanding worthy projects for the fundamental improvement of the economic conditions of the needy peoples. Our responsibilities include, but are not limited to, a firm and effective military defense of established positions against Communist subversion and aggression. Positive measures for social and economic betterment are an indispensable part of the program for the defense and victory of the free world.

6. Categoric rejection of any idea of imposing our form of government or economic system on any other nation and relentless opposition to the efforts of any power to impose its political or economic system on our country. Support for free peoples who resist attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures on their free institutions is vital.

7. While Communism is currently the main totalitarian threat to freedom and peace, we must be equally opposed to every other brand of dictatorship (Falangist, Fascist, Nazi, Peronist, Titoist) as reprehensible foes of

human dignity, decency and liberty.

8. Welcome as our allies self-reliant, independent nations held together by binding principles and cooperating for peace, freedom, and human well-being. Satellites or vassals herded together by fraud and force cannot serve peace and freedom. A common purpose, sense of urgency, and machinery for permanent cooperation are indispensable to the collective security of the allied free peoples. The struggle for peace and freedom demands not only military strength sufficient to deter and defeat aggression but the development of the alliance into an association of free peoples for positive political

and economic cooperation and mutual assistance.

9. Rejection of all colonialism—the old declining western as well as the new rising Soviet colonialism—should be cardinal to our nation's foreign policy. In line with our national traditions, positive steps should be taken to help all peoples aspiring to self-government or national independence under conditions which will enable them to assume equal status among the free peoples of the world. All peoples—in Europe no less than in Asia or Africa—who have been subjected to the yoke of alien despotism should be encouraged in their efforts to regain the right of self-determination which will enable them to choose the form of government they desire and enjoy national sovereignty and the fundamental human rights proclaimed in the Charter of the United Nations.

10. While never shutting the door to negotiations with Moscow, our country and its allies must build up their political unity, economic power, and adequate military strength. Readiness to negotiate is not appearement. It takes courage to meet aggression. It also takes courage to seek patiently

and persistently for peaceful and acceptable settlements. Appeasement of the demands of any expansionist power, however, only encourages and invites aggression. Hence, our government should never assume as settled and final any conquests the Kremlin or any other totalitarian regime made through direct military aggression, threat of armed intervention, Communist subversion, aggression by proxy, or any combination of these methods.

11. In its efforts to lessen international tension and eliminate the vestiges of war bitterness, our government should make the strongest effort to hasten the release of all hostages forcibly detained by Moscow—either as war prisoners, fighters for democratic rights, or as striking workers imprisoned after the Soviet armed suppression of the June 1953 revolt in the

Soviet Zone of Germany and in any other satellite areas.

12. Maximum efforts to seek gradual effective disarmament through adequate international inspection, control and supervision, backed by provisions for strong non-vetoable sanctions against all violators—with a view of ultimately assuring abolition of the atomic and all other weapons of mass destruction.

13. Until such time as an adequate system of world disarmament has been attained, the security and freedom of our country call for the build-up of sufficient actual and immediately available military strength to deter and, if need be, defeat aggression. The defense efforts should be meshed with non-military economic efforts into a common program for assuring social as well as national security. Only a prosperous and progressive, as well as powerful, America can make effective and sufficient contributions to world peace, freedom and human well-being.

14. Invigorated efforts to promote international cooperation for enabling all mankind to share the benefits of the peaceful utilization of atomic energy and technique. To assure the people's sharing equitably in the benefits of the atoms for peace program, the free trade unions should be repre-

sented in the planning and setting up of such projects.

15. It is imperative that there be a marked expansion of cultural, political, and economic relations among the nations of the Western Hemisphere with a view of raising living standards, strengthening democracy, and enabling the entire New World to play a unified and greater role in the preservation of peace and the furtherance of freedom. An intensified effort to reinvigorate democracy is urgent in view of the recent defeat of Peronist totalitarianism in Argentina and the Communist-tainted regime in Guatemala.

16. In an effort to lessen world tension and remove dangers to world peace, the U.N. should adopt a universal policy of the holding of free elections in all divided and strife-torn areas with a view to employing peaceful means rather than war for establishing legitimate governments which are to enjoy full sovereignty. Despite continued Soviet opposition, the U.N. must persist in advocating free elections in the satellite states as well.

17. Particularly in view of the recent grave developments in the Middle East, our country and its allies in concert with the United Nations should take positive steps to prevent aggression in the Middle East, to improve the

economic conditions of its people and to promote peaceful relations among its various peoples-based on mutual recognition of each other's national existence and territorial integrity. Towards this end, the AFL-CIO urges the United States, Britain and France to re-affirm their Tri-Partite Declaration of 1950, and to implement it by enabling the Republic of Israel to obtain arms and all other means necessary for the maintenance of its territorial integrity and national independence. The best interests of our country and the needs of world peace and social progress demand that our government enter into a Mutual Security Pact with the Republic of Israel. Such a pact would be strictly defensive in character and would not be aimed at any neighbor of Israel. Such an American-Israel Mutual Security Pact might well serve as the model for similar accords between our country and the Arab lands, thus paving the way for a Middle East Mutual Security Treaty Organization embracing all the nations in this pivotal area, within the framework of the U.N. and dedicated to the furtherance of world peace and human well-being. Adequate economic, technical and military assistance should be made available only to those governments supporting these aims and prepared to cooperate in the peaceful solution of such pressing problems as the plight of the Arab refugees and the undisturbed use of the Suez Canal. American labor greets the Histadrut as the dynamic force in the building of Israeli democracy. We further pledge ourselves to aid the development of free trade unions throughout the Middle East as the most effective instruments for advancing social progress, human freedom and stable peaceful relations among all the nations of this vital area.

18. American labor supports the U.N. and its Specialized Agencies and believes that efforts to build the U.N. into a more authoritative and effective instrument for maintaining world peace and promoting the fundamental human rights proclaimed in the Charter of the United Nations should be redoubled. It is our firm belief that the specialized agencies of the U.N. have aided the peoples of the underdeveloped countries by bringing to them the benefits of health, sanitation, and technical knowledge. These agencies have proven their worth to the cause of freedom and peace. We of the American labor movement pledge our continued support to ILO, WHO, UNESCO and other specialized agencies of the United Nations. Our government should firmly adhere to the policy of prohibiting the admission into the U.N. of any regime which (a) has been imposed on any nation by a foreign power, (b) which exercises effective control of the country only through denying its people the fundamental human rights specified in the U.N. Charter and (c) which is engaged in war or has been found guilty of aggression against the U.N.

19. In accordance with our traditional stand, we favor cultural relations with the peoples behind the Iron Curtain—a curtain which we have always sought to lift and the maintenance of which the Kremlin continues to enforce. We are firmly convinced that if it were possible to have such an exchange of ideas and information among the peoples of both sides of the Iron Curtain, it would always work to the advantage of the democracies.

It is not we but the totalitarian regimes who have every reason to fear any contrast between the free world and the plight of the peoples under dictatorships.

- 20. The AFL-CIO rejects, as a matter of principle, the idea of free labor sending delegations to any country which prohibits free trade unions, outlaws all free trade union activities, and penalizes workers for advocating free trade unionism—whether such country be Communist or Fascist or any other totalitarian hue. We oppose the Moscow-Peiping Axis maneuver to have free trade union delegations visit the Soviet slave orbit as a vital phase of the sinister Big Smile strategy calculated to confuse and divide the democratic camp. Moscow wants free trade union delegation visits to lend moral respectability and legitimacy to its regime which has robbed its people of every fundamental human right, keeps millions of its subjects in slave labor camps, and denies the workers the right of freedom of association and organization, the right of genuine collective bargaining, and the right to strike.
- 21. In view of the intransigent Soviet opposition to German national reunification in freedom and the restoration of the national independence of the satellite countries, speedy action should be taken to make the West European Union "a focus of European integration." We should seek to further European unity through economic aid and technical assistance to specific projects for free European integration, such as the establishment of a free Europe Authority to construct and operate continental oil pipelines; unify rail, water, and air transport systems; co-ordinate atomic energy, electricity and waterpower resources along the lines of the present Iron and Steel Community. The free trade unions of the co-operating countries should be drawn into the policymaking bodies of such projects in order to assure the great mass of the people sharing equitably in the benefits thereof. This implementation of the London-Paris Accords should be combined with a program to enable NATO to fulfill not only its primary purpose as a military defense body but in addition as an organ for greater economic and political cooperation in advancing peace, human rights, and improved living standards.
- 22. United American labor—the AFL-CIO—realizes the urgency of strengthening the organization and enhancing the influence and prestige of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), and of ORIT, the Regional Organization to which we belong. We urge our affiliates to join and participate actively in the work of the various International Trade Secretariats. The ICFTU will (1) become increasingly effective in promoting the economic interests, as well as the larger aspirations of labor, regardless of race, nationality, color or creed; (2) defeat the Communist attempts to subvert and destroy the free trade unions; (3) play an increasingly effective role in aiding the working people of the underdeveloped countries to establish strong free trade unions which shall play an ever more decisive role in improving the conditions of life and labor and in advancing the cause of national freedom and democratic rights of the people; (4) and in developing into a most powerful force for building a world free from

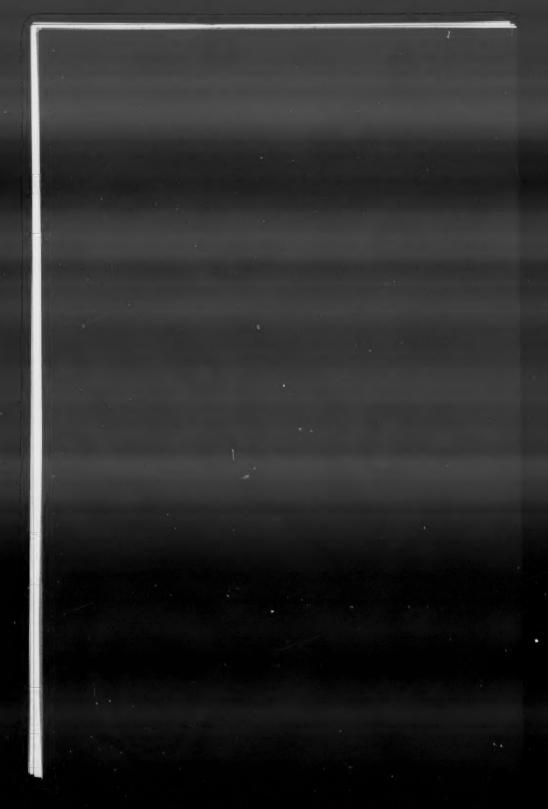
the perils of poverty, the terror of all despotism and dictatorship, and the horrors of war.

In this spirit, we shall encourage a greater knowledge of and a greater interest in international affairs among our membership, toward the end that the wage earners' great stake in our country's foreign policy will be more clearly recognized and reflected in its formulation and conduct.









1955 Convention Resolution

on

CIVIL RIGHTS

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CIVIL RIGHTS

The AFL and the CIO have always believed in the principle and practice of equal rights for all, regardless of race, color, creed or national origin. Each federation has separately played a distinguished role in the continuing struggle to realize for all Americans the democratic rights promised to all by the Constitution of the United States.

The AFL-CIO is similarly pledged and dedicated to promote and defend the civil rights of all Americans. Its Constitution declares that one of its objects and principles is

"To encourage all workers without regard to race, creed, color or national origin to share in the full benefits of union organization."

Another such object and principle of the new Federation:

"To protect and strengthen our democratic institutions, to secure full recognition and enjoyment of the rights and liberties to which we are justly entitled, and to preserve and perpetuate the cherished traditions of our democracy."

Our Constitution likewise provides for a "Committee on Civil Rights" which:

"shall be vested with the duty and responsibility to assist the Executive Council to bring about at the earliest possible date the effective implementation of the principle stated in this constitution of non-discrimination in accordance with the provisions of this constitution."

Thus the AFL-CIO stands dedicated no less than its predecessors to bring about the full and equal rights for all Americans in every field of life.

Discrimination in Employment

Both the AFL and the CIO have been pre-eminent in the campaign to secure equality of employment opportunity to all workers. This campaign has several different facets.

Both federations have in the past repeatedly supported and urged the enactment of Federal fair employment practices legislation, to prohibit discrimination in employment because of race, creed, color or national origin.

During the past year several states and municipalities have enacted fair employment practices laws or ordinances, but year after year the threat of filibuster by Dixiecrat Senators has prevented fair employment practices legislation from receiving any real consideration by the Congress. This determined minority has been able to impose its will upon the Congress because Senate Rule 22 invites filibuster by making cloture virtually impossible. The authority vested in the Rules Committee in the House of Representatives has likewise sometimes enabled that Committee to act as a roadblock to progressive legislation.

In 1953, President Eisenhower established the President's Committee on Government Contracts, a revival of a similar committee which had functioned under President Truman. The Committee's function is to coordinate and assist the federal departments and agencies in the enforcement of the clauses prohibiting discrimination in employment which all government contracts are required to contain. Representatives of the AFL and the CIO were appointed and are serving as members of this Committee.

This Committee has developed a strengthened non-discrimination clause, which specifically prohibits discrimination by government contractors in all phases of the employment relationship, including hiring, placement, training, promotion, tenure of employment and compensation. Since a large percentage of business firms have contracts with government agencies, this clause, if vigorously enforced, can do much to eliminate discrimination in employment. Already, on the initiative of the labor members of the Committee and with the cooperation of the international unions involved, the Committee has made limited progress toward eliminating discrimination in a number of industries and areas where heretofore discriminatory practices had prevailed.

Discrimination in employment, promotions or lay-offs because of race, color, religion, or national origin violates both the legal and moral rights of those who are discriminated against. Already substantial progress in ending discrimination in employment has been made by the negotiation and diligent policing of non-discrimination clauses in collective bargaining agreements. By giving full support to these clauses our affiliates can make a notable contribution toward the elimination of discrimination in a large sector of American industry. By creating appropriate internal machinery, our affiliates can assist in realizing these objectives.

Removal of Segregation in Public Facilities

One of the most notable triumphs for democracy in recent years is the progress which has been made toward ending segregation in public schools.

In 1954 the Supreme Court of the United States unanimously, and in clear and unequivocal language, declared that segregation in the public schools violates the United States Constitution. A year later it reiterated this decision, and ordered that those localities where segregation in the public schools still exists proceed with "all deliberate speed" toward its elimination. In response to these decisions of the nation's highest tribunal, a number of states and localities have already ended segregation in their public schools. The experience of these areas, and particularly of the District of Columbia with its large Negro population, has shown that there is no insurmountable obstacle anywhere to complying with the requirements of the nation's Constitution.

Unfortunately, however, some states and localities have sought to delay the end of segregation, and even to perpetuate it indefinitely, by a variety of flimsy and discreditable subterfuges and devices. We are confident that the courts will rebuke these tactics as rapidly as the cases come before them. Still worse, in one or two states the forces of racism and reaction are using the segregation issue as a rallying point for the creation of Ku Klux Klantype organizations, such as the White Citizens Councils which seek by the vilest and most brutal methods to deny all political and civil rights to America's Negro citizens.

There is every reason to expect that the Supreme Court will apply the doctrine of non-segregation to other types of public facilities, including all those which are supported or aided by federal or local taxes. It has already taken such action in the case of public parks. There have already been several lower court decisions to this effect, and even in the absence of such decisions, progress has been made in many communities in the elimination of racial barriers in trains and buses, public housing, public parks, and theatres and restaurants. The ICC has recently prohibited segregation on the nation's railroads and their facilities. In only a few years all branches of the Armed Forces have shifted from almost complete segregation to almost complete integration. Despite dire predictions of disaster, this change has been accomplished smoothly and without incident; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, 1. The AFL-CIO declares its strong support for an effective and enforceable fair employment practices act. We urge the enactment of similar legislation by all states and cities that do not now have such laws on their books.

- 2. As an essential preliminary to the enactment of civil rights legislation, and particularly of a fair employment practices act, we urge that the rules be so amended that the will of the Congress may not be stultified by a recalcitrant minority. Rule 22 should be changed to permit a majority of Senators present and voting to limit and close debate.
- 3. Our affiliates should see to it that employers with whom they deal who hold federal contracts adhere to the letter and spirit of the non-discrimina-

tion clause required in government contracts. In addition, our affiliates should seek to have non-discrimination clauses included in every collective bargaining agreement they negotiate.

4. The AFL-CIO wholeheartedly supports the decisions of the Supreme Court outlawing segregation in the public schools. We urge all of our affiliated state and local bodies to work with other liberal forces in their communities to facilitate a peaceful and effective transition to an unsegregated American educational system. We urge the Administration to utilize the full powers of the federal government to frustrate and punish unlawful attempts to block implementation of the Supreme Court's decision.

5. We urge the Congress to enact legislation making lynching a federal crime, and to invalidate state laws requiring the payment of a poll tax as a prerequisite to voting.

1955 Convention Resolution

on

EDUCATION

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EDUCATION

WHEREAS, since the American trade union movement was founded, it has fought for the development of the public school and for an educational program through which every child and youth would not only master the basic tools of learning but would also be given some knowledge of the humanities, the fine arts and the liberal arts; some degree of manual dexterity; and an understanding of his duties, rights and responsibilities in democratic government.

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that the AFL-CIO reaffirms its support of these principles and urges their implementation through a program of adequate well built school housing: democratically administered school system; state-wide compulsory school attendance laws in which loop-holes are closed; free text-books for all children in the elementary and secondary public high schools; a curriculum, so varied and enriched as to assure to each child the fullest development of his personal capacity; classes small enough to enable the teacher to teach each child effectively; the development of a strong teacher's union affiliated with the AFL-CIO; and schools staffed by professionally qualified teachers who through training and experience have developed a high sense of social and moral responsibility.

To secure and hold such teachers the community must:

- a. Provide adequate pay to enable the teacher to support himself and his family properly.
 - b. Assure the teacher freedom to teach the truth.
 - c. Provide personal and professional security through the establishment

of the legal right to bargain collectively, strong tenure laws; and adequate statutory pension provisions.

d. Help develop recognition of joint responsibility of the family, the school, and the community for respect for law and order to be reflected in the child's conduct.

e. Provide good working conditions, including:

1. Relief from clerical and other non-teaching assignments.

2. A free and uninterrupted lunch period.

3. Full recognition of so-called "extra curricular activities" as an integral part of the school's work.

Adequate Support for Our Schools

The AFL-CIO recognizes that these demands place a responsibility on the community, and, therefore, pledges to fight for adequate financial support for our schools, through a program of coordinated support from government at the local, state and federal level. However, in giving federal funds to the states, safeguards must be written into the legislation giving state and federal support for education, to assure the use of funds for the purposes, and in the manner in which the law and educational needs require them to be used.

Such Federal funds should be distributed and administered under state law, shall be allocated so as to recognize population, relative need and tax-paying capacity; shall supplement not supplant state and local funds and shall be made available to all parts of the state. States shall submit plans for expenditures which shall be subject to Federal audit and any aggrieved state or aggrieved citizen shall have his complaint reviewed by the Commissioner of Education with right to appeal to Federal Courts.

Labor recognizes that practical legislative conditions demand that Federal

aid be provided for specific purposes.

The five principal specific and basic fields in which Federal aid is needed immediately are Federal aid for public school construction; for public school teachers' salaries; for loans and scholarships for all worthy students; for health and welfare services for all children regardless of race or creed;

and for the eradication of adult illiteracy.

The AFL-CIO is committed to the basic principle of affording the educational opportunities for all persons regardless of race, creed or status. It is, therefore, strongly committed to help assure the fullest possible support for the implementation of the Supreme Court decision in outlawing segregation in the nation's public schools. It, therefore, holds that no federal funds should be granted to any state which takes action in defiance of the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, provided that funds should be made available to such school districts as conform to the decision.

White House Conference on Education

The White House Conference on Education, following long and serious consideration of the major aspects of the crisis in American education, con-

cluded that "the overwhelming majority of the more than two thousand delegates favor federal financial support for education." The report is a clear-cut expression of the American people's desire that the federal government help the states to finance construction of new buildings, to increase teachers' salaries, and to expand school curricula and materials. Support for federal aid for public school building was widespread among the approximately 1,800 participants from 48 states and territories of the United States, and the majority also favored general aid to public schools where needed.

Only 4% of those present at the Washington conference were representatives of labor. This failure to recognize labor's active interest in and concern with current needs of the public schools should be brought to the attention of the Governors and the state educational authorities who were responsible for the selection of participants. State federations of labor should be alert in the future to see that labor is properly represented on planning committees on the local and state levels and that labor representatives take an

active part in such conferences.

The White House Conference report represented a signal victory for the educational policies which organized labor has advocated for many years. The campaign conducted by all of organized labor resulted in a labor delegation which was well informed and articulate, although numerically a minority.

The conclusions reached by the White House Conference represent progress. However, their implementation may be a long way off. The same forces which have been opposed to federal aid will continue to use their power and influence to prevent Congress from appropriating adequate federal funds for schools. We in the united labor movement will need to intensify our efforts to insure success. It is essential that our program be continued at local, state, and national levels until America's children are assured of the educational opportunities necessary in a complex society.

Federal Aid in the Development of the Arts

The AFL-CIO hails the encouraging developments in Congress giving recognition to the significance of the arts in American culture. It pledges active support to programs which help create and develop aesthetic values in youth and adults.

School Lunch Program

The AFL-CIO urges support for the expansion of the present school lunch program.

The Children's Bureau

The AFL-CIO deeply appreciates the services for children made available through the Children's Bureau and urges adequate support for its work.

Rural Library Demonstration Centers

The AFL-CIO urges support of legislation providing for Rural Library Demonstration Centers and for a further development of mobile library services in city and suburban areas.

The United States Office of Education

The AFL-CIO urges long overdue appropriations to enable the Office of Education to conduct research in the field of education. Education is the one major area in which basic data are not currently available.

Academic Freedom and Integrity

The AFL-CIO belives that truth must be taught at all school levels in a manner best suited to the age of the children taught. It strongly opposes any form of academic censorship or legislative control of curriculum content. It opposes the use of the schools for propaganda purposes by any group or organization.

The AFL-CIO believes that the freedom of the teacher as a citizen must be honored at all times. However, the right of the community to protect our schools and our youth from those who would seek to direct or control their thinking leads us to recognize the need of having the community deny employment as a teacher to anyone who is subject to controls, foreign or domestic, which limit his freedom of thought and speech, and which would prevent the teacher from teaching the truth fully in any presentation.

Vocational Education

From its inception the trade union movement in America has recognized the value of vocational education. Labor has continuously supported the principle of such a program of federal support of such a program even when it has opposed certain administrative features of the program.

The AFL-CIO strongly urges support for a program of vocational education which recognizes the primary responsibility of the trade unions in developing skill and craftsmanship. It urges the development of a program through which a more extensive appreciation of the value of such training can be developed in all elements of society. At the same time, the AFL-CIO pledges its continuing support for the program giving financial support in apprenticeship training in direct cooperation with the trade unions in the fields in which the training is given.

Labor Extension Service

The AFL-CIO reaffirms support of a Labor Extension Serivce in the United States Department of Labor to provide service and material comparable to those provided through the Department of Agriculture to farmers, and businessmen through the Department of Commerce, administered at the national and state levels through advisory boards made up of representatives of the organized labor movement and cooperating institutions and agencies.

Educational TV

We believe that educational TV has proved its value where stations have been established and we insist the Federal Communications Commission continue to reserve the channels set aside exclusively for educational purposes. All TV educational stations should have an operating committee fully representative of all interests in the community.

Community Cooperation

The AFL-CIO calls upon its state and local unions to urge their members to participate in community activities in cooperation with other civic groups and through such a cooperative program, to develop support for the education programs and projects it supports for the betterment of the community.

EXCERPTS OF CIVIL RIGHTS RESOLUTION

Removal of Segregation in Public Facilities

One of the most notable triumphs for democracy in recent years is the progress which has been made toward ending segregation in public schools.

In 1954 the Supreme Court of the United States unanimously, and in clear and unequivocal language, declared that segregation in the public schools violates the United States Constitution. A year later it reiterated this decision, and ordered that those localities where segregation in the public schools still exists proceed with "all deliberate speed" toward its elimination. In response to these decisions of the nation's highest tribunal, a number of states and localities have already ended segregation in their public schools. The experience of these areas and particularly of the District of Columbia with its large Negro population, has shown that there is no insurmountable obstacles anywhere to complying with the requirements of the nation's Constitution.

Unfortunately, however, some states and localities have sought to delay the end of segregation, and even to perpetuate it indefinitely, by a variety of flimsy and discreditable subterfuges and devices. We are confident that the courts will rebuke these tactics as rapidly as the cases come before them. Still worse, in one or two states the forces of racism and reaction are using the segregation issue as a rallying point for the creation of Ku Klux Klantype organizations, such as the White Citizens Councils which seek by the vilest and most brutal methods to deny all political and civil rights to America's Negro citizens . . .







1955 Convention Resolution

on

CHILDREN AND YOUTH

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CHILDREN AND YOUTH

Our nation must be ever aware of and responsive to the needs of our young people, for our future rests in their hands. They are entitled to the best the nation can give them.

Sound child development requires a decent family and community environment. Failure to meet this need adequately has too often prevented youngsters from maturing to their full capacity and has been a major contributing factor to juvenile delinquency.

A well-rounded program to meet the needs of our youth also requires special services to meet particular problems. Our unions have supported many programs which have proved valuable in advancing child welfare. These include the child labor laws, health measures to aid mothers at childbirth and children in infancy, welfare programs to give crippled children a chance to grow whole and to aid in the placement of orphans and abused children in good homes. The Children's Bureau of the U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare and the Bureau of Labor Standards of the U. S. Department of Labor have helped to develop such programs in cooperation with state and local governments and voluntary agencies; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, The AFL-CIO declares its wholehearted support for programs which strengthen and safeguard family life and help to assure to each child the fullest healthy mental and physical development.

Since child development is rooted in family and community standards, we can best serve our youngsters by working to assure an economy in which families are financially secure, by making available to all families the opportunity to live in homes and neighborhoods which are adequate and com-

fortable, by developing top-flight school and recreational facilities, and by providing parents with knowledge of how best to protect the child's personal

well-being.

Trade unions are doing and will do their utmost in these essential areas. Our efforts to develop and sustain improving standards of living for American families are at the very heart of trade union activities. We urge our affiliated unions to expand their efforts to aid the young people of their

communities through active participation in local programs.

We have insisted that the Federal Government, along with state and local governments and private organizations, fulfill their essential responsibility to act to overcome substandard living and neighborhood conditions and thereby help provide improved opportunities for children throughout the nation. We must not lose sight of the fact that money spent for such programs can be more than recaptured, not alone through savings in expenditures for jails or correctional facilities and mental institutions, but through the greater positive contribution to the community by youngsters who develop into healthy and responsible adults.

In the areas of specialized child needs, we commend the U. S. Children's Bureau and the Bureau of Labor Standards for their efforts in advancing

the welfare of children and in helping to limit child labor.

We urge expansion of the programs providing maternal and child health services and special welfare services for children, including aid to crippled children. We support expansion of research and education in child life which will help parents understand better what makes for healthy, happy childhood.

The problems of juvenile delinquency can be met better also by expanded programs to improve procedures for spotting and aiding maladjusted children and to handle constructively those who get into trouble with the law. These programs should be given full support by our affiliated unions.

1955 Convention Resolution

on

HEALTH AND WELFARE PLAN ADMINISTRATION

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HEALTH AND WELFARE PLAN ADMINISTRATION

In the development, through the process of collective bargaining, of plans designed to provide some measure of protection to the health and welfare of wage earners and their families, the labor movement is fulfilling its historic role. Having been denied by the Government the comprehensive health insurance protection for the people of the Nation which organized labor has advocated for many years, trade unions have secured for their members the best protection available.

The task of administering and operating these programs has placed heavy, new responsibilities upon the shoulders of trade union officials. The funds involved must be regarded as the common property of the workers covered by these plans, for they have been paid for through labor performed in exchange. They must, therefore, be administered as a high trust for the benefit only of the workers covered. The trustees or administrators of health, welfare and retirement programs, whether union, management or joint, as well as all others exercising responsibility in connection with such programs, have the obligation to make sure that maximum benefits are provided for the money available, and that the highest ethical standards are observed and rigorously followed.

In the pursuit of their responsibilities as autonomous organizations in the direction of their internal affairs, it is incumbent upon each national and international union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations to take such steps as are necessary to protect the interests of its members in the operation of health and welfare programs, in the manner best suited to the particular problems and practices in its trade or industry. Where constitutional amendments or changes

in internal administrative procedure are necessary to provide this protection, such amendments and changes should be undertaken at the earliest practicable time. They should be designed to provide national and international unions with the means and the authority to audit funds and apply remedies where there is evidence of a violation of ethical standards. To aid affiliated organizations in the performance of this responsibility, and as a guide to trade union officials engaged in the administration of health and welfare programs, a uniform code of ethical standards—in keeping with standards adopted separately heretofore by both the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations—should be adopted by the First Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations. These guides and standards should receive the widest distribution throughout the ranks of the trade union movement.

While unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations can, with the aid of these standards, be relied upon to keep their own houses in order, there are problems in other areas of the health and welfare field, and particularly in the area of

commercial insurance practices, which require legislative action.

Now, Therefore, Be It Resolved:

1. In the administration of health and welfare plans, the following

principles should be observed:

(a) Where a salaried union official serves as employee representative or trustee in the administration of a health, welfare or retirement program, such service should be regarded as one of the functions expected to be performed by a union official in the normal course of his duties and not as an "extra" function requiring further compensation, over and above his salary, from the welfare fund. Officials who already receive full-time pay from their union should not receive fees or salaries from a welfare fund.

(b) Union officials, employees, or any other persons acting as agent or representative of the union who exercise responsibility or influence in the administration of welfare programs or the placement of insurance contracts should be entirely free of any compromising personal ties, direct or indirect, with outside agencies—such as insurance carriers, brokers, consultants and others—doing business with the welfare plan. Such ties cannot be reconciled with their duty to be guided solely by the best interests of the membership in any transactions with such agencies. Any union official found to be involved in such ties to his own personal advantage, or to have accepted inducements, benefits or favors of any kind from such outside agencies, should be removed.

This principle should not be construed to prevent an outside relationship on the part of a union officer or employee where (i) no substantial personal advantage is derived from the relationship, and (ii) the concern or enterprise is one in the management of which the union participates for the benefit

of its members.

(c) Where any trustee—whether employer, employee or neutral—of employee of a health and welfare program is found to have received an unethical payment, the union should insist upon his removal and appropriate legal

action against both the party receiving and the party making the payment, In addition, if an insurance carrier or agent is involved, action against the carrier or agent should be pressed before the state insurance authorities, with a view to the cancellation of the carrier's or agent's right to do business in the state.

(d) Complete records of the financial operations of welfare funds and programs should be maintained in accordance with the best accepted accounting practice. All welfare funds should be audited at least semi-annually by certified public accountants of unquestioned professional integrity, who should certify that the audits fully and comprehensively show the financial condition of the funds and results of the operation of these funds. All audit

reports should be available to the membership of the union.

(e) There should be full disclosure and report to the beneficiares at least once each year by the trustees or administrators of welfare funds. Included in the report should be a detailed statement of receipts and expenses; all salaries and fees paid by the fund, to whom and in what amount such sums were paid, and for what service or purpose; a breakdown of insurance premium payments, if a commercial insurance carrier is involved, showing the amount of retentions, claims paid, dividends, commissions, and service charges and to whom the carrier paid such commissions and charges; a financial statement on the part of the insuring or service agency, if an agency other than a commercial insurance carrier is employed; and a detailed account of the manner in which the reserves held by the fund are invested.

(f) Prior to the initial establishment of the plan, the relative advantages of all of the alternative available methods of providing health and welfare benefits should be fully explored, including self-insurance and the use of programs providing prepaid direct medical services where they exist or can be set up in the community, as well as the use of commercial insurance carriers. The objective should be to reduce operating expenses and non-benefit costs to the minimum consistent with the safety and security of the program, and to make available to the members the maximum in terms of actual prepaid health services (as distinguished from cash payments covering an unpredictable portion of actual medical bills) obtainable within the limits of the revenue of the fund.

(g) Where health and welfare benefits are provided through the use of a commercial insurance carrier, the carrier should be selected through competitive bids solicited from a substantial number of reliable companies, on the basis of the lowest net cost for the given benefits submitted by a responsible carrier, taking into consideration such factors as comparative retention rates, financial responsibility, facilities for and promptness in servicing claims, and the past record of the carrier, including its record in dealing with trade unions representing its employees.

The trustees of the fund should be required to state in writing and to report to the membership the specific reasons for the selection of the carrier finally chosen. The carrier should be required to warrant that no fee or other remuneration has been paid, directly or indirectly, to any representa-

tive of the parties in connection with the business of the fund.

- (h) Complete records of the claims experience should be kept so that a constant check can be maintained on the relationship between claims and premiums and dividends, and on the utilization of the various benefits. In the case of medical benefits, records and statistics should also be kept, where possible, showing the extent to which benefits paid out are sufficient to cover, or fail to cover, the costs and charges actually incurred by the members when they avail themselves of medical services.
- (i) The investment of welfare fund reserves in the business of any contributing employer, insurance carrier or agency doing business with the fund, or in any enterprise in which any trustee, officer or employee of the fund has a personal financial interest of such a nature as to be affected by the fund's investment or disinvestment, should be prohibited.

(This is not to be construed as preventing investment in an enterprise in which a union official is engaged by virtue of his office, provided (i) no substantial personal advantage is derived from the relationship, and (ii) the concern or enterprise is one in the management of which the union participates for the benefit of its members.)

- (j) The provisions of the plan governing eligibility for benefits should be designed to include, as nearly as practicable, all workers on whose wages any substantial contribution has been paid, whether such contribution was withheld from their wages or made on their behalf by their employers. Waiting periods for eligibility should not be of such a length as to discriminate unfairly against some portions of the membership, to the benefit of others.
- (k) Every program should incorporate an adequate appeals procedure as a check against the arbitrary or unjust denial of claims, so as to afford the individual member a fair hearing and a sufficient opportunity to obtain redress where he feels his claim for benefits has been improperly rejected.
- 1. The duty of policing and enforcing these standards is shared by every union member, as well as by local, national and international officials. The best safeguard against abuses lies in the hands of a vigilant, informed and active membership, jealous of their rights and interests in the operation of health and welfare programs, as well as any other trade union program. As a fundamental part of any approach to the problem of policing health and welfare funds, affiliated unions, through education, publicity and discussion programs, should seek to develop the widest possible degree of active and informed interest in all phases of these programs on the part of the membership at large. International unions should, wherever possible, have expert advice available for the negotiation, establishment and administration of health and welfare plans, and should provide training for union representatives in the techniques and standards of proper administration of welfare plans.
- 2. Legislation should be enacted by the Congress of the United States, requiring annual reports and public disclosure of the financial operations of health, welfare and pension plans, including the details of the related finan-

cial transactions of insurance carriers and/or service agencies. Such legislation should contain the following essential elements:

(a) The law should be adopted and administered at the Federal level rather than through a multiplicity of State agencies. Parties responsible for the operation of health and welfare plans should be required to file reports with the Federal government, regardless of whether or not they also file with a State governmental agency. As an expression of the public interest in the operation of tax-exempt programs and so as to avoid the complexity of determining whether such plans are intrastate or interstate in character, the reporting and disclosure requirement should be made a function of the Federal tax power.

(b) The filing and disclosure requirement should apply to all types of group health, welfare and pension plans, including those administered uni-

laterally as well as those administered jointly.

(c) The party or parties responsible for the administration of a health, welfare or pension plan should be required to report the financial details of plan operations annually, on a standard form, with the Internal Revenue Service. The report should disclose, in adequate detail, the operations, transactions, expenses and investments of the fund. If a private insurance carrier is employed, the report should be accompanied by a statement from the carrier covering the particular account involved and containing a breakdown of premiums and retentions, showing the amount of dividends or rate credits paid or due, claims experience, the amount of commissions and service charges, and to whom those commissions and charges were paid.

The law should provide criminal penalties for non-filing or false filing. While the Internal Revenue Service should not be granted the power to withhold approval of a health and welfare plan so as to delay its establishment or to require approval in advance of establishment as a condition of tax exemption, as a result of this legislation, the Service would be able to use the information contained in these reports as an aid to its normal enforcement operations.

(d) The party or parties responsible for filing these reports shall also, and at the same time, file a certified duplicate copy with the Department of Labor. It shall then be the duty of the Department of Labor to make these reports freely available on request to parties authorized to receive them—which shall include individual employees and their collectve bargaining representatives, authorized government agencies and committees of Congress, and, State insurance departments. It shall also be the duty of the Department of Labor to undertake and to make public analytical studies and statistical summaries of the information derived through these reports.

The proposed statute should spell out in detail the information to be sought in a disclosure form with authority lodged in the Secretary of Labor to prescribe appropriate rules. In addition, since the whole field of health, welfare and pension plans is still in such a fluid state, the law should require the establishment of an advisory committee to meet at regular intervals and to be composed of representatives from the important interest groups includ-

1959

ing organized labor. The purpose of the advisory committee would be to provide guidance to the government in the formulation of the disclosure schedule and in the administration of the Act.

3. Legislation should be sought in the several States so as to achieve the following objectives:

(a) State insurance laws should be amended so that in cases where an agent or broker is not employed and no such services are rendered, the requirement that commissions must nevertheless be paid to an agent or retained by the insurance carrier is eliminated.

(b) Where the services of agents or brokers are employed, the payment of excessive commissions and service charges should be banned. A code of standards governing commissions and charges should be adopted and enforced by state insurance commissions.

(c) State regulatory bodies governing insurance operations should be made more representative of the public and consumer interest. At present state insurance commissions and departments tend to reflect and to be dominated by the special interests of the insurance industry.

(d) State insurance commissions and departments should be required to assume and exercise a greater degree of responsibility for the integrity, competence and character of agents and brokers who are licensed by the state. At the present time, such a license is virtually meaningless and offers no assurance to the public that a person having a license is reliable or subject to any really effective checks, surveillance or standards. As a minimum step, as a requirement for securing and holding a license, the records and accounts of agents and brokers should be subject to regular and thorough inspections, and they should be required to file regular reports with state insurance commissions disclosing and identifying every fee and commission received in connection with a group policy, issued as a part of a health and welfare plan, and the nature and purpose of expenditures made in the course of their business operations. The charging of excessive fees, commissions, or expenses and the making of unethical or improper payments to secure or to hold an account should result in the prompt revocation of the license to operate.

(e) Laws which, in a number of states, now stand in the way of the development of consumer-sponsored, nonprofit medical service prepayment plans should be repealed, so as to make constructive alternatives to limited cash indemnity insurance plans more generally available to trade unions and other consumer groups.

(f) Laws which, in a number of states, prohibit employers from withholding any part of wages earned by an employee (except taxes) without written authorization, should be amended so as to exempt from such prohibitions deductions made for health and welfare plans developed through

collective bargaining by employers and bona fide trade unions.

(g) The fiduciary obligations generally applicable to trustees under state law should be applicable to trustees of health and welfare plans. If additional legislation is necessary to bring about the result, it should be enacted.

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AFL-CIO

1955 Convention Resolutions

on

HOUSING and COMMUNITY SERVICES

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- HOUSING

No material need of the average American family is more neglected than housing. Despite our great resources and abundance of manpower and skill, our nation has been unable to produce enough housing to meet the pressing needs of millions of families.

Most low-income families and many middle-income families are forced to live in overcrowded, dilapidated slums located in blighted neighborhoods. Housing conditions of Negro and other minority families, who have been virtually barred from the market for new housing, are especially bad.

One-third of the nation is still ill-housed. More than 10,000,000 dwellings are so dilapidated that they should be torn down and some 5,000,000 more require major overhaul to make them fit places in which to live. Each year more homes are added to these categories than are torn down or adequately overhauled.

The housing industry and the present governmental housing programs have failed to meet this challenging situation. In fact, new housing construction, even though at near record levels, barely keeps pace with the formation of new families and other basic continuing needs. Despite billions of dollars of aids extended to the housing industry by the government each year through mortgage insurance, direct lending, slum clearance, land cost write-downs and other devices, no significant progress has been made toward

increasing the supply of good housing. Unless the rate of housing construction is raised to at least 2 million units a year, millions of families will continue to be denied the opportunity to obtain decent homes. We will not achieve this goal unless a substantial proportion of the homes built are within the means of low and moderate income families.

In recent years the need for a comprehensive program to achieve the goal of good housing for every family has been increasingly recognized and accepted. Our nation cannot evade its responsibility for eradicating slums and slum conditions. Every American has the right to a genuine oppor-

tunity to obtain good housing in a good neighborhood.

The National Housing Conference for more than 20 years has made an outstanding contribution to the welfare of the American people by its efforts to win the support of national organizations, local citizen groups and governmental officials for effective measures to assure decent housing to every family. By its outstanding efforts in the fight for better housing the National Housing Conference merits the continued support of the AFL-CIO and its affiliates.

We believe the very foundations of our private enterprise system and our democratic way of life require that our people be properly housed. We believe this can be achieved in a manner fully consistent with our economic system; in fact, an adequate housing program will greatly enhance the basic strength of our economy; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, 1. Construction of two million new dwelling units a year

should be the immediate objective of national policy and should form the basis of government programs.

2. In order to achieve the goal of two million new housing units a year, a major portion of the new homes constructed should be constructed and marketed at costs within the reach of low and moderate income families with incomes below \$5,000 a year, most of whom are now priced out of the

private housing market.

3. To meet the needs of our lowest income families, a large-scale low-rent public housing program is needed. Such housing is built and financed by private enterprise under a proven formula combining federal financial assistance with local community initiative. Public housing unquestionably offers the only effective means for making good housing available to low-income families at costs they can afford. An adequate supply of low-rent public housing is an absolute prerequisite for effective slum clearance and urban redevelopment since no other sound method is available for rehousing the major portion of the slum dwellers.

The 1949 Housing Act provided for 135,000 new public housing units a year with presidential discretion to increase the program to 200,000. The long delay in carrying out the program, the steady deterioration and expansion of the slums and the new urgencies created by redevelopment and other public improvement programs which have displaced large numbers of low-income families all require rapid completion of the 810,000 unit goal set in 1949. Therefore, an annual rate of at least 200,000 new units

a year should be established and achieved without further delay.

4. In recent years the living standards of millions of wage earning families have risen, but despite these income gains, most workers' families are unable to pay more than \$50 to \$80 a month toward housing expenses (including maintenance and utilities, taxes and all other costs). With rising incomes, the deep desire of workers' families for private home ownership has been reinforced, but it can be realized only if its cost can be reduced to a level moderate income families can afford. Therefore, a sound housing program must include as a major plank the means of meeting this growing demand for home ownership among moderate income families involving a total monthly housing cost which does not exceed 20 percent of family income. To achieve this end, we propose a program of low interest long-amortization loans for cooperative, non-profit rental and sales housing for middle-income families, meeting adequate standards of construction, space and availability of community facilities and services. This program should include the following specific features:

(a) Mortgages should be made available to finance individual purchase, rental, or cooperative ownership of housing for moderate income families on a 40-year term with nominal down payments and at a rate of interest equal to the cost of money to the government plus ½ percent to cover administrative costs. (At present rates, this would total approximately 3 per-

cent.)

(b) These liberal credit aids should be made available only for homes which are priced within the reach of the moderate income family and are well constructed and large enough for sound family living. To protect against abuse, the home must be finished and include all the features reasonably essential to good and proper living such as sewerage, basic landscaping, finished kitchens and basements or utility rooms, and other essential facilities.

(c) Cooperative housing should be especially encouraged. The credit aids set forth above as well as special technical assistance should be made available to cooperatives which offer a particularly effective means of bringing monthly costs within the reach of moderate income families.

(d) To assure success of this moderate income housing program, funds must be available. Experience has demonstrated that private banks, insurance companies and other mortgage lenders are reluctant to pioneer with new programs but embrace them once they have been proved practical through actual trial. This was true of the original FHA program itself.

Therefore, we propose that the Federal Government establish a National Mortgage Corporation to make funds available directly to initiate these programs through loans not to exceed four billion dollars a year. Since these loans will be secured by tangible and valuable real estate, they would result in no ultimate cost to the Government.

5. To provide moderate priced rental housing, much needed in virtually every city, we propose liberal aids to builders and operators who will construct suitable housing at rentals which are within the financial means of the moderate income family. Such housing should be placed under strict



rent ceilings so that the liberal credit aids provided will actually benefit the tenant and not result in excessive profits.

6. The basic principles involved in providing urban housing for low and middle-income families should be applied to appropriate programs for farm housing and we stand ready to support proposals along such lines.

7. To enable families of moderate income to purchase homes on a sound basis, the Federal Government should establish a fund to insure against foreclosure in the event of illness, temporary unemployment, or other emergencies. The cost of such insurance should be added to the mortgage payment but should be set at a very reasonable figure so as not to make it prohibitive.

8. To protect the prevailing labor standards of building trades workers, payment of the prevailing wage should be required to all employees engaged in construction of housing under any program involving Federal

financial assistance.

9. To halt the menacing spread of urban blight, we call for expansion of the urban redevelopment program with emphasis placed primarily upon slum clearance and genuine city rebuilding. Reliance should be placed upon less effective measures, such as "rehabilitation" and "conservation" only where clearly feasible and economical. All such programs in which the government is involved must be carried on with full consideration for the consumer; neither redevelopment nor rehabilitation must be allowed to result in price increases which put the housing beyond the reach of the families who need good housing the most.

10. Because of reduced incomes and special needs, many of our older citizens are confronted with especially acute housing problems. Unfortunately, the needs of elderly couples and single individuals have been virtually ignored in existing housing programs. We recommend a special

Federal program of housing for the elderly which would include:

(a) Authorization for annual construction of 50,000 units of public housing especially suited for the elderly.

(b) Federal assistance for construction of old age rest homes for

elderly persons or couples needing or desiring institutional care.

11. One of the most pressing phases of the housing problem concerns minority families whose housing opportunities are restricted by the withholding of available land and by other forms of discrimination. We believe all housing built with the aid of Federal funds or credit or any other form of financial assistance should be made available to minority families on an equal basis with all other families. The Federal Government has a positive responsibility to see to it that an opportunity to obtain adequate housing is available to all families without regard to race, color, creed or national origin.

12. To provide proper leadership and to assure adequate emphasis on housing and other urban problems in the conduct of our national affairs, we support the proposal that a Secretary of Housing and Urban Affairs be added to the President's Cabinet with jurisdiction over all Federal programs affecting housing and urban affairs.

COMMUNITY SERVICES

The AFL-CIO is dedicated to the proposition that what is good for the community is good for labor.

It is in this spirit that members of the AFL-CIO function first and foremost as citizens of their communities.

Further to encourage the active participation and total integration of union members and their families in community affairs, the AFL-CIO, by constitutional provision, has established a permanent national committee on community services.

The objectives of the AFL-CIO in the area of community organization for health, welfare and recreation shall be as follows:

- 1. Encourage equitable labor representation on agency boards and committees.
- 2. Stimulate labor participation in formulating agency policies and programs.
- 3. Develop techniques and methods to interpret for union members agency programs and practices.
- 4. Assist union members, their families and other citizens in time of need.
- 5. Plan for union participation in civil defense and disaster relief programs and operations.
- 6. Help in the development of health and welfare services, such as blood banks and multiple screening.
- 7. Coordinate fund-raising drives, through voluntary federation wherever possible, for voluntary health and welfare services.
- 8. Cooperate with other agencies in dealing with and in solving social and health problems.
- 9. Participate in all genuine efforts designed to improve social work standards and practices; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, The AFL-CIO urges:

- 1. All national and international affiliates to establish community services departments with full-time staff wherever possible.
- 2. All state and city central bodies to establish community services committees with full-time staff wherever possible.
 - 3. All local unions to establish community services committees.
- 4. All affiliates to extend full cooperation to the National Committee in the development of its policies and programs.

Rules Governing State Central Bodies

Issued by

THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

of

THE AMERICAN
FEDERATION OF LABOR and
CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL
ORGANIZATIONS

February 14, 1956 and Amended June 7, 1956

These Rules supersede the rules adopted December 5, 1955

AFL-CIO Publication No. 12



AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS GEORGE MEANY, Wm. F. Schnitzler, President. Secretary-Treasurer.

RULES GOVERNING STATE CENTRAL BODIES

Issued by the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO, February 14, 1956, and Amended June 7, 1956

1. Status of Rules. These rules are issued by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations pursuant to the provisions of Article XIV of the Constitution of the AFL-CIO, and supersede the rules adopted on December 5, 1955. These rules and the Constitution of the AFL-CIO shall govern the conduct, activities, affairs, finances and property of all state central bodies of the AFL-CIO and provide the procedures for the discipline, including suspension and expulsion, of such bodies or their officers by the AFL-CIO. These rules may be amended at any time by the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO, subject only to the provisions of the AFL-CIO Constitution.

2. Definitions. When used in these rules the term "local union" shall include local lodges, local brotherhoods or other local units of affiliated national or international unions or organizing committees which, in such unions, perform the functions of local unions.

When used in these rules the term "President", unless otherwise specified, shall mean the President of the AFL-CIO, and the term "Secretary-Treasurer", unless otherwise specified, shall mean the Secretary-Treasurer of the AFL-CIO.

3. Composition of State Central Bodies.

(a) State Central Bodies shall be composed exclusively of locals of national and international unions and organizing committees affiliated with the Federation, directly affiliated local unions, local central bodies within the geographical limits of state and regional bodies, and such other subordinate bodies as the Executive Council may determine are eligible for affiliation.

Any question that may arise with respect to the proper state central body or bodies to which local unions or other subordinate bodies are to affiliate or the extent of such affiliation shall be determined by the President of the AFL-CIO.

(b) It shall be the duty of all national and international unions and organizing committees affiliated with the AFL-CIO to instruct their local unions to join state central bodies in their vicinity where such exist. Similar instructions will be given by the AFL-CIO to all local unions affiliated directly with it.

4. Purposes of State Central Bodies. The functions and responsibilities of state central bodies shall be, within their respective areas:

(a) To assist in furthering the appropriate objects and policies of the AFL-CIO, or of organizations affiliated with the AFL-CIO (provided such objects or policies are not inconsistent with the objects or policies of the AFL-CIO);

(b) To serve as a means of exchanging information among affiliated bodies on mat-

ters of common interest;

(c) To provide aid, cooperation and assistance to affiliated local unions and other affiliated bodies in their common and individual endeavors;

(d) To propose support and promote legislation favorable to and to oppose legislation detrimental to the interest of workers and organized labor.

(e) In the case of state and territorial central bodies, to encourage and assist in the formation of local central bodies within the

state or territory;

- (f) To engage in such other activities as are consistent with the objects and principles set forth in the Constitution of the AFL-CIO and the policies of the AFL-CIO.
- 5. Existing State Central Bodies. (a) Continuation. State and territorial federations of labor, city central labor unions and all other central bodies affiliated with the AFL on the effective date of the combination between the AFL and CIO, and state and local

industrial union councils affiliated with the CIO at the time of such combination shall continue to exist as state, territorial and local-central bodies of the AFL-CIO, each representing the respective organizations affiliated to such central body on the date of the combination of the AFL and the CIO. Charters or certificates of affiliation heretofore issued by the AFL or by the CIO to such bodies shall-be deemed to be charters or certificates of affiliation with the AFL-CIO, subject to these rules.

(b) Merger. Merger of state, territorial and local central bodies affiliated with the AFL and the CIO prior to their combination shall be effected within two years after the date of the combination of the AFL and the CIO through the process of negotiations and agreement under the guidance of the President and the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO. All such mergers shall be under the direction and be subject to the approval of the President, or his designee, and shall not become effective until such approval is given.

(c) Affiliation Pending Merger. Until the merger of existing central bodies, in accordance with Rule 5(b), is completed within a particular state, territory or local jurisdiction, no local union or other organization affiliated with the AFL, or affiliated with a national or international union affiliated with the AFL, at the time of the combination of the AFL and CIO (hereinafter in this rule called an AFL local union) shall become affiliated to a central body formerly affiliated with the CIO in such jurisdiction; and no local union or other organization affiliated with the CIO, or affiliated with a national or international union or organizing committee affiliated with the CIO (hereinafter in this rule called a CIO local union), at the time of the combination between the AFL and the CIO shall become affiliated to a central body formerly affilated with the AFL in such jurisdiction.

As an exception to this rule, an AFL local union may become affiliated with a local central body formerly affiliated with the CIO if there is no AFL local central body in existence in the territorial jurisdiction of such CIO local central body and a CIO local union may become affiliated with a local central body formerly affiliated with the AFL if there is no CIO local central body in existence in the territorial jurisdiction of such AFL local central body. This exception shall not affect the continued affiliation of such locals with state central bodies.

- 6. New and Merged State Central Bodies.
- (a) Charters. Charters shall be issued to new state central bodies, and to state central bodies formed as a result of the merger between existing state central bodies heretofore affiliated with the AFL or with the CIO, by the President on behalf of the Executive Council. Such charters may be refused, revoked or suspended pursuant to the Constitution of the AFL-CIO and these rules. The rights conferred by a charter upon any state central body in respect to the name and territory of such body are revocable and the President may, for good cause shown, after notice and hearing, change such name and territory. Any charter that has been revoked, suspended or amended shall be surrendered to the President.
- (b) Titles. New and merged state central bodies shall be known as either state federations of labor of the AFL-CIO or as state industrial union councils of the AFL-CIO or under a combination of the two such titles, with the prefix of the name of the particular state. In the event that merging state central bodies cannot mutually agree upon a title for the merged central body in conformity with this rule, such title shall be determined by the Executive Council. Variations from the provisions of this rule may be permitted by the President of the AFL-CIO, subject to final approval by the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO.
- 7. Annual Fees to AFL-CIO. Each state central body shall pay to the AFL-CIO an annual fee of \$20.00.

- 8. Membership. (a) Subject to the provisions of Rule 5(c), state central bodies shall admit into membership, upon the payment of such membership fee as may be required by the constitution or bylaws of such body, all local unions directly affiliated to the AFL-CIO or affiliated with national or international unions and organizing committees affiliated with the AFL-CIO, all local central bodies of the AFL-CIO within the geographical limits of state or territorial bodies and such other subordinate bodies as the Executive Council may determine are eligible for membership.
- (b) No state central body shall admit or retain in membership any organization not affiliated with the AFL-CIO or with an affiliate of the AFL-CIO, or any organization that has been suspended or expelled by a parent body affiliated with the AFL-CIO or by the AFL-CIO.
- (c) Any state central body shall have the power to suspend or expel any organization affiliated with it upon conviction, after charges, notice and hearing, of having engaged in conduct or a course of activity hostile or contrary to the best interests of the central body or contrary to its constitution or bylaws.
- 9. Constitutions and Bylaws. Each state central body shall adopt a constitution and/or bylaws consistent with the Constitution of the AFL-CIO and with these rules. Such constitutions and bylaws, and any amendments thereto, shall be subject to approval by the President, and two copies thereof shall be submitted to the President upon their adoption. Pending the completion of the merger of state central bodies provided for in Rule 5(b), the constitutions and bylaws of existing state central bodies adopted prior to December 5, 1955, shall be deemed to be approved by the President, except as they are in conflict with the Constitution of the AFL-CIO or these rules. In cases of such conflict the provisions of the AFL-CIO Constitution and these rules shall be deemed to be controlling. The President may, at any time, re-

quire any state central body to formally amend its constitution or bylaws in order to bring them into conformity with the provisions of these rules and of the Constitution of the AFL-CIO.

- 10. Conventions. Each state or territorial central body shall hold conventions regularly, and at least once every two years. Each state central body shall report to the President the times and places of its conventions.
- 11. Representation and Voting. The constitution or bylaws of state central bodies shall provide, among other things, for the holding of conventions, the selection of delegates to such conventions, and the basis of representation therein. They shall provide for representation and voting procedures on a basis which will be equitable and which will assure the representative character of the state central body, and shall provide for a roll-call vote upon demand of a reasonable fixed percentage or number of the delegates Organizations other than local unions affiliated with the state central body shall be allotted a fixed number of delegates and votes not to exceed three delegates and three votes for each such organization.
- 12. **Delegates.** No person shall be eligible to serve as a delegate to a state central body unless he is a member of a local union affiliated with such state central body.

No state central body shall reject credentials presented by a duly elected or appointed delegate except for the causes set forth in Article V, Section 10, of the Constitution of the AFL-CIO upon written charges signed by at least three delegates, and after notice and hearing. Any delegate to a state central body may, upon conviction, after charge, notice and hearing, be expelled or suspended from such body for the causes set forth in Article V, Section 10 of the Constitution of the AFL-CIO or for having engaged in conduct or a course of activity hostile or contrary to the best interests of the state central body or contrary to its constitution or bylaws.

13. Officers and Agents. The constitution or bylaws of each state central body shall provide for the election of officers, the filling of vacancies of office, the duties of officers and their terms of office, and shall set forth the requirements for eligibility for office.

No individual shall be eligible to serve as an officer, member of the executive board or committee or other governing body of, or any other committee of, or as a delegate from, or as a representative, agent, or employee of any state central body who is a member of the Communist Party, any fascist organization, or other totalitarian movement, or who consistently pursues policies and activities directed toward the achievement of the program or the purposes of the Communist Party, any fascist organization or other total-itarian movement.

- 14. Removal of Officers. Any state central body, acting through its convention, or through the executive body exercising governing powers between conventions, may suspend or remove any officer or member of its executive board, executive committee, or other governing body, on written charges, notice and hearing for violation of the constitution of the AFL-CIO or these rules, or the constitution or bylaws of the state central body, or for conduct unbecoming an officer of the state central body, misappropriation of funds, malfeasance in office or neglect of duty. Appropriate provisions for such removal of officers shall be contained in the constitution or bylaws of the state central body.
- 15. Records and Reports. State central bodies shall keep such records and file such reports in such manner and at such times as may be required by the President by regulation or otherwise, and shall produce their books and records on demand of the President.
- 16. Revenue of State Central Bodies. The constitution or bylaws of each state central body shall prescribe the per capita tax and

fees payable to such state central body and the penalties, including suspension or expulsion, for failure to pay such tax or fees. The fees of local unions shall be on a per capita basis and shall be based on the actual number of the dues-paying members of such local unions. The fees of affiliated local central bodies and subordinate bodies other than local unions shall be fixed on a uniform basis, which shall not exceed \$25.00 per year.

- 17. Expenditures. The funds of a state central body shall be expended only pursuant to authorization by the procedures set forth in its constitution or bylaws. The funds shall be used only for legitimate expenditures in furtherance of the objectives of such body or of the AFL-CIO.
- 18. Financial Practices-Reports and Audits. State central bodies shall follow such financial practices and keep such records as will ensure that its funds and properties will be safeguarded and will be expended only for authorized purposes. The Secretary-Treasurer may require any state central body to amend its financial practices and procedures so as to come into conformity with the provisions of this rule. The Secretary-Treasurer may at any time require any state central body to submit financial reports, and may cause a full audit to be made of the books, records, funds, property or accounts of any state central body and may require the state central body to bear the expenses thereof.
- 19. Bonds. All officers and agents of any state central body having a financial responsibility shall be covered by a fidelity bond. The Secretary-Treasurer may determine the amount in which such officers and agents shall be bonded and may require that additional bonds be secured at the expense of the state central body in a sum sufficient to protect the funds of the state central body. Upon the discovery of any irregularity or deficiency in the accounts or transactions of the state central body or any officer or agent thereof, the person making such discovery shall im-

mediately report such irregularity or deficiency to the Secretary-Treasurer.

- 20. Organizing. State central bodies should lend all possible assistance to the organizing activities of local unions and their parent national or international unions or organizing committees affiliated with the AFL-CIO.
 - 21. Strikes. No state central body shall have the authority or power to order any local union or other organization to strike or to take a strike vote. This prohibition, however, shall not prevent such central body from giving proper assistance to such local union or other organization with the approval of its parent body, so long as such assistance is not inconsistent with the objects, principles and policies of the AFL-CIO.
- 22. Collective Bargaining. No state central body shall take part in any collective bargaining activities or in any labor dispute involving any affiliated local union except upon the request or consent of the national or international union or organizing committee with which such local union is affiliated or, in the case of local unions directly affiliated to the AFL-CIO, except upon the request or consent of the President.
- 23. Boycotts and Unfair Lists. No state central body shall have power or authority to originate a boycott. Nor shall such body endorse any boycott or order the placing on an unfair list the name of any person, firm or corporation that has an agreement with any national or international union or organizing committee affiliated with the AFL-CIO, or any of its subordinate bodies, or any subordinate body of the AFL-CIO, until the union having such agreement is informed of the request made upon the state body and has had reasonable time to intercede and the union desiring action by the state body has, before declaring the boycott, submitted the matter in dispute to the state body for investigation and the state body has exhausted all efforts to secure agreement between the

unions involved. After the foregoing procedure has been exhausted and the unions involved have, nevertheless, failed to reach an understanding with the state body, the matter shall be referred to the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO, which shall be empowered to grant or refuse the request for a boycott or other action.

24. Advertising. Experience has demonstrated that unscrupulous solicitors of advertising have, on occasion, exploited the name and standing of some organizations now affiliated with the AFL-CIO, to further their own selfish ends and to the detriment of the best interests of such affiliates and organized labor generally. For this reason, state central bodies should be careful in authorizing or permitting the solicitation of advertising and no state central body shall authorize or permit the solicitation of any advertising in its name or for publication in any periodical, program or other publication issued or endorsed by it which will be in violation of such ethical standards or requirements as may be determined by the President by regulation or otherwise.

25. Lists. No officer, delegate or employee of a state central body shall release any list of affiliates or members of affiliates in the possession of the state central body to any person or organization unless such release has been duly authorized by the central body and the appropriate officers of the affiliate or affiliates involved.

26. Discipline of State Central Bodies and

Their Officers by the AFL-CIO.

(a) The President is authorized to take disciplinary action against state central bodies, including the authority to suspend or expel any officer thereof, and to suspend such organizations or revoke their charters. Such disciplinary action may be taken against any such organization or officer, when such organization or officer violates or fails to comply with any of the provisions of the Constitution of the AFL-CIO or of these rules, or engages in any activity or course of con-

duct which is contrary or detrimental to the welfare or the best interests of the AFL-CIO, or when any such organization fails to conform its policies to the policies of the AFL-CIO.

(b) In any case where disciplinary action is taken under this rule the organization or any officer charged shall first be given reasonable notice of the nature of the charges and shall be afforded a full hearing either by the President or by a person or persons delegated by the President to act for him as a Hearing Officer or Officers. In the latter event, such Hearing Officer or Officers shall, as soon as practicable after the close of the hearing. make a report, either oral or in writing, to the President who shall make the ultimate decision. The decision of the President shall be in full force and effect unless or until reversed or changed upon appeal as provided in paragraph (g) of this rule.

(c) In cases of emergency, where the interests of the AFL-CIO reasonably require such action, the President is empowered to suspend any officer and establish a trusteeship over the property of state central bodies prior to the hearing provided for in paragraph (b) of this rule. In such case, the hearing shall be conducted as soon as practicable after such emergency action, but in no event later than 45 days following such action, unless a postponement of such hearing is granted by the President upon proper

request.

(d) In any case where a state central body has been suspended under the provisions of this rule, the President shall have the power to assume charge of the affairs and business of such suspended body, suspend any or all of the officers thereof, appoint temporary officers under the supervision of a trustee, and to appoint a trustee for the purpose of taking charge of and conducting the business of such state central body during the period of suspension. Such trustee shall have the right, in the name of the AFL-CIO, upon demand, to all of the funds, properties, books and assets of the suspended body for the pe-

riod he is in charge of such body, such funds and properties to be held in trust for the benefit of the suspended body and to be expended only to the extent necessary for the proper conduct of the affairs of the suspended body. A trustee appointed under this rule may be removed with or without cause by the President at any time and a successor trustee appointed.

- (e) Wherever the charter or certificate of affiliation of a state central body shall have been revoked or suspended, all funds, properties, books and assets of such state central body shall become the property of the AFL-CIO and shall, upon demand, be turned over to a duly authorized representative of the President, and the AFL-CIO shall have the right to immediate possession of all such funds, properties, books and assets in trust until such time as the organization whose charter or certificate of affiliation has been suspended or revoked may be reorganized and be able to confine its activities and actions to conform with the Constitution and the laws of the AFL-CIO.
- (f) Whenever a demand has been made under this rule or the Constitution of the AFL-CIO for funds, properties, books and assets of any state central body, and such demand is refused, then all expenses of whatever nature incurred by the AFL-CIO in recovering such funds, properties, books and assets shall be a lawful charge upon the property and funds involved and, on recovery thereof, the AFL-CIO shall reimburse itself from the funds and property recovered.
- (g) Any disciplinary action taken by the President under this rule may be appealed by the individual or organization involved to the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO. Any such appeal shall be filed in writing with the Secretary-Treasurer within 30 days after notice of the disciplinary action being appealed. Appellants shall have the right to appear before the Executive Council in support of their appeal. The decision of the Executive Council on any appeal taken pursuant to this para-

graph may be further appealed to the next succeeding convention of the AFL-CIO. Such further appeal shall be filed in writing with the Secretary-Treasurer at least 30 days prior to the opening of the convention. An appellant shall have the right to appear before any appeals committee of the convention and, except in the case of an individual appellant, shall have the right to appear before the convention itself. An individual appellant shall have the right to appear personally before the convention itself only with the consent of the convention.

27. Exhaustion of Remedies. No organization or individual subject to these rules shall resort to any court until all relief within the AFL-CIO as provided for within these rules and the Constitution of the AFL-CIO

is exhausted.

28. Appeals. Any final decision of a state central body in a matter requiring a hearing within the central body under these rules may be appealed to the President within 30 days after the decision appealed from. The decision of the President may thereafter be appealed to the Executive Council. Any such appeal shall be filed in writing with the Secretary-Treasurer within 30 days after notice of the action being appealed. Appellants shall have the right to appear before the Executive Council in support of their appeal. The decision of the Executive Council may be further appealed to the next succeeding convention of the AFL-CIO. Such further appeal shall be filed in writing with the Secretary-Treasurer at least 30 days prior to the opening of the convention. The appellant shall have the right to appear before any appeals committee of the convention and, except in the case of an individual appellant, shall have the right to appear before the convention itself. An individual appellant shall have the right to appear personally before the convention itself only with the consent of the convention. During any such appeal the original decision of the state central body, or of the President. or of the Executive Council, as the case may be, shall remain in effect unless reversed. modified or temporarily stayed.

29. Dissolution. A state central body may dissolve only with the approval of the President. Upon dissolution, all funds, properties, books and assets of such body shall revert to the AFL-CIO and shall, upon demand, be turned over to a duly authorized representative of the President. The AFL-CIO will hold all such funds, properties, books and assets in trust until such time that the state central body involved can be reorganized or reconstituted in conformity with the Constitution

and laws of the AFL-CIO.

30. Pending Proceedings. Pending proceedings, including trusteeships, administratorships, appeals, or other proceedings of any character whatsoever within the AFL or the CIO, with respect to state central bodies formerly affiliated with the AFL or with the CIO, shall not be interrupted, discontinued or affected in any manner by the combination of the AFL and the CIO, but shall continue under the rules and constitutional provisions in effect prior to the date of the combination of the AFL and the CIO insofar as such rules and constitutional provisions are not inconsistent with the Constitution of the AFL-CIO, and except that the President of the AFL-CIO shall perform all of the functions vested in the former President of the AFL. or the former President or former Executive Vice President of the CIO, under such prior rules and constitutional provisions, and the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO shall perform all of the functions vested in the former Executive Council of the AFL or the former Executive Board of the CIO under such prior. rules and constitutional provisions.

Rules

Governing Local Central Bodies



Issued by

THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

of

THE AMERICAN

FEDERATION OF LABOR and

CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL

ORGANIZATIONS

February 14, 1956

and Amended June 7, 1956

These Rules supersede the rules adopted December 5, 1955

AFL-CIO Publication No. 13



AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS GEORGE MEANY, Wm. F. Schnitzler, President. Secretary-Treasurer.

RULES GOVERNING LOCAL CENTRAL BODIES

Issued by the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO, February 14, 1956, and Amended June 7, 1956

1. Status of Rules. These rules are issued by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations pursuant to the provisions of Article XIV of the Constitution of the AFL-CIO, and supersede the rules adopted on December 5, 1955. These rules and the Constitution of the AFL-CIO shall govern the *conduct, activities, affairs, finances and property of all local central bodies of the AFL-CIO and provide the procedures for the discipline. including suspension and expulsion, of such bodies or their officers by the AFL-CIO. These rules may be amended at any time by the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO, subject only to the provisions of the AFL-CIO Constitution.

2. Definitions. When used in these Rules, the term "local union" shall include local lodges, local brotherhoods or other local units of affiliated national or international unions or organizing committees which, in such unions, perform the functions of local unions.

When used in these Rules, the term "President," unless otherwise specified, shall mean the President of the AFL-CIO, and the term "Secretary-Treasurer," unless otherwise specified, shall mean the Secretary-Treasurer of the AFL-CIO.

3. Composition of Local Central Bodies.
(a) Local Central Bodies shall be composed exclusively of locals of national and international unions and organizing committees affiliated with the Federation, directly affiliated local unions and such other subordinate bodies as the Executive Council may determine are eligible for affiliation. Any question that may arise with respect to the proper local central body or bodies to which local unions or other subordinate bodies are to affiliate or the extent of such affiliation shall

be determined by the President of the AFL-CIO.

- (b) It shall be the duty of all national and international unions and organizing committees affiliated with the AFL-CIO to instruct their local unions to join local central bodies in their vicinity where such exist. Similar instructions will be given by the AFL-CIO to all local unions affiliated directly with it.
- 4. Purposes of Local Central Bodies. The functions and responsibilities of local central bodies shall be, within their respective areas:
- (a) To assist in furthering the appropriate objects and policies of the AFL-CIO, or of organizations affiliated with the AFL-CIO (provided such objects or policies are not inconsistent with the objects or policies of the AFL-CIO);
- (b) To serve as a means of exchanging information among affiliated bodies on matters of common interest;
- (c) To provide aid, cooperation and assistance to affiliated local unions and other affiliated bodies in their common and individual endeavors;
- (d) To propose, support and promote legislation favorable to and to oppose legislation detrimental to the interest of workers and organized labor.
- (e) In the case of state and territorial central bodies, to encourage and assist in the formation of local central bodies within the state or territory.
- (f) To engage in such other activities as are consistent with the objects and principles set forth in the Constitution of the AFL-CIO and the policies of the AFL-CIO.
- 5. Existing Central Bodies. (a) Continuation. State and territorial federations of labor, city central labor unions and all other central bodies affiliated with the AFL on the effective date of the combination between the AFL and CIO, and state and local industrial

union councils affiliated with the CIO at the time of such combination shall continue to exist as state, territorial and local central bodies of the AFL-CIO, each representing the respective organizations affiliated to such central body on the date of the combination of the AFL and the CIO. Charters or certificates of affiliation heretofore issued by the AFL or by the CIO to such bodies shall be deemed to be charters or certificates of affiliation with the AFL-CIO, subject to these rules.

- (b) Merger. Merger of state, territorial and local central bodies affiliated with the AFL and the CIO prior to their combination shall be effected within two years after the date of the combination of the AFL and the CIO through the process of negotiations and agreement under the guidance of the President and the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO. All such mergers shall be under the direction and be subject to the approval of the President, or his designee, and shall not become effective until such approval is given.
- (c) Affiliation Pending Merger. Until the merger of existing central bodies, in accordance with Rule 5(b) is completed within a particular state, territory or local jurisdiction, no local union or other organization affiliated with the AFL, or affiliated with a national or international union affiliated with the AFL, at the time of the combination of the AFL and CIO (hereinafter in this rule called an AFL local union) shall become affiliated to a central body formerly affiliated with the CIO in such jurisdiction; and no local union or other organization affiliated with the CIO, or affiliated with a national or international union or organizing committee affiliated with the CIO (hereinafter in this rule called a CIO local union), at the time of the combination between the AFL and the CIO shall become affiliated to a central body formerly affiliated with the AFL in such jurisdiction.

As an exception to this rule, an AFL local union may become affiliated with a local central body formerly affiliated with the CIO if there is no AFL local central body in existence in the territorial jurisdiction of such CIO local central body and a CIO local union may become affiliated with a local central body formerly affiliated with the AFL if there is no CIO local central body in existence in the territorial jurisdiction of such AFL local central body. This exception shall not affect the continued affiliation of such locals with state central bodies.

- 6. New and Merged Local Central Bodies. (a) Charters. Charters shall be issued to new local central bodies, and to local central bodies formed as a result of the merger between existing local central bodies heretofore affiliated with the AFL or with the CIO, by the President on behalf of the Executive Council. Such charters may be refused. revoked or suspended pursuant to the Constitution of the AFL-CIO and these rules. The rights conferred by a charter upon any local central body in respect to the name and territory of such body are revocable and the President may, for good cause shown, after notice and hearing, change such name and territory. Any charter that has been revoked, suspended or amended shall be surrendered to the President.
- (b) Titles. New and merged local central bodies shall be known as either federations of labor of the AFL-CIO or as industrial union councils of the AFL-CIO or under a combination of the two such titles, with the prefix of the local geographical area. Where necessary or appropriate, the name of the state or other appropriate words may be added. In the event that merging local central bodies cannot mutually agree upon a title for the merged local central body in conformity with this rule, such title shall be determined by the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO. Variations from the provisions of this rule may

be permitted by the President of the AFL-CIO, subject to final approval by the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO.

- 7. Annual Fees to AFL-CIO. Each local central body shall pay to the AFL-CIO an annual fee of \$20.00.
- 8. Membership. (a) Subject to the provisions of Rule 5(c), local central bodies shall admit into membership, upon the payment of such membership fee as may be required by the constitution or bylaws of such body, all local unions directly affiliated to the AFL-CIO or affiliated with national or international unions and organizing committees affiliated with the AFL-CIO, and such other subordinate bodies as the Executive Council may determine are eligible for affiliation.
- (b) No local central body shall admit or retain in membership any organization not affiliated with the AFL-CIO or with an affiliate of the AFL-CIO, or any organization that has been suspended or expelled by a parent body affiliated with the AFL-CIO or by the AFL-CIO.
- (c) Any local central body shall have the power to suspend or expel any organization affiliated with it upon conviction, after charges, notice and hearing, of having engaged in conduct or a course of activity hostile or contrary to the best interests of the central body or contrary to its constitution or bylaws.
- 9. Constitutions and Bylaws. Each local central body shall adopt a constitution and/or bylaws consistent with the Constitution of the AFL-CIO and with these rules. Such constitutions and bylaws, and any amendments thereto, shall be subject to approval by the President and two copies thereof shall be submitted to the President upon their adoption. Pending the completion of the merger of local central bodies provided for in Rule 5(b), the constitutions and bylaws of existing local central bodies adopted prior to December 5, 1955, shall be deemed to be ap-

proved by the President except as they are in conflict with the Constitution of the AFL-CIO or these rules. In cases of such conflict the provisions of the AFL-CIO Constitution and these rules shall be deemed to be controlling. The President may, at any time, require any local central body to formally amend its constitution or bylaws in order to bring them into conformity with the provisions of these rules and of the Constitution of the AFL-CIO.

- 10. Delegate Meetings. Local central bodies shall hold delegate meetings at least once a month. The President or his designee may, for good cause shown, permit exceptions to this rule. Each local central body shall report to the President the times and places of its regular meetings.
- 11. Representation and Voting. The constitution or bylaws of local central bodies. shall provide, among other things, for the holding of meetings, the selection of delegates to such meetings, and the basis of representation therein. They shall provide for representation and voting procedures on a basis which will be equitable and which will assure the representative character of the local central body, and shall provide for a roll-call vote upon demand of a remable. fixed percentage or number of the delegates present. Organizations other than local unions affiliated with the local central body shall be allotted a fixed number of delegates and votes, not to exceed one delegate and one vote for each such organization.
- 12. Delegates. No person shall be eligible to serve as a delegate to a local central body unless he is a member of a local union affiliated with such local central body.

No local central body shall reject credentials presented by a duly elected or appointed delegate except for the causes set forth in Article V, Section 10, of the Constitution of the AFL-CIO upon written charges signed by

at least three delegates, and after notice and hearing. Any delegate to a local central body may, upon conviction, after charge, notice and hearing, be expelled or suspended from such body for the causes set forth in Article V, Section 10 of the Constitution of the AFL-CIO or for having engaged in conduct or a course of activity hostile or contrary to the best interests of the local central body or contrary to its constitution or bylaws.

13. Officers and Agents. The constitution or bylaws of each local central body shall provide for the election of officers, the filling of vacancies of office, the duties of officers and their terms of office, and shall set forth the requirements for eligibility for office.

No individual shall be eligible to serve as an officer, member of the executive board or committee or other governing body of, or any other committee of, or as a delegate from, or as a representative, agent or employee of any local central body who is a member of the Communist Party, any fascist organization, or other totalitarian movement, or who consistently pursues policies and activities directed toward the achievement of the program or the purposes of the Communist Party, any fascist organization or other totalitarian movement.

body, acting through its delegate body, may suspend or remove any officer or member of its executive board, executive committee or other governing body, on written charges, notice and hearing for violation of the constitution of the AFL-CIO or these rules, or the constitution or bylaws of the local central body, or for conduct unbecoming an officer of the local central body, misappropriation of funds, malfeasance in office or neglect of duty. Appropriate provisions for such removal of officers shall be contained in the constitution or bylaws of the local central body.

- 15. Records and Reports. Local central bodies shall keep such records and file such reports in such manner and at such times as may be required by the President by regulation or otherwise, and shall produce their books and records on demand of the President.
- 16. Revenue of Local Central Bodies. The constitution or bylaws of each local central body shall prescribe the per capita tax and fees payable to such local central body and the penalties including suspension or expulsion for failure to pay such tax or fees. The fees of local unions shall be on a per capita basis and shall be based on the actual number of the dues-paying members of such local unions. The fees of subordinate bodies other than local unions shall be fixed on a uniform basis, which shall not exceed \$10.00 per year.
- 17. Expenditures. The funds of a local central body shall be expended only pursuant to authorization by the procedures set forth in its constitution or bylaws. The funds shall be used only for legitimate expenditures in furtherance of the objectives of such body or of the AFL-CIO.
- 18. Financial Practice—Reports and Audits. Local central bodies shall follow such financial practices and keep such records as will ensure that its funds and properties will be safeguarded and will be expended only for authorized purposes. The Secretary-Treasurer may require any local central body to amend its financial practices and procedures so as to come into conformity with the provisions of this rule. The Secretary-Treasurer may at any time require any local central body to submit financial reports, and may cause a full audit to be made of the books. records, funds, property or accounts of any local central body and may require the local. central body to bear the expenses thereof.
- 19. Bonds. All officers and agents of any local central body having a financial responsibility shall be covered by a fidelity bond. The Secretary-Treasurer may determine the

amount in which such officers and agents shall be bonded and may require that additional bonds be secured at the expense of the local central body in a sum sufficient to protect the funds of the local central body. Upon the discovery of any irregularity or deficiency in the accounts or transactions of the local central body or any officer or agent thereof, the person making such discovery shall immediately report such irregularity or deficiency to the Secretary-Treasurer.

- 20. Organizing. Local central bodies should lend all possible assistance to the organizing activities of local unions and their parent national or international unions or organizing committees affiliated with the AFL-CIO.
- 21. Strikes. No local central body shall have the authority or power to order any local union or other organization to strike or to take a strike vote. This prohibition, however, shall not prevent such central body from giving proper assistance to such local union or such other organization with the approval of its parent body, so long as such assistance is not inconsistent with the objects, principles and policies of the AFL-CIO.
- 22. Collective Bargaining. No local central body shall take part in any collective bargaining activities or in any labor dispute involving any affiliated local union except upon the request or consent of the national or international union or organizing committee with which such local union is affiliated or, in the case of local unions directly affiliated to the AFL-CIO, except upon the request or consent of the President.
- 23. Boycotts and Unfair Lists. No local central body shall have power or authority to originate a boycott. Nor shall such body endorse any boycott or order the placing on an unfair list the name of any person, firm or corporation that has an agreement with any national or international union or organizing committee affiliated with the AFL-CIO, or any of its subordinate bodies, or any subordinate body of the AFL-CIO, until the

union having such agreement is informed of the request made upon the central body and has had reasonable time to intercede and the union desiring action by the central body has. before declaring the boycott, submitted the matter in dispute to the central body for investigation and the central body has exhausted all efforts to secure agreement between the unions involved. After the foregoing procedure has been exhausted and the unions involved have, nevertheless, failed to reach an understanding with the central body, the matter shall be referred to the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO, which shall be empowered to grant or refuse the request for a boycott or other action.

24. Advertising. Experience has demonstrated that unscrupulous solicitors of advertising have, on occasion, exploited the name and standing of some organizations now affiliated with the AFL-CIO, to further their own selfish ends and to the detriment of the best. interests of such affiliates and organized labor generally. For this reason, local central bodies should be careful in authorizing or permitting the solicitation of advertising and no local central body shall authorize or permit the solicitation of any advertising in its . name or for publication in any periodical, program or other publication issued or endorsed by it which will be in violation of such ethical standards or requirements as may be determined by the President by regulation or otherwise.

25. Lists. No officer, delegate or employee of a local central body shall release any list of affiliates or members of affiliates in the possession of the local central body to any person or organization unless such release has been duly authorized by the central body and the appropriate officers of the affiliate or affiliates involved.

26. Discipline of Local Central Bodies and Their Officers by the AFL-CIO.

(a) The President is authorized to take disciplinary action against local central bodies, including the authority to suspend or

expel any officer thereof, and to suspend such organizations or revoke their charters. Such disciplinary action may be taken against any such organization or officer, when such organization or officer violates or fails to comply with any of the provisions of the Constitution of the AFL-CIO or of these rules, or engages in any activity or course of conduct which is contrary or detrimental to the welfare or the best interests of the AFL-CIO, or when any such organization fails to conform its policies to the policies of the AFL-CIO.

- (b) In any case where disciplinary action is taken under this rule the organization or any officer charged shall first be given reasonable notice of the nature of the charges and shall be afforded a full hearing either by the President or by a person or persons delegated by the President to act for him as a Hearing Officer or Officers. In the latter event, such Hearing Officer or Officers shall, as soon as practicable after the close of the hearing. make a report, either oral or in writing, to the President who shall make the ultimate decision. The decision of the President shall be in full force and effect unless or until -reversed or changed upon appeal as provided in paragraph (g) of this rule.
- (c) In cases of emergency, where the interests of the AFL-CIO reasonably require such action, the President is empowered to suspend any officer and establish a trusteeship over the property of local central bodies prior to the hearing provided for in paragraph (b) of this rule. In such case, the hearing shall be conducted as soon as practicable after such emergency action, but in no event later than 45 days following such action, unless a postponement of such hearing is granted by the President upon proper request.
- (d) In any case where a local central body has been suspended under the provisions of this rule, the President shall have the power to assume charge of the affairs and business of such suspended body, suspend any or all

of the officers thereof, appoint temporary officers under the supervision of a trustee, and to appoint a trustee for the purpose of taking charge of and conducting the business of such local central body during the period of suspension. Such trustee shall have the right, in the name of the AFL-CIO, upon demand, to all of the funds, properties, books and assets of the suspended body for the period he is in charge of such body, such funds and properties to be held in trust for the benefit of the suspended body and to be expended only to the extent necessary for the proper conduct of the affairs of the suspended body. A trustee appointed under this rule may be removed with or without cause by the President at any time and a successor trustee appointed.

- (e) Wherever the charter or certificate of affiliation of a local central body shall have been revoked or suspended, all funds, properties, books and assets of such local central body shall become the property of the AFL-CIO and shall, upon demand, be turned over to a duly authorized representative of the President, and the AFL-CIO shall have the right to immediate possession of all such funds, properties, books and assets in trust until such time as the organization whose charter or certificate of affiliation has been suspended or revoked may be reorganized and be able to confine its activities and actions to conform with the Constitution and the laws of the AFL-CIO.
- (f) Whenever a demand has been made under this rule or the Constitution of the AFL-CIO for the funds, properties, books and assets of any local central body, and such demand is refused, then all expenses of whatever nature incurred by the AFL-CIO in recovering such funds, properties, books and assets shall be a lawful charge upon the property and funds involved and, on recovery thereof, the AFL-CIO shall reimburse itself from the funds and property recovered.
- (g) Any disciplinary action taken by the President under this rule may be appealed by

the individual or organization involved to the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO. Any such appeal shall be filed in writing with the Secretary-Treasurer within 30 days after notice of the disciplinary action being appealed. Appellants shall have the right to appear before the Executive Council in support of their appeal. The decision of the Executive Council on any appeal taken pursuant to this paragraph may be further appealed to the next succeeding convention of the AFL-CIO. Such further appeal shall be filed in writing with the Secretary-Treasurer at least 30 days prior to the opening of the convention. An appellant shall have the right to appear before any appeals committee of the convention and, except in the case of an individual appellant, shall have the right to appear before the convention itself. An individual appellant shall have the right to appear personally before the convention itself only with the consent of the convention.

27. Exhaustion of Remedies. No organization or individual subject to these rules shall resort to any court until all relief within the AFL-CIO as provided for within these rules and the Constitution of the AFL-CIO is exhausted.

28. Appeals. Any final decision of a local central body in a matter requiring a hearing within the central body under these rules may be appealed to the President within 30 *days after the decision appealed from. The decision of the President may thereafter be appealed to the Executive Council. Any such 'appeal shall be filed in writing with the Secretary-Treasurer within 30 days after notice of the action being appealed. Appellants shall have the right to appear before the Executive Council in support of their appeal. The decision of the Executive Council may be further appealed to the next succeeding convention of the AFL-CIO. Such further appeal shall be filed in writing with the Secretary-Treasurer at least 30 days prior to the opening of the convention. The appellant shall have the right to appear before any appeals committee of the convention and, except in

the case of an individual appellant, shall have the right to appear before the convention itself. An individual appellant shall have the right to appear personally before the convention itself only with the consent of the convention. During any such appeal the original decision of the local central body, or of the President, or of the Executive Council, as the case may be, shall remain in effect unless reversed, modified or temporarily stayed.

29. Dissolution. A local central body may dissolve only with the approval of the President. Upon such dissolution, all funds, properties, books and assets of such body shall revert to the AFL-CIO and shall, upon demand, be turned over to a duly authorized representative of the President. The AFL-CIO will hold all such funds, properties, books and assets in trust until such time that the local central body involved can be reorganized or reconstituted in conformity with the Con-

stitution and laws of the AFL-CIO.

30. Pending Proceedings. Pending proceedings, including trusteeships, administratorships, appeals, or other proceedings of any character whatsoever within the AFL or the CIO, with respect to local central bodies formerly affiliated with the AFL or with the CIO, shall not be interrupted, discontinued or affected in any manner by the combination of the AFL and the CIO, but shall continue under the rules and constitutional provisions in effect prior to the date of the combination of the AFL and the CIO insofar as such rules and constitutional provisions are not inconsistent with the Constitution of the AFI-CIO, and except that the President of the AFL-CIO shall perform all of the functions vested in the former President of the AFI: or the former President or former Executive Vice President of the CIO, under such prior rules and constitutional provisions, and the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO shall perform all of the functions vested in the former Executive Council of the AFL or the former Executive Board of the CIO under such prior rules and constitutional provisions.

Rules

Governing Directly Affiliated Local Unions



Issued by
THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

of

THE AMERICAN
FEDERATION OF LABOR and
CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL
ORGANIZATIONS

February 14, 1956

These Rules supersede the rules adopted December 5, 1955

AFL-CIO Publication No. 14



RULES GOVERNING DIRECTLY AFFILIATED LOCAL UNIONS

Issued by the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO, February 14, 1956

Name

1. Henceforth all local unions directly affiliated with the AFL-CIO shall be known as Directly Affiliated Local Unions.

Status of Rules

- 2. These Rules. These rules are issued by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations pursuant to the provisions of Article XV of the Constitution of the AFL-CIO, and supersede the rules adopted on December 5, 1955. These rules may be amended at any time by the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO. In case of conflict between these rules and the AFL-CIO Constitution, the latter shall control.
- 3. Local Constitutions and Bylaws. rectly Affiliated Local Unions shall adopt or retain their own constitutions and/or bylaws. which shall be consistent with the Constitution of the AFL-CIO and with these rules. In case of conflict, the AFL-CIO Constitution and these rules shall control; and the President of the AFL-CIO may at any time require any Directly Affiliated Local Union to amend its constitution or bylaws in order to bring them into conformity with the provisions of these rules or of the Constitution of the AFL-CIO. Among other things, such local union constitutions or bylaws shall provide for regular membership meetings at reasonable intervals, for the election of officers and members of governing bodies, their duties, and their terms of office which shall not exceed four years for any one term. Two copies of the constitution and bylaws of each Directly "Affiliated Local Union, and of all subsequent changes therein, shall be sent to the President of the AFL-CIO for his approval.

Eligibility of Officers and Representatives

4. No individual shall be eligible to serve as an officer, member of the Executive Board or Committee, or any other committee of, or as a delegate from, or as a representative, agent or employee of, any Directly Affiliated Local Union, who is a member of the Communist Party, any fascist organization, or other totalitarian movement, or who consistently pursues policies or activities directed toward the achievement of the program or purposes of the Communist Party, any fascist organization or other totalitarian movement.

Charters

- 5. Existing Local Unions. All Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions affiliated with the AFL on the effective date of combination-between the AFL and CIO, and all Local Industrial Unions affiliated with the CIO at the time of such combination, shall continue to-exist as local unions directly affiliated with the AFL-CIO. Charters or certificates of affiliation heretofore issued by the AFL or bythe CIO to such unions shall be deemed to be AFL-CIO charters, subject to these rules.
- 6. New Local Unions. Charters may be issued to new Directly Affiliated Local Unions by the President of the AFL-CIO on behalf of the Executive Council, provided that such charters shall not be issued in conflict with the jurisdiction of national or international unions affiliated with the AFL-CIO, except with the written consent of such unions. Each new Directly Affiliated Local Union shall, upon the issuance of a charter, pay to the Federation the sum of \$15.00.
- 7. Affiliation with Central Bodies. Each Directly Affiliated Local Union is instructed to join appropriate state and local central bodies.

Initiation Fees and Dues

8. Initiation Fees. Directly Affiliated Local Unions shall charge initiation fees of not less than two dollars (\$2.00), and, except with-

the written permission of the President of the AFL-CIO, not more than fifteen dollars (\$15.00). One dollar (\$1.00) of each initiation fee charged by a Directly Affiliated Local Union shall be the property of the AFL-CIO and shall be forwarded to the Secretary-Treasurer of the AFL-CIO at the same time as the monthly per capita payment.

9. Dues. Directly Affiliated Local Unions shall require their members to pay dues of not less than two dollars (\$2.00) per month. Each Directly Affiliated Local Union shall pay to the AFL-CIO a per capita tax of eighty cents (\$.80) per month per member, such tax to be paid for each month on or before the 15th day of the succeeding month. Suspended members can be reinstated only by the payment of three months' back per capita tax, in addition to the tax for the current month, and a fee of one (\$1.00) dollar for reinstatement stamp.

10. Exoneration. The Executive Council may exonerate any Directly Affiliated Local Union from the payment of per capita tax or assessments due to the Federation for any month upon its being shown to the satisfaction of the Executive Council that good cause therefor exists.

11. Reports. Each Directly Affiliated Local Union shall forward to the Secretary-Treasurer of the AFL-CIO, at the same time as the monthly per capita tax payment, a monthly report, on a form to be supplied by the Secretary-Treasurer, giving the number of members paid for, such other information as may be required by the Secretary-Treasurer relating to membership, and a complete statement of all funds received and expended by the local union.

AFL-CIO Defense Fund

12. Continuation and Contributions. The Defense Fund for Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions of the American Federation of Labor shall be continued as a defense fund for Directly Affiliated Local Unions of the AFL-CIO, and 8½ cents of the per capita tax

payment of each Directly Affiliated Local Union shall be set aside in such fund unless otherwise ordered by the Executive Council.

- 13. Eligibility of Individuals for Benefits. No member of a Directly Affiliated Local Union shall be entitled to receive strike benefits from the AFL-CIO defense fund unless both the individual member seeking such benefits and the local to which he belongs have been in continuous good standing with the AFL or the AFL-CIO for at least one year.
- 14. Availability of Defense Fund to Support Strikes. Except when otherwise ordered by the Executive Council, the defense fund shall be available to support strikes or lockouts of Directly Affiliated Local Unions only when such strikes or lockouts are authorized, endorsed, and conducted in strict conformity with the provisions of rules 15-21. Further, no local union shall be entitled to receive benefits from the AFL-CIO defense fund unless the local union requires its members to pay at least two dollars (\$2.00) per month dues, and unless it sets aside for the maintenance of a local defense fund at least five cents (\$.05) a month per member.
- 15. Authorization by President. In the event of a disagreement between a Directly Affiliated Local Union and an employer which, in the opinion of the local union, may result in a strike, the union shall notify the President of the AFL-CIO. The President or, at his option, his designee, shall thereupon look into the matter and endeavor to adjust the difficulty. If these efforts prove futile, and if the President shall decide that a strike is necessary he shall authorize the local union to order a strike.
- 16. Strike Vote. When a strike has been authorized by the President of the AFL-CIO, the president of the Directly Affiliated Local Union shall, within twenty-four hours, call a meeting of the union to take a strike vote. Only members in good standing shall vote.

- If, but only if, a majority of the members present vote to strike, the president of the local union may call a strike. In that event he shall immediately notify the President of the AFL-CIO of the initiation of the strike, and of the number of members who may be eligible for the benefits provided in rule 17.
- 17. Strike Benefits. When a strike has been called in accordance with the provisions of rules 15 and 16, the AFL-CIO shall pay to the treasurer of the Directly Affiliated Local Union involved, or his order, an amount equal to fifteen dollars (\$15.00) per week for each member eligible to receive strike benefits. Benefits shall not be paid for the first two weeks of the strike; but shall be paid weekly thereafter for the duration of the strike or for 10 weeks, whichever is shorter. President of the AFL-CIO shall have the power to authorize the payment of strike benefits for additional periods. Each Directly Affiliated Local Union shall, as provided in rule 31, require its treasurer to give proper bond for the safekeeping and disbursement of all funds of the local, and such bond shall likewise cover the safeguarding and disbursement of the strike benefits provided by this rule.
- 18. Disqualification for Benefits. No member of a Directly Affiliated Local Union on strike shall be entitled to weekly benefits unless he reports daily to the proper officer of the local union while the strike continues, and no member who shall receive a week's work, three days to be a week, shall receive benefits for that week. Any member refusing temporary work while on strike (providing said work is not in conflict with labor's interests) shall not be entitled to strike benefits.
- 19. Lockouts. In case of a lockout, the President of the AFL-CIO may authorize the payment of benefits if, upon investigation, he finds that the Directly Affiliated Local Union did not unwarrantedly provoke the lockout.
- 20. Strike Reports. During the continuance of a strike or lockout the executive

board of the local union shall make weekly reports to the President of the AFL-CIO, showing the amount of money distributed for benefits and to whom paid, and shall furnish to the President individual receipts from all members to whom benefits have been paid, and such other information as the President may require.

Disciplinary Action: Dissolution

21. Violation of AFL-CIO Constitution. Rules and Policies. The President of the AFL-CIO is authorized to take disciplinary action against a Directly Affiliated Local Union or any officer thereof if any such local union or officer violates or fails to comply with any of the provisions of the Constitution of the AFL-CIO or of these rules, or engages in any activity or course of conduct which is contrary or detrimental to the welfare or the best interests of the AFL-CIO, or, in the case of a local union, if it fails to conform its policies to the policies of the AFL-CIO. Such disciplinary action may include, in the case of a local union, the suspension or revocation of its charter or certificate of affiliation, the dissolution of the local union. the suspension or removal of any of its officers, and the establishment of a trusteeship. over the affairs and property of the local union. In the case of an officer of a Directly Affiliated Local Union, such disciplinary action may include the suspension or removal of the officer from local union office and his expulsion from membership.

22. Notice and Hearing. Except in case of emergency as hereafter provided, the local union or officer involved shall, before disciplinary action is taken, be given reasonable notice of the charges and be afforded a hearing, either by the President of the AFL-CIO or by a person or persons designated by the President to act for him as a hearing officer or officers. In the latter event, such hearing officer or officers shall, as soon as practicable after the close of the hearing, make a report and recommendations, either orally or in

writing to the President. In all cases the President of the AFL-CIO shall make the decision, and impose such disciplinary action as he finds to be appropriate, if any. The decision of the President shall be subject to appeal as provided in rule 23, but shall be in full force and effect unless or until reversed or modified.

In case of emergency, where in the opinion of the President the interests of the AFL-CIO so require, the President is empowered to suspend officers of and establish a trusteeship over the affairs and property of a Directly Affiliated Local Union prior to the notice and hearing provided for in this rule. In such cases, notice shall be given and a hearing shall be conducted as soon as practicable after the emergency action, but in no event later than 40 days following such action, unless a postponement of such hearing is granted by the President upon request.

23. Appeals. Any disciplinary action taken by the President of the AFL-CIO under these rules may be appealed by the local union or officer involved to the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO. Notice of any such appeal shall be filed in writing with the Secretary-Treasurer of the AFL-CIO within 30 days after transmittal of the President's decision. Appellants shall have the right to appear before the Executive Council. The Executive Council may affirm, reverse, or modify the decision of the President. The decision of the Executive Council on any appeal taken pursuant to this rule may be further appealed to the next succeeding convention of the AFL-CIO. Notice of any such further appeal shall be filed in writing with the Secretary-Treasurer at least 30 days prior to the opening of the convention. An appellant shall have the right to appear before any appeals committee of the convention and, except in the case of an individual appellant, shall have the right to appear before the convention itself. An individual appellant shall have the right to appear before the convention itself only with the convention's consent. During the pendency of any appeal under this rule, from either a decision of the President or of the Executive Council, the decision appealed from shall remain in full force. The convention may affirm, reverse, or modify the decision of the Executive Council.

24. Suspension. In any case where the charter or certificate of affiliation of a Directly Affiliated Local Union or any or all of its officers, are suspended under these rules. the President of the AFL-CIO may appoint a trustee to take charge of and conduct the affairs of such local union during the period of suspension. Such trustee shall have the right, in the name of the AFL-CIO, upon demand, to all of the funds, properties, books and assets, the charter or certificate of affiliation, and the seal, of the suspended local union, and shall hold such funds and properties in trust for the benefit of the suspended local union, to be expended only in the proper conduct of its affairs. The President may also appoint temporary officers to serve under the supervision of a trustee. A trustee appointed under this rule may be removed, with or without cause by the President at any time.

25. Revocation or Dissolution. Whenever the charter or certificate of affiliation of a Directly Affiliated Local Union is revoked, or whenever such a local union is voluntarily dissolved, all funds, properties, books and assets, the charter or certificates of affiliation, and the seal, of such local union shall revert tothe AFL-CIO and shall, upon demand, be turned over to a duly authorized representative of the President of the AFL-CIO. The AFL-CIO will hold all such funds, properties, books and assets in trust for an appropriate length of time with a view to the reconstitution of the defunct local union. If the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO decides that the reconstitution of the defunct local union is not feasible, then such funds, properties, books and assets shall be subject to such disposition as the Executive Council may determine.

- 26. Reimbursement of Expenses. Whenever a demand is made under these rules or the Constitution of the AFL-CIO for the funds, properties, books and assets, the charter or certificate of affiliation, and the seal of any Directly Affiliated Local Union, and such demand is refused, then all expenses of whatever nature incurred by the AFL-CIO in recovering such funds, properties, books and assets, the charter or certificate of affiliation, and the seal, shall be a lawful charge upon the property and funds involved and, on recovery thereof, the AFL-CIO shall reimburse itself from the funds and property recovered.
- 27. Limitation on Dissolution. No Directly Affiliated Local Union shall disband or dissolve except with approval of the President of the AFL-CIO.
- 28. Local Union Disciplinary Proceedings. The constitutions or bylaws of Directly Affiliated Local Unions shall make provision for disciplinary action, after due notice and hearing, against any local union official or member who violates or fails to comply with any of the provisions of the Constitution of the -AFL-CIO, or of these rules, or of the constitution or bylaws of the local union; or who engages in any activity or course of conduct which is contrary or detrimental to the welfare or best interests of the AFL-CIO or the local union. Any officer or member against whom disciplinary action is taken by a local union may appeal the decision to the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO. Notice of any such appeal shall be filed in writing with the Secretary-Treasurer of the AFL-CIO within 30 days after the local union decision. The Executive Council may hear and decide the appeal itself, or refer it for hearing and decision to its designee. The Executive Council or its designee may affirm, reverse, or modify the decision of the local union, and such decision shall be final. During the pendency of any appeal under this rule, the decision appealed from shall remain in full force, unless it is temporarily stayed by the Executive Council or its designee.

Safeguarding of Funds

- 29. Trustees. Each Directly Affiliated Local Union shall have not less than three trustees, who shall hold any real property of the local union in trust for the local union; unless a corporation shall have been organized for the purpose of holding property of the local union, and in that event such trustees shall hold the stock of such corporation and shall serve as the sole directors of such corporation as trustees for the local union. The trustees shall require all money-handling or financial officers or agents of the local union to be bonded pursuant to rule 30.
- 30. Bonding. All officers and agents of any Directly affiliated Local Union having a financial responsibility shall be covered by a general fidelity bond through the Secretary-Treasurer of the AFL-CIO. The premiums for such coverage shall be paid by the AFL-CIO. Upon the discovery of any irregularity or deficiency in the accounts or transactions of a Directly Affiliated Local Union or of any officer or agent thereof, the officers or other persons making the discovery shall immediately report such irregularity or deficiency to the Secretary-Treasurer of the AFL-CIO.
- 31. Expenditures. The funds of a Directly Affiliated Local Union shall be expended only pursuant to authorization by the procedures set forth in the constitution or bylaws of the local union. The funds shall be used only for the legitimate expenses of the local union in furtherance of the objectives of such local union or of the AFL-CIO.
- 32. Financial Practices, Audits. Directly Affiliated Local Unions shall follow such financial practices and procedures as shall be prescribed by the Secretary-Treasurer of the AFL-CIO to insure that their funds and properties will be safeguarded and will be expended only for authorized purposes. The Secretary-Treasurer of the AFL-CIO may require any local union to amend its financial practices and procedures to this end. The

Secretary-Treasurer may, with the assistance of the Auditing Department of the AFL-CIO or otherwise, make an annual audit of all books, accounts, records and financial transactions of any Directly Affiliated Local "Union, including any welfare, retirement or other beneficial plan of such Directly Affiliated Local Union or to which it is a party; and may make such an audit at more frequent intervals at his discretion. Directly Affiliated Local Unions shall turn over all books, records, accounts and information necessary to make any such audit to the Secretary-Treasurer of the AFL-CIO or his duly au-* thorized representative. If an audit reveals that any irregularities have taken place, then the President of the AFL-CIO shall be au-* thorized to take appropriate remedial or disciplinary action under these rules.

Pending Proceedings

33. Pending proceedings including trusteeships, administratorships, appeals, or other proceedings of any character whatsoever within the AFL or the CIO, with respect to Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions formerly affiliated with the AFL and Local Industrial Unions formerly affiliated with the CIO, shall not be interrupted, discontinued or affected in any manner by the combination of the AFL and the CIO, but shall continue under the rules and constitutional provisions in effect prior to the date of the combination of the AFL and the CIO insofar as such rules and constitutional provisions are not inconsistent with the Constitution of the AFL-CIO, and except that the President of the AFL-CIO shall perform all of the functions vested in the former President of the AFL, or the former President or former Executive Vice President of the CIO, under such prior rules and constitutional provisions, and the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO shall perform all of the functions vested in the former Executive Council of the AFL or the former Executive Board of the CIO under such prior rules and constitutional provisions.





AFL-CIO

1955 Convention Resolution

on

CIVIL LIBERTIES AND INTERNAL SECURITY



This Federation is proud that the labor unions of America have traditionally stood in the forefront of the fight for the preservation and expansion of individual civil liberties. We are proud, too, that the unions comprising this Federation were among the first to point out and take steps against the dangers to our freedom and security posed by international Communism. The fight to protect this nation against Communist aggression must be carried on with vigor and determination. But the Communist threat must and can be met without endangering our traditional liberties or impinging upon the freedoms guaranteed by the Bill of Rights.

International Communism is a menace to the United States and to democratic nations everywhere because, as an instrument of Soviet aggression, it is backed by the armed might of the Soviet Union. To meet this threat we and our Allies need military forces sufficiently strong to deter and resist any attack which may be launched by the Soviet Union or its allies or puppets. Our nation's security and freedom must not be offered up on the altar of a balanced budget.

We do not believe that the Communist movement in this country poses, absent armed Soviet aggression, any serious threat to overthrow our government. Nevertheless, it does serve as a recruiting ground for traitors, spies and perhaps saboteurs and its adherents are making every effort to obtain the nation's most guarded secrets. These dangers call for vigilant counterintelligence work, and for vigorous enforcement of the criminal laws and for an effective security system. They do not call for us to adopt the methods of our totalitarian foes, or to ourselves weaken the liberties we seek to protect.

Developments over the past year on the civil liberties front afford considerable ground for optimism. This is the first time in several years that

this has been so; and we are gratified at the important role the AFL and the CIO played in promoting increased concern for the protection of individual rights. We note with genuine satisfaction these advances for civil liberties:

1. Improvements have been made in the procedure of Congressional Committees.

For several years a major threat to our American system of government has come from persons who, under the cloak of professed anti-Communist zeal, have violated the fundamental rights of the individual which are the core of our democracy. While some Congressional investigations, without endangering civil liberties have effectively exposed the extent of Communist infiltration in American institutions, other loosely conducted Congressional investigations were used to spread unfounded accusations and unproven charges. Those accused were given no adequate opportunity to face their accusers, or to answer allegations made against them. Often these investigations seemed more concerned with punishing particular individuals, or with enforcing uniformity of opinions and stifling the traditional American right to dissent, than with any proper legislative purpose.

During the past year this picture has perceptibly brightened. There has been increased public realization of the extent to which some Congressional investigations have infringed on individual rights and freedoms, and a growing revulsion against the manner in which some investigations have been conducted. In Congress this revulsion found expression in the Senate's vote of censure against Senator McCarthy and in the adoption of codes of fair procedure for committees by the House of Representatives and by several of the individual Senate Committees. In the country as a whole, this popular reaction has led to a renewed appreciation of the values of individual liberties and a renewed determination to defend them.

It is also true that while codes of fair procedure for Congressional committees can deter abuses, they can never be the whole answer to the problem of securing fairness in committee hearings. Necessarily these codes set only minimum standards, and depend for their effectiveness upon the self-restraint of the Congressional committees. The election of fair-minded Congressmen, and continued public vigilance against any resurgence of McCarthyism remain vital necessities.

2. During the past year there has been increased public realization that, through the present security screening programs, the government is dealing harshly and unfairly, and sometimes tyrannically, with many of its citizens. There has been increased and well-merited public concern over certain arbitrary and unfair procedures employed in the government's personnel security programs, and over the ever broadening scope of these programs.

The Administration itself has shown little willingness to clean its own house. When faced with public outcry against the manifest injustice done in a particular "security" case, as when it penalized a man for his mother's past political beliefs, the Administration has shamefacedly backtracked in the particular case. But it has made only grudging, piecemeal and belated

efforts to correct the flagrant abuses which characterize its security programs, and which have led to gross injustice in individual cases.

Congress, on the other hand, has shown an increasing concern as to whether the national security is advanced by the personnel security programs the government is now operating. During the past year several Congressional committees conducted hearings in which the deficiencies and unfairness of the various security programs were canvassed. And the Congress, with virtual unanimity, adopted Senator Hubert Humphrey's proposal to establish a bipartisan public commission to investigate the whole subject of personnel security investigation and adjudication. This measure was supported by both the AFL and the CIO. Conversely, the Congress failed to act on the so-called Defense Facilities Act by which the Administration sought carte blanche authority to establish a personnel screening program for workers in private industry. Both the AFL and the CIO opposed the enactment of this bill because it contained no provision to insure that its tests or procedures would be fair.

- 3. The Congress again failed to give the Administration the broad authority it has sought to tap private telephone wires. There is considerable support in Congress for a bill to authorize wire-tapping in cases where the national security is involved, subject to proper safeguards, such as the securing of a court order. The Administration, however, continues to ask for authority to tap wires at the discretion of the Attorney General. In consequence, it has met with well-deserved Congressional rebuff and has secured no legislation; now, therefore, be it
- RESOLVED, 1. We declare our determination to preserve and defend American democracy from any and all enemies, within or without. We state our conviction that our form of government can and must be defended without resort to totalitarian techniques and without infringement on the individual liberties which are the core of free government.
- 2. We express our gratification that improvements have been made in the procedures of Congressional committees, but urge both the Congress and the public to be alert against any resurgence of abuses which previously have characterized certain committee investigations.
- 3. We commend the Congress for enacting the Humphrey resolution for investigation of government security programs by a bipartisan public commission. We urge the Commission which has recently been appointed that it inaugurate its study without delay. We suggest that the Commission devote special attention to the problem of industrial security. The Commission should include representatives of both labor and management in its discussions of this issue. In addition, the Commission should consider:
 - a. The scope of present and proposed security programs. We urge that the Commission give particular attention to determining whether security screening is necessary for jobs which do not involve policy-making decisions or access to classified information.

- b. The criteria employed in the programs. We are persuaded that more precise and definite criteria could and should be employed.
- c. The procedures utilized in the programs. We believe that all charges against individuals should be as concrete and meaningful as possible, not merely vague allegations. We suggest that the commission review the entire question of the use of information received from confidential informants. The Commission should also investigate the possibility that those charged with security violations should be confronted by any adverse witnesses.
- 4. The issues involved in wiretapping legislation are referred to the Executive Council for study and appropriate action.

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SOCIAL SECURITY

For bottor

SOCIAL SECURITY

FOR MANAGEMENT AND THE SECURITY

WOMEN WORKERS

WIDOWS

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Every working man and woman who contributes to the Social Security system has a vital personal stake in a Bill (HR 7225) that is now under consideration by the Finance Committee of the United States Senate. The Bill will, if enacted, provide insurance benefits to eligible workers who become totally and permanently disabled, reduce the retirement age for women, and make other important improvements in the Social Security system. It has the full support, as an immediate legislative objective, of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations.

Although the House of Representatives has approved this Bill by a heavy majority, there is serious danger that it may be blocked in the Senate. Powerful opponents plan to bottle up HR 7225 in the Finance Committee so as to deny the full Senate an opportunity to consider and act upon the measure. Unless those who favor the improvements contained in HR 7225 can rally strong and timely support for the Bill now, it may be killed by a few reactionaries in the secrecy of a committee room without even a full Senate vote.

Write or wire your Senator now! Urge him to do everything that he can to secure prompt favorable action by the Senate on HR 7225. Above all, urge him to give his full support to the program of permanent and total disability benefits proposed by the Bill.

Here is a short summary of the Bill, together with the reasons why labor favors its enactment:

- Payment of benefits to persons over 50 years of age who are permanently and totally disabled.
 - 1. The proposal would provide:
 - a. benefits as a right, on proof of disability, without a means test.
 - b. benefits related to past earnings, continuing the proven principle of social insurance.
 - positive encouragement to rehabilitation in all cases where practicable.
 - d. passage of HR 7225 would make monthly benefits payable immediately to about 250,000 disabled workers.
 - 2. To be eligible for benefits a person must:
 - a. be at least 50 years of age.
 - b. have a "medically determinable physical impairment which can be expected to result in death or to be of long-continued and indefinite duration."
 - c. have been so disabled for at least six months.
 - d. have been employed under social security for at least five of the immediately preceding ten years.

 e. be both currently and fully insured under the Social Security Act.

These requirements represent a cautious, rather than a radical, approach to the problem of disability. In fact they provide more safeguards than are actually necessary to prevent any possibility of fraud, malingering or excessive drains upon the trust fund.

- 3. This type of benefit is not a new experiment nor an untried field. The government is already operating a number of programs providing disability benefits for special groups, such as railroad employees, civil servants and veterans. All states pay benefits to persons with job-connected disabilities under workmen's compensation laws. Moreover, under the so-called "benefit freeze" provision of the 1954 amendments to the Social Security Act, the procedures for making the determinations of disability have been established and are now in successful operation.
- II. Reduction of benefit eligibility age for women from 65 to 62.
 - This provision would make possible retirement at age 65 for about 400,000 husbands now ready to retire whose wives are not now eligible for benefits because they are under 65. (Wives on the average are about three years younger than husbands.)
 - 2. It would help meet the plight of widows of deceased workers, who now (except where there are children under 18) have to wait until 65 for benefits. The provision would make benefits immediately available to about 175,000 widows.
 - It would ease the problem of older women workers who find it especially difficult to remain on the job or to find new employment when laid off.
- III. Continuation of benefits for disabled children. Under present law, benefits to both the widowed mother and the children of a deceased worker stop when the youngest child reaches 18. HR 7225 provides for continuation of benefits in cases where a child is permanently and totally disabled. Only about 5,000 children and mothers would be affected, but this provision is one of the most humane and urgent provisions of the entire measure.
- IV. Extended coverage. HR 7225 plugs the few remaining gaps in the coverage of social security. This includes the 13,000 employees of TVA.

- V. HR 7225 increases the contribution rate for both employers and employees by the amount necessary to pay for the improvements and to keep the Social Security system on a sound financial basis.
- VI. Finally, the bill provides for an advisory council representing employers, workers and self-employed to review periodically the needs of the system and make recommendations to Congress.



NOW TO YOUR SENATOR

URGING SUPPORT FOR

H.R. 7225



AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

815 16TH STREET N.W



WASHINGTON 6. D. C.

PUBLICATION NO. 16

AFL-CIO

1955 Convention Resolution

on

ATOMIC ENERGY and POWER

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ATOMIC ENERGY

Developments in atomic science have reached the stage of technologically translating theoretical scientific knowledge into increasingly practical peaceful application. A widening impact on most of industry can be expected soon.

At the Geneva Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy an impetus to early application of many uses was given by broadened declassification of secret atomic information and a freer exchange of scientific discoveries than had existed in many years. Further developments along this line will undoubtedly result from the establishment of an international agency on atomic energy, which is now under active consideration by the United Nations.

To organized labor these developments provide an opportunity and a challenge to serve as a public interest force seeking the maximum application of this new science and industry for the broadest beneficial uses for all of mankind. Organized labor must act also to assure maintenance of adequate protection from harmful radiation both for workmen exposed to radioactive materials and for the general public.

The worldwide importance of the growing application of nuclear science led the free trade unions of the world, through the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, to convene an International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy in Brussels, Belgium, last August, just prior to the Geneva Atomic Conference. The ICFTU conferees, while supporting the measures taken by various governments and the United Nations, called especial attention to the need for:

- · democratic control over the production and use of atomic energy;
- the application of all necessary safety measures in plants extracting and producing fissionable materials, producing atomic energy and using its products;
- the ensuring of high social standards in plants extracting and producing fissionable materials and atomic energy, with the cooperation of the free trade unions, in the first place by means of collective bargaining;
- adequate safeguards for the rights and interests of the workers wherever displacement of manpower might result from atomic developments.

Here in the United States, where the greatest investment of public funds has been made in developing this new technology, action for more rapid and broadened application of peaceful uses of nuclear science must be urged upon the Atomic Energy Commission.

After several years of hesitation, the Commission finally in the past year has been nudged into stepping up the pace of both government and private development for peaceful purposes, but still is proceeding slowly and, as far as the public is concerned, largely in the dark.

In stimulating a more aggressive program of development for civilian uses, the AEC and the nation must remain alert to the danger of commercial monopoly. The Government must vigorously enforce its authority to prevent any firm from using patent rights to gain monopolistic control of any important phase of nuclear development.

A relatively few industrial giants have had the opportunity as contractors for the Government in the military development phases of the atomic program to gain special "know-how" and personnel in this complex field. They must not be allowed to convert their head start or inside knowledge into an unduly favored position or exclusive control of any aspect of private application.

The widening of private activity in this field must take place on a truly competitive basis to bring to the American people the benefits to which their investment in atomic energy entitles them. The Government must therefore encourage participation by as wide a variety of responsible private enterprises as practicable and must assure such enterprises an equal opportunity through appropriate provisions for access to necessary atomic information and resources; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, The AFL-CIO urges the following as fundamental elements in an enlightened United States atomic energy program in the best interests of the American public and the world as a whole:

(1) The United States should participate wholeheartedly in the forma-

tion and operation of an International Agency on Atomic Energy adhering to the principles urged upon the members of the United Nations by the ICFTU.

- (2) The United States should encourage, and participate in, regional agreements under the United Nations Charter to make possible for several countries within the appropriate region to assure mutual availability of capital, technical know-how and equipment, as well as to develop common programs in whose benefits all would share.
- (3) Development of peaceful uses of the atom should be promoted as rapidly, fully and equitably as possible, to hasten the day when the atom's potential is reflected in improved standards of living for all.
- (4) The tasks of overcoming technological obstacles and of putting atomic energy into practical everyday civilian use in this country, including the construction of large-scale power reactors, must be carried through both by the Federal Government itself and by expanded participation of private enterprise.
- (5) In encouraging broadened participation by private industry, the Federal Government must not relinquish its responsibility to assure that atomic energy is developed and applied in the public interest and under standards established and maintained to that end. Federal policy must prevent the development of monopoly in any aspect of this new industry.

Full consideration must be given to the probable need for Federal standards to be established either through the licensing power of the Atomic Energy Commission or by legislation.

- (6) Since expanded peacetime atomic development will have a marked economic and social impact, its likely effects must be weighed carefully in advance and a program must be drawn to meet the human needs arising out of any dislocation of existing industry.
- (7) The public must be kept informed fully of the nation's peacetime atomic plans and progress. The program of easing and eliminating secrecy restrictions on nonmilitary technical information must be greatly accelerated.
- (8) The growth of atomic energy operations requires that particular attention be directed to the development of:
 - (a) A sound labor-management relations program, with maximum emphasis on free collective bargaining as an integral part of broadened private enterprise.
 - (b) Effective health and safety standards to meet the special hazards presented in work with radioactive materials.
 - (c) Provisions for fair compensation for workmen suffering radiation injury.
 - (d) A voluntary manpower program to assure a necessary supply of competent skilled labor to meet our atomic needs.
- (9) A statutory Labor-Management Advisory Committee should be established to advise the Atomic Energy Commission in developing these programs.

POWER

There is now general recognition, as organized labor has long advocated, that the expanding economy of the U. S. needs additional power and energy beyond even the most optimistic estimates of the recent past. The best informed sources predict the necessity of increasing the available supply from the present level of 7.7 kilowatt hours per man hour of work in all of industry to 14 kilowatt hours per man hour of work by 1970.

The need for increased power also stems from the increased use of electrical devices and processes in industry, in agriculture and in the home.

Many new industries use electro-process methods which require large amounts of electricity. Aluminum and titanium are two new industries in this category. Application of automation in industry generally requires tremendous increases in the use of electric power. The new atomic industry is both a large user and potential source of electric power. This total use of electric power at major AEC installations will increase in the one year from 1955 to 1956 by 20 billion kilowatt hours. Total AEC use of electricity which constitutes 9 percent of sales to consumers in 1955 will in 1956 increase to 12.8 percent of total consumption of electricity in the entire U. S. Part of this increase could be obtained from nuclear power reactors.

There are many new appliances in the homes. As additional power becomes available, more of it is used in the home for these appliances, and all of society benefits from the increased use. Experience in low-cost areas proves that the increase in use of power brings a higher standard of living in the home and on the farm, as well as expanded output and employment in the factory and in the mill. The housewife benefits. The worker benefits when low rates bring increased use. While residential users in Rhode Island paid \$8.74 for the identical amount of power which cost \$4.92 in Tennessee, the average residential use in Providence, Rhode Island, was 1,230 kilowatt hours contrasting with an average residential use of 7,020 kilowatt hours in Chattanooga, Tennessee.

We are proud of the achievements of the TVA and will oppose all efforts to weaken or cripple this outstandingly successful program. We want no more Dixon-Yates proposals.

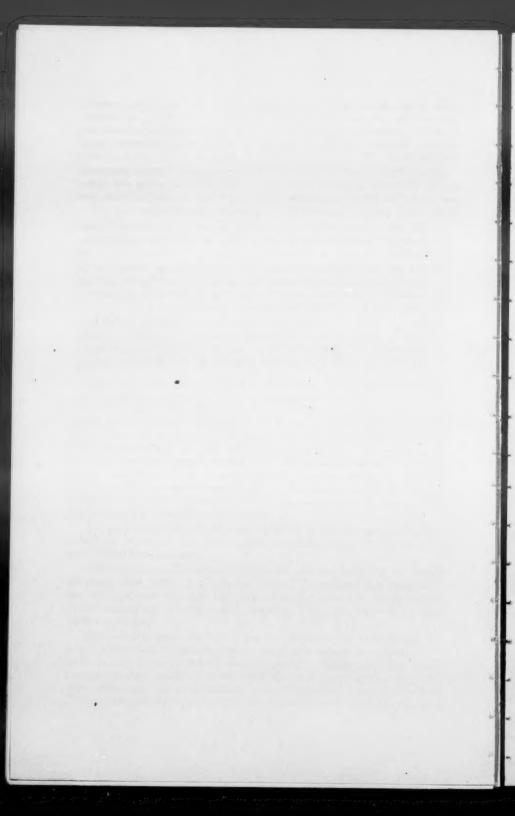
Only the Federal Government can provide effective leadership to develop our large river basins, and only the Federal Government can provide for the multi-purpose planning that can bring the maximum flood control, power, navigation, recreation and irrigation which so many of our river basin areas need.

Hydroelectric power without expanding nuclear and conventional fuel power plants cannot meet the total needs of our expanding economy. We must develop an expansion of our total supply. Public policy should encourage the development of power using all possible sources of energy with both public and private ownership. We believe that, whatever the form of ownership, workers employed in the construction or operation of power

plants or the sale of electric power, are entitled to the same rights, benefits, and privileges of free organization and collective bargaining as workers in industry generally. We call for the repeal of any special restrictions on collective bargaining rights of workers in electric power industries; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, The AFL-CIO in Convention assembled supports programs for the expansion of electric power supply at the lowest feasible cost practical under the terms of programs which have been established since the use of electric power became widespread throughout the country.

- The federal government should encourage the development of power using all possible sources of energy with both public and private ownership.
- 2. We ask the federal government to provide effective leadership to develop our large river basins. Specifically, we call for the earliest possible Congressional action for the authorization and construction of the high dam at Hells Canyon on the Snake River.
- 3. We call upon the various state governments involved to repeal legislation which denies to employees of publicly or privately owned electric power systems collective bargaining rights and privileges available to workers in industry generally in their respective states.







AFL-CIO Resolutions on

COLLECTIVE
BARGAINING and
RELATED ISSUES



Adopted by

FIRST CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

AMERICAN PEDERATION OF LABOR

CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

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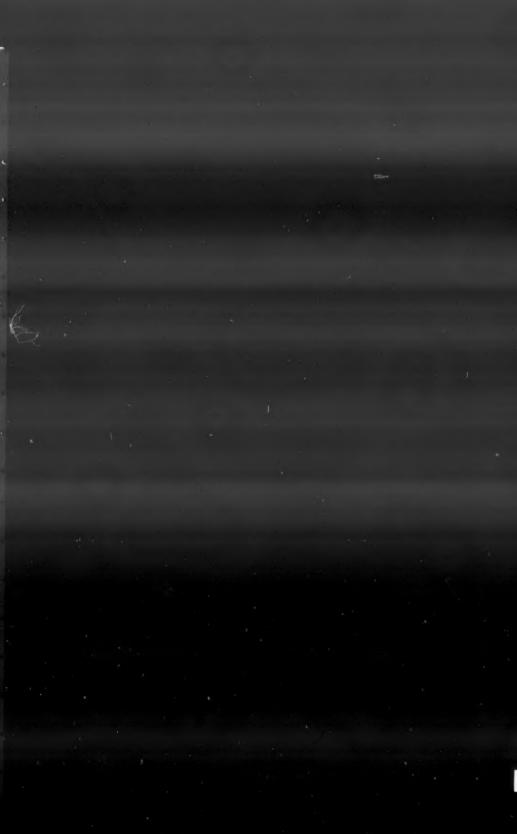
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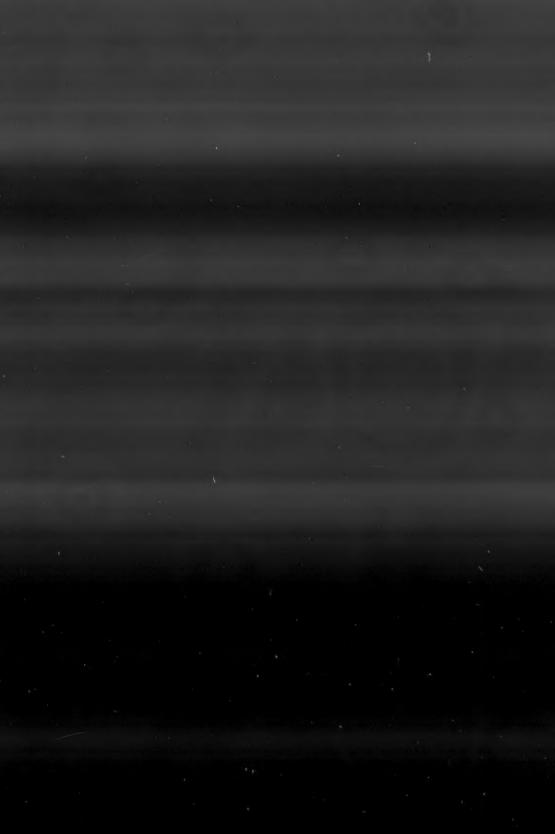
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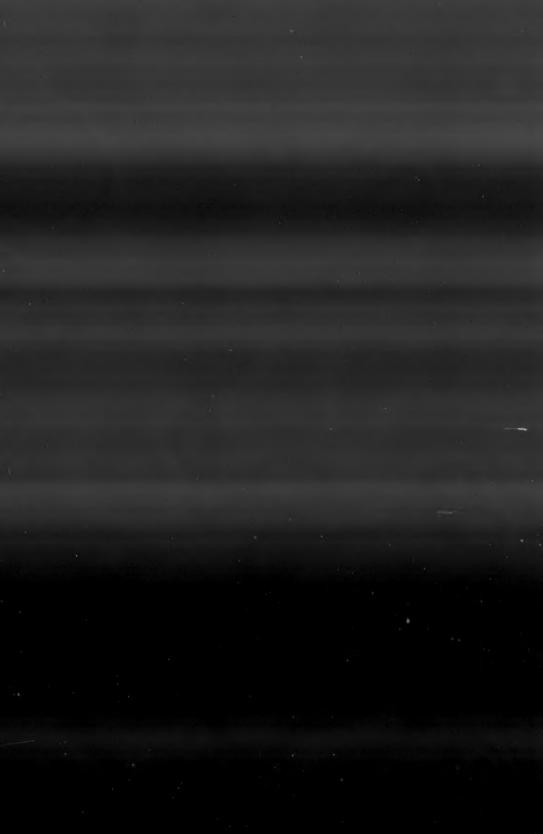




AFL-CIO Resolutions on COLLECTIVE BARGAINING and RELATED ISSUES

CONTENTS

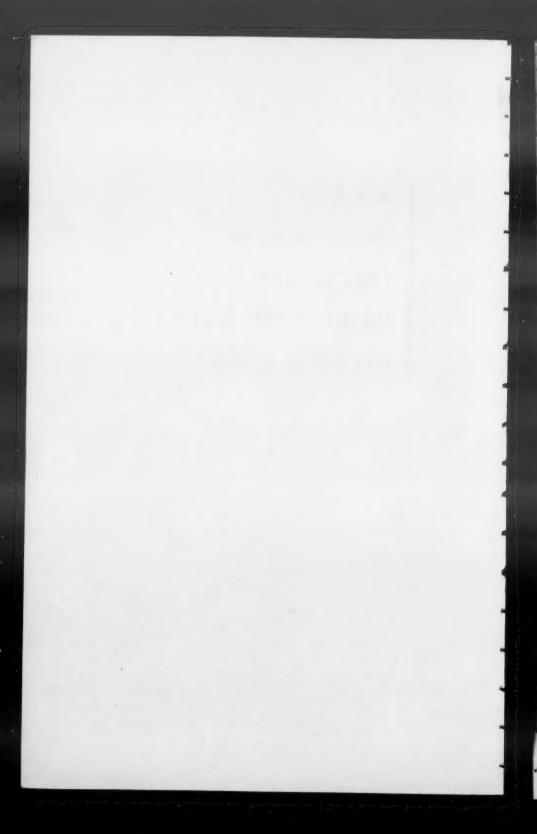
Resolution	Page	,
Collective Bargaining	3	
Organizing the Unorganized	6	
Taft-Hartley Act and the NLRB	8	
Wage-Hour and Walsh-Healey Acts	13	
Ethical Practices	15	
Economic Policy	16	



AFL-CIO Resolutions on COLLECTIVE BARGAINING and RELATED ISSUES

CONTENTS

Resolution	Page
Collective Bargaining	3
Organizing the Unorganized	6
Taft-Hartley Act and the NLRB	8
Wage-Hour and Walsh-Healey Acts	13
Ethical Practices	15
Economic Policy	16



COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

Free collective bargaining through strong trade unions has provided working people with a meaningful voice in deciding the terms under which they work. It has functioned to translate the nation's potential for improvement into actual advances in working and living standards. It has thereby

benefited immeasurably our nation as a whole.

Bargaining through trade unions has developed because individual workmen by themselves cannot bargain on an equal basis with their employers. It has grown despite only a slow and grudging acceptance by many employers and despite continued efforts of many other employers to do all in their power to resist it. We must do our best to assure its continued growth and to extend its benefits to the many workers still not represented by effective trade unions.

In a democratic nation it is appropriate that collective bargaining, free of government control, be encouraged and strengthened in place of unilateral determination by employers. For free collective bargaining is the most equitable means of deciding workers' wages, hours and working conditions, of assuring reasonable protection for the rights of workers against arbitrary and unjustly discriminatory employer actions, and of resolving the many individual human problems which arise in everyday work situations.

In addition to the moral and social need for adequate worker representation, collective bargaining is important as a significant force for strength and improvement in the American economy. As a major instrument through which trade unions succeed in raising wage levels, reducing hours of work, gaining health and pension protection, and otherwise advancing American standards of living, it has contributed heavily to the economic welfare not only of workers but of the general public and of business itself.

We must remain alert to the dangers of government domination. Government interference and control of union bargaining activities can alter the character and destroy the advantages of the collective bargaining process. Collective bargaining by unions and employers must remain free of government control to function most soundly and effectively as a basic bulwark

of a free society.

The collective bargaining picture in the past year has seen significant forward strides in almost every industry in the land. Our affiliated unions are to be commended for the substantial wage increases and benefit improvements they have achieved. Their gains have served as a major factor contributing to the general economic upswing of the past year. Continued wage and benefit advances are now required to sustain continued economic growth in the year ahead; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, The AFL-CIO and its affiliated unions will continue to defend and nurture free collective bargaining as a major means in a democracy for gaining improved wages, hours, working conditions and job security for workers and thereby contributing to the well-being and advancement of

the nation as a whole.

The AFL-CIO and its affiliated unions will continue to fight for better wages, spurred by the knowledge that the nation's power to consume must keep pace with its growing power to produce. We will seek also in collective bargaining to reduce the workweek with no reduction in take-home pay; to provide greater protection for workers against the economic hazards of illness, old-age, and irregular employment through such programs as health and welfare plans, guaranteed employment plans, improved insurance and pension plans; to liberalize paid holiday and vacation provisions; and to improve working conditions. All of these measures are necessary basic elements in our efforts to gain continued improvement in American standards of living.

SUPPORT OF UNIONS ON STRIKE

American unions believe in peaceful collective bargaining. It is always our aim to reach agreement through peaceful negotiations, without resort to the strike weapon. We are well aware that the effects of a strike are felt not only by the employer, but pre-eminently by the striking workers themselves, and in lesser degree by the general public.

Our unions do not lightly decide to strike or engage in walk-outs for frivolous or trivial reasons. We do not strike until every other legitimate means of arriving at a satisfactory settlement has been exhausted.

In the final analysis, however, a strike is, in many situations, the workers' only weapon; and recourse to it their only hope of winning better wages, hours, and working conditions. This can be clearly seen in some of the bitter strikes in which our affiliates are now engaged.

Such a struggle is now being carried on by nearly 55,000 Westinghouse workers, represented by the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, who are now in the eighth week of the largest and longest nation-wide strike of 1955.

Westinghouse management ruthlessly and irresponsibly provoked this strike by attempting to tear up its present two-year contract with the IUE and impose a substandard wage-slashing and job-cutting five-year agreement. It has perpetuated the strike by autocratically refusing to negotiate in good faith, by bargaining only on an ultimatum basis of "take-it-or-leave-it," and by initiating strike-breaking and union-busting campaigns through the use of injunctions, back-to-work movements, bribery and scab-herding.

In paramount issue is the sanctity of collective bargaining agreements, honestly negotiated and solemnly signed, and the threat to all unions which lies in Westinghouse management's assumption that it has the unilateral right, without consultation, or negotiation, to alter work standards and to shift incentive jobs to day work while depriving workers of incentive pay scales.

Since April 13, more than 3,000 hotel employees of Miami and Miami Beach, Florida, members of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders' International Union, have been on strike against the major hotels in the Miami area. The objective of the employees has been simply to win the right to bargain collectively with their employers in order to correct intolerable conditions of wages, hours, and working conditions. Despite the fact that the union unquestionably has the support of the overwhelming majority of the hotel employees in the area, most of the employers have adamantly refused to recognize the union, although in recent weeks a few of the hotels have recognized and have signed satisfactory agreements with the Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union.

Although no agency in Florida has taken any jurisdiction whatsoever over this situation, the National Labor Relations Board has refused to assert its jurisdiction in this case. Thus the hotel workers have been denied any opportunity to obtain the redress which is their right under the law and now find themselves in a legal no-man's land without protection from either the Florida courts or from the NLRB.

In another situation, the flight engineers of United Air Lines have been on strike for seven weeks against the stubborn refusal by the airline to accept job security conditions of employment that have been incorporated into the contracts with other major airlines. The importance of this strike transcends the relatively small number of workers who are involved, because on its success or failure is likely to hinge the future course of labor relations in the entire airline industry. The valiant fight which the Flight Engineers' International Association has been waging against this strongly entrenched employer deserves the wholehearted support of every international and local union of the trade union movement.

In Wisconsin, workers at the Kohler Co., members of Local 833, have been on strike longer than any other group of workers in the history of the UAW-CIO. Since April 5, 1954, they have manned their picketlines to win for themselves and their children benefits and working conditions which have become standard throughout the rest of industrial America. Twenty-one years ago their employer broke a strike of a fine AFL Federal Labor Union with a private company army. Two men were killed, shot in the back, and 48 men, women and children injured by gunfire from inside the plant. The company still has tear gas and an arsenal available, still tries to conduct its relations with its workers with the same brutal methods which characterized its labor relations a generation ago. All members of organized labor are urged to help the courageous members of the United Automobile Workers striking at Kohler to win a fair and equitable contract by refusing to buy and urging all fair-minded people not to buy plumbingware and engines made by Kohler until the Kohler workers win a just contract.

These four strikes as well as all other legitimate strikes deserve the full, sympathetic, and sincere support of all union members. Furthermore, all union members are indirectly affected by the outcome of every strike, no matter what may be the immediate issue involved. For a lost strike anywhere tempts reactionary employers to take more intransigent positions in bargaining or to discard collective bargaining altogether in favor of unilaterally imposed wages and working conditions. In contrast, a successful strike may

result in benefits being achieved by many thousands of workers not directly involved in the strike.

In unity there is strength, and only if workers stand together can they hope to equate their strength to that of the powerful forces arrayed against them; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, The AFL-CIO and all its affiliates pledge their support and that of their members for all legitimate strikes.

ORGANIZING THE UNORGANIZED

The new merged labor movement faces a great and challenging task: organization of the unorganized. The spirit of labor unity equips us to do a more effective job.

We must bring the benefits and protection of unionism to millions of unorganized workers who need, deserve and must have them. The task will require our most vigorous efforts. It will require the rallying of the combined members and resources of the trade union movement as never before. We must dedicate ourselves wholeheartedly to the fulfilling of this great mission.

In recent years, there have been some notable gains in union organization and we properly hail them. But frankness compels the conclusion that unionization of new areas of new industries during the past decade has not kept pace. The great gains recorded in the 1930's and 1940's have not been matched during the past few years. Growth in total union membership has come primarily from economic expansion in establishments and industries already organized.

Frankness also compels the admission that too great a portion of organizing effort in the last ten years has been devoted to recruiting workers previously organized by others. Fortunately, this development has been substantially slowed down in the period since the no-raiding agreement has been in effect, and will, it is hoped, be entirely eliminated in the years ahead.

The approximately 17 million workers who are organized today represent only one out of every three wage and salary workers employed in the United States. Some of those now unorganized are in supervision or in other such activities as will probably keep them outside the union movement. There is no sound economic reason why the remaining great bulk of those now unorganized should not have the aid and protection which only unionism can afford them.

The trade union movement's objective in the years immediately ahead must be at least the doubling of union membership. This is indeed a tremendous challenge, but through our combined efforts, we can and will help these unorganized workers achieve unionization.

We cannot afford to be satisfied with past gains alone. The significant gains won by trade unions in the last 20 years are always threatened as long as large pockets of unorganized workers remain.

Beyond this, the ability of organized labor to play its full role in the life

of the nation, to advance standards of living for all, is limited by the numbers for which it is able to speak. The necessary support to an expanding economy is not available when only a third of the labor force is represented in collective bargaining.

Low standards prevailing among most unorganized workers are a depressing influence on the national economy. Organization would raise their standards and improve their purchasing power, thereby contributing notably

to sound economic growth for the nation.

We well recognize that the organizing job is a difficult assignment which will not be achieved overnight. There is no magic formula to hasten results, nor are eager intentions alone adequate to the task. It will require realistic appraisal of the obstacles, careful and imaginative planning, years of untiring effort and unfailing determination, and full use of our resources.

A growing part of the American labor force is engaged in "white collar", service and distribution activities. These are areas in which many workers have never known the benefits of unions and of collective bargaining. Many workers in these and other areas are not familiar with and do not

understand the role of trade unions.

A promising area for organization and an area in which there is much need for organization, is in state and local government service. Our unions of state, county, and municipal employees have made substantial progress in this difficult area in the face of laws restricting rights of public employees and discriminatory practices engaged in by some public officials. Much more can be done if the labor movement will put force behind a campaign to remove barriers, to repeal restrictive laws and to correct anti-labor attitudes on the part of officials.

The message of democratic unionism must be brought to these workers to correct their lack of knowledge or lack of understanding. Successful organizing can be built among them on a foundation of concrete explanation and demonstration of the benefits of joining and supporting strong democratic

trade unions.

There also remain substantial areas of the economy where organization has thus far been resisted, where employers actively have done their utmost to prevent organization. Although the size of this problem is greater in some areas and in some industries, it is present throughout the country and throughout the economy. A properly conducted organizing campaign can succeed despite the measures used to deprive workers of unionism in these areas.

A major obstacle to organization still exists in provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act. One of the consequences of the Act has been the enactment in 18 states of the vicious and mislabeled "right-to-work" laws. While many employers still resort to old-fashioned clear-cut threats and intimidation to frighten their workers out of joining unions, most anti-union employers now rely on more subtle, sophisticated means, particularly paternalistic devices and specially prepared newspaper and community pressures, to prevent their workers from organizing real unions.

But American labor has known difficulties before. It has made its way

despite anti-conspiracy legislation, anti-trust acts, so-called "American Plans", spies and goons. It has demonstrated its ability to preserve its strength in the face of Taft-Hartley.

It will not be daunted by the magnitude and hardships of the job of bringing unionism to unorganized American workers. It can and will meet the responsibility of organizing the unorganized; now therefore, be it

RESOLVED, The AFL-CIO and its affiliated unions hereby dedicate themselves, and will provide their fullest and most vigorous support, to an expanded organizing program equal to the task of overcoming the obstacles in the path of nationwide organization. We shall do everything in our power to further such organization of the unorganized.

TAFT-HARTLEY ACT AND THE NLRB

The Taft-Hartley Act has been law for over eight years. The stated policy of this Act, carried over from the Wagner Act, is to encourage the organization of workers into unions of their own choosing and to promote collective bargaining. However, many of the detailed provisions of Taft-Hartley subvert these professed aims.

In actual operation, the Act has been used to block union organization, to weaken unions, and to interfere with free collective bargaining.

The organization of the unorganized has been greviously hampered. Prior to Taft-Hartley the percentage of organized workers in the economy was steadily increasing. Since Taft-Hartley this rate of increase has been greatly reduced, and two-thirds of the workers who are eligible for union membership remain unorganized today. By impeding the unionization of unorganized workers who stand in need of it, the Act threatens the standards of all organized labor.

The Taft-Hartley Act places serious restrictions on the rights to strike and to picket. Strikes or picketing for various purposes which were legal long before the Wagner Act are entirely prohibited by Taft-Hartley, and some strikes which are legal even under Taft-Hartley may be enjoined on the

theory that they will create national emergencies.

The use of the labor injunction, which had been virtually stopped in the federal courts in 1932 by the Norris-LaGuardia Act, has been revived by Taft-Hartley. Under Taft-Hartley the government may seek an injunction in any unfair labor practice case prior to any hearing on the merits, and it is actually compelled by the Act to seek such injunctions in certain types of

The Taft-Hartley Act injects the government into the writing of collective bargaining agreements. Under the Wagner Act unions and employers were generally free to make whatever collective bargaining contracts they thought appropriate. The Taft-Hartley Act, however, restricts the benefits unions may achieve through collective bargaining agreements in numerous respects including union security, welfare funds, check-off arrangements, strike notices, etc.

The Taft-Hartley Act itself places restrictions on union security arrange-

ments which are wholly unworkable in industries with shifting employment patterns, such as construction, maritime trades, and the canning industry. In addition, by Section 14(b), it legalizes state anti-union-security laws, in defiance of the principle that national legislation normally overrides conflicting state laws.

A host of other restrictive provisions are also contained in the Act.

The vicious anti-labor character of Taft-Hartley was expressly recognized by President Eisenhower during the 1952 election campaign. At that time he made solemn promises to eliminate these provisions and bring about a fair law. Thus, in a speech to the Convention of the American Federation of Labor, the President stated:

"I have talked about the Taft-Hartley Act with both labor and industry people. I know the law might be used to break unions. That must be changed. America wants no law licensing union-busting. Neither do I."

In this same speech he proclaimed:

"I will not support any amendments which might weaken the rights

of the working men and women."

He praised the Norris-LaGuardia Act which limited labor injunctions, and boasted that it was passed under a Republican Administration. He spoke out specifically on this subject, saying that injunctions "will not settle the underlying fundamental problems which cause a strike."

He spoke in defense of the right to strike, saying "there are some things worse, much worse, than strikes—one of them is the loss of freedom."

The President declared that he believed in strong unions, saying "weak unions cannot be responsible. This alone is sufficient reason for having strong unions."

He declaimed against the "heavy hand of Government intervention" in

labor disputes and reaffirmed his faith in collective bargaining.

And the President expressed his complete confidence that the job of amending the Taft-Hartley Act "can be worked out so that no fair-minded member of labor will consider the results unreasonable."

Finally, he pledged "justice and fairness" in our labor relations laws. After the election, unfortunately, these fine promises were ignored by the Administration.

In March 1953, the House and Senate Labor Committee commenced hearings on Taft-Hartley revision. These hearings were quite extensive: the House Committee hearings lasted from March until the middle of May, while the Senate hearings ran from the latter part of March into June. Numerous witnesses from the ranks of labor and management appeared before the committees, as well as many outside labor relations experts.

However, no one appeared to state to the Committees the position of the Administration on Taft-Hartley revision. No witness appeared, no Presidential message was sent up, no Administration bill was introduced.

President Eisenhower had appointed as his Secretary of Labor, Martin P. Durkin, President of the Plumbers' and Pipe Fitters' Union, AFL. Mr.

Durkin accepted the directive of President Eisenhower, issued shortly after the new Administration took office, to revise Taft-Hartley to eliminate its union-breaking provisions, and make it fair and just to labor. Month after month, Secretary Durkin labored to secure a fair implementation of the Administration's promises.

Finally, in the late summer of 1953, after detailed negotiations between the White House and the Congressional leaders, President Eisenhower repudiated the proposals for revision of the Taft-Hartley Act which the President had promised Mr. Durkin to support. Consequently and justifiably Mr. Durkin resigned.

During the whole of 1953 the Administration sent no communication to the Congress on Taft-Hartley revision. In January 1954, approximately one year late, President Eisenhower finally sent to Congress a message on Taft-Hartley revision.

The President's message to Congress on Taft-Hartley amendments and the implementing bill introduced by Senator Smith (R., N. J.), instead of liberalizing Taft-Hartley, proposed a few insubstantial improvements and offered new anti-labor provisions.

Far from honoring its pledge of justice and fairness, the Administration's program would not have rid the Taft-Hartley Act of its union-busting provisions. It would have retained the one-sided, anti-labor injunction along

with other major anti-labor Taft-Hartley provisions.

It would have added a new and dangerous anti-labor measure on the pretext of protecting states' rights. This provision would have legalized state laws which, under the guise of dealing with local emergencies, prohibit strikes and provide for compulsory arbitration of labor disputes. Yet during the campaign, President Eisenhower declared against any trend toward compulsory arbitration in the field of labor-management relations.

In addition, the discredited strike vote procedure which had been proved useless in wartime was recommended by the Administration for insertion

into the Act.

This anti-labor program of the Administration was rejected by the Senate in May 1954. During the year and a half since then, Congress, evenly divided, has held no further hearings on Taft-Hartley and the Administration has made no further proposals for its revision. The Taft-Hartley Act has

remained unchanged on the statute books.

Though the language of Taft-Hartley has remained unchanged, its interpretation by the Labor Board has not. On numerous and important issues the new Board, a majority of whose members have been appointed by President Eisenhower, has overturned long established rulings, and given the Act a new, and almost always anti-labor, meaning. Indeed the Eisenhower appointees seem to have taken office with that end consciously in mind.

The Wagner Act had been in effect since 1935 and as amended by the Taft-Hartley Act since 1947. Interpretation placed on these laws over the years by the Board and courts had been reviewed by Congress on several occasions. Both before and after 1947, several bills which would have

changed Board policies had been considered by Congress. Certain changes in Board policies, of course, were required by the Taft-Hartley Act. But aside from such changes, Congress had refused on a number of occasions since 1947 to require changes in other Board policies. This created the obvious implication that Congress had thereby given its approval to such other

policies and intended them to be continued in effect.

The new Board members, appointed by President Eisenhower however, have until now not felt themselves bound by these policies of the old Board. In line with their prior pronouncements, they have proceeded to promulgate widespread anti-union changes in well-established policies covering a large number of important issues. They seem to have proceeded on the assumption that since they were appointed by a new Administration, they had a license to overhaul any or all of the Board's policies. They have proceeded to imbue the Board with the employer-oriented interests of the new Administration.

It should also be borne in mind that the NLRB is supposed to be an independent agency, with quasi-judicial functions. Unless the Board and its staff can be free of influence or control, it cannot function in the independent and impartial manner required of a quasi-judicial agency. Clearly, the policy changes instituted by the new Board, in most instances over the opposition of one or both of the holdover members from the old Board, raise grave questions as to the independent, impartial, non-political and quasi-judicial status of the new Board.

Among these policy changes are the following:

(a) Jurisdiction: The new Board has drastically limited the establishments over which it will assert jurisdiction. This is legislation by administrative action, for proposals to diminish NLRB jurisdiction were rejected by Congress in 1954.

The result is to deny even the limited protection of the Act to millions of workers who previously were covered. These employees no longer will be protected by federal law against discriminatory discharges and other employer unfair labor practices. They will not be able to obtain NLRB elections to determine their bargaining agent. And most States do not have laws which at all protect the rights of labor.

Among the workers thus deprived of the protection of the federal Act are the great majority of those employed in retail stores, power stations, TV and radio stations, daily and weekly newspapers, utilities, service companies, and all small businesses even including defense plants.

(b) Employer "Free Speech": Under the guise of protecting free speech. the new Board has sanctioned employer statements of plainly coercive character. For example, an employer pre-election statement that if the union won the company "would be forced to move the plant" was held not to warrant setting aside the election; the statement was merely a "prophecy", not a "threat", and so was "not coercive". Similarly, a statement by a company lawyer that the company would not recognize the union even if it won the election was held to be simply a legitimate "expression of the employer's legal position".

- (c) Captive Audience: It is no longer an unfair labor practice for an employer to force workers to listen to anti-union tirades on company time and property, without affording the union an opportunity to reply. Moreover, an election will now be upset only if the employer addressed the captive audience within 24 hours before the election.
- (d) Majority Union Recognition: Another reversal of basic policy was made by the new Board when it held that an employer may refuse to accept a majority of signed membership cards as proof of a union's majority status. Employers are thus encouraged to refuse recognition and to defer bargaining until the union goes through a formal Board election.
- (e) Interrogating Workers: Under the old Board, there was a long-standing doctrine that it was intimidation and an unfair labor practice for an employer to question his employees about union membership and activities. Yet, fundamental as this doctrine was, it was overturned by the Administration majority of the new Board.
- (f) Responsibility for Unlawful Strike: A new doctrine entailing extremely harsh consequences for innocent members of a union was enunciated by the new Board in a case involving the discharge of employees who did not participate in an illegal strike and who either reported for work or were ill. Despite their non-participation in the strike action, the new Board upheld the discharges.

It has also been held by the new Board that employees of one union, who respected the picket line of another union during a short "hit-and-run" strike, lost their protected status under the Act and were subject to discharge or other discipline. These employees, said the Board, forfeited their own protection under the Act by "joining" and "participating" in the unprotected strike of the other union. The Board thus struck at a vital artery of trade unionism because respect for a picket line is a fundamental obligation of union members.

- (g) Implied No-Strike Clause: Under a recent doctrine of the new Board, a strike may not take place until the expiration or reopening date of a contact even though the 60-day notice required by Taft-Hartley has been given and elapsed and even though the contact does not contain a no-strike clause.
- (h) "Hot Cargo" Clauses Unenforceable: It has long been the practice of various unions to seek the inclusion in collective bargaining agreements of provisions permitting their members to refuse to handle "hot goods". Until recently the Board regarded these clauses as valid and enforceable by strike or picketing, but the new Republican appointees have ruled that these clauses either are not valid at all or may not be enforced by the Union.

The foregoing are only some of the areas in which the Administration-dominated Board has established new policies. The anti-union nature of these policies is obvious on their face. Other additional examples of new policies might be cited. They, too, are almost uniformly detrimental to the rights of labor.

Despite the major stated purpose of the Act to encourage genuine

collective bargaining through unions freely chosen by the workers, the Board appears to be doing everything in its power to impede these objectives. It has clearly acted to impose anti-labor restrictions beyond those required by Taft-Hartley; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, 1. The AFL-CIO will press for the elimination of the evils of the Taft-Hartley Act and the enactment of a sound and fair national

labor relations law based on the principles of the Wagner Act.

2. The AFL-CIO condemns the Administration for its failure to live up to its campaign promises to rid Taft-Hartley of its anti-labor provisions.

3. The AFL-CIO denounces the administrative policies of the National Labor Relations Board, and the unnecessary manner in which the Board has, in effect, been legislating by administrative action.

WAGE-HOUR AND WALSH-HEALEY ACTS

Perhaps the outstanding achievement in domestic legislation of the first session of the 84th Congress was the increase in the federal minimum wage from 75 cents to \$1.00. The \$1.00 minimum was passed over the objections of the Administration and its spokesmen in both Houses of Congress.

It was not a complete victory. Organized labor, although very few organized workers in the country were in a position to gain directly, called upon Congress to enact a \$1.25 minimum which was fully justified by increases in living costs, productivity and the general wage level. No action was taken in the last session to extend coverage of the Fair Labor Standards Act to the millions who are not now protected. The sub-minimum wage rates in Puerto Rico were left unchanged. Despite all this, the enactment of a \$1.00 minimum constitutes a major step forward.

In testimony presented to both Houses of Congress, AFL and CIO spokesmen called upon the Congress to take action which would bring the completely unrealistic minimum wage of 75 cents up to a more appropriate level.

President Meany, in presenting the AFL's case for a \$1.25 minimum, told the Congress that part of America's job "is to make sure that all Americans have a decent chance to share the abundance all of us are creating. We fail in this part of the job as long as the much-vaunted American standard of living is denied to any group of Americans."

President Reuther summarized the CIO's case for a \$1.25 minimum by declaring: "It is morally right because there is no excuse for the payment of sweatshop wages in an era of atomic energy and automation. It is economically sound because an expanding economy requires an ever-rising

consumer income to match our ever-rising productive power."

The Administration, which failed to make any recommendations in 1953 and 1954, finally endorsed an increase in the minimum—but to only 90 cents an hour. This would have done no more than adjust the 75-cent minimum for the increased cost of living since 1949. It would have meant no recognition of the tremendous productivity gains in the American economy and the general wage advances won by organized labor. Despite impressive evidence justifying a higher minimum, and despite improvement in the gen-

eral economic picture during the course of the year, the Administration stood firm and did not yield from its 90-cent position.

The stubbornness of the Administration and the short-sighted belief of many Congressmen that a higher minimum would be harmful, made it impossible to reach labor's full objective. But enactment of the \$1.00 minimum, despite Administration opposition, is a tribute both to the leadership of the Congress and the tremendously effective work done by organized labor back home.

Unfortunately, no action was taken to extend the benefits of the law to workers now denied its protection. After the retail lobby testified before the Senate Labor Committee, the Administration withdrew even its inadequate proposal for extension of coverage which it had made earlier in the year. Under this proposal, less than 2 million employees working for interstate chain stores would have been brought under coverage. When the Administration pulled back from this modest proposal, it became impossible to obtain extension of coverage.

Less than one-half of the nation's wage earners are now given the protection of the Fair Labor Standards Act. Individual states cannot prescribe adequate minimum wages for plants manufacturing for an interstate market without putting their industries at a competitive disadvantage. Only the Congress can take meaningful action in this field. In 1956, extension of coverage to millions of additional workers will be a major legislative objective of organized labor. The Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare has promised that its Subcommittee on Labor, under the Chairmanship of Paul Douglas (D., Ill.), will hold early hearings on extension of coverage. It is hoped that the House Education and Labor Committee will take similar action.

Under the present Fair Labor Standards Act, the statutory minimum does not apply to Puerto Rico. Instead, industry committees determine individual rates for the respective industries. This practice has not worked well. Wide wage differentials have become wider year by year. To meet this situation, the Senate last year included in its bill a provision which would have raised all existing Puerto Rican rates by a modest amount. The House refused to take similar action and, as a result, the final bill did not raise the minimum wage for Puerto Rico. In 1956, it is to be hoped that the Congress will take the necessary action to lift the minimum wage rates in Puerto Rico to more realistic levels. The economic development of Puerto Rico must not and cannot depend upon a low-wage structure.

Another year has passed without action being taken to correct the damage which has been done by the Fulbright Amendment to the Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act. It is this amendment which has prevented enforcement of the few wage determinations which have been made in recent years.

The Walsh-Healey Act should be amended: (1) to make clear the authority of the Secretary of Labor to issue minimum wage determinations on an industry-wide basis, (2) to make clear the application of the Act to all articles actually purchased by the government on specific contracts, whether or not available in the open market, and (3) to revise the Fulbright Amend-

ment to prohibit the issuance of injunctions suspending the effectiveness of wage orders pending litigation.

With the increase in the minimum wage, it becomes particularly essential that the Labor Department be given adequate appropriations for careful enforcement of the Fair Labor Standards Act as well as the Walsh-Healey Act.

Dramatic advances in improved technology, such as automation and atomic energy, have meant and will continue to mean tremendous increases in productivity. These advances make it both economically feasible and desirable to consider the reduction of the work week. The Congress should give the earliest possible consideration to amendments to the Fair Labor Standards Act to provide for a shorter work week; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, 1. International unions, state bodies and local organizations are commended for the effective work done in the past year to assure the enactment of the \$1.00 per hour minimum wage.

- 2. Congress is called upon to take further action to improve our wage laws. Specifically, we call upon it:
 - a. As a matter of first priority, to extend the full protection of the Fair Labor Standards Act to all workers in industries engaged in or affecting interstate commerce.
 - b. To increase Puerto Rican wage rates promptly and substantially so that the mainland level may be achieved at the earliest possible date.
 - c. To raise the minimum wage to at least \$1.25 an hour as soon as practicable.
 - d. To revise the Public Contracts Act, to restore that Act's effectiveness and utility.
 - e. To provide adequate funds for the enforcement of the Fair Labor Standards Act and the Public Contracts Act.
 - f. To amend the Fair Labor Standards Act and Public Contracts Act to provide for a shorter work week.

ETHICAL PRACTICES

The democratic institutions of the United States of America were established on the foundation of honesty, integrity, responsibility. The free and democratic labor movement of our country similarly rests upon the foundations of brotherhood, honesty and integrity.

Any departure from the most exacting ethical principles is harmful not only to the people directly affected but to the whole fabric of our civilization.

The American labor movement has ever been quick in its denunciation of public officials who betray their trust. We have been equally critical of businessmen who have used corrupt methods and bribery to gain their selfish, acquisitive ends. We must be equally quick to recognize and condemn those instances of racketeering, corruption, and disregard for ethical standards when they occur inside our labor movement.

The vast majority of labor union officials accept their responsibility and trust. They endeavor honestly to carry out the democratic will of their members and to discharge the duties of their office. Yet the reputations of the vast majority are imperiled by the dishonest, corrupt, unethical practices of the few who betray their trust and who look upon the trade union movement not as a brotherhood to serve the general welfare, but as a means to advance their own selfish purposes or to forward the aim of groups or organizations who would destroy our democratic institutions.

By the adoption of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, the American labor movement has clearly accepted the responsibility for keeping its own house in order and to protect the movement "from any and all corrupt influences and from the undermining efforts of Communist agencies and all others who are opposed to the basic principles of our democracy and free and democratic unionism." Only by their wholehearted dedication to this constitutional objective can labor unions meet their obligations to their memberships. Failure to meet these responsibilities can only result in governmental assumption of what are properly trade unon functions. Reliance on the agencies of government for keeping our movement free from the infiltration of racketeers, crooks, Communists, Fascists and other enemies of free democratic unionism would constitute a threat to the independence and freedom of the entire movement; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, 1. The First Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO calls upon all its affiliated national and international unions to take whatever steps are necessary within their own organizations to effect the policies and ethical standards set forth in the constitution of the AFL-CIO. When constitutional amendments or changes in internal administrative procedures are necessary for the affiliated organizations to carry out the responsibilities incumbent upon autonomous organizations, such amendments and changes should be undertaken at the earliest practicable time.

2. This First Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO pledges its full support, good offices, and staff facilities of the AFL-CIO Committee on Ethical Practices to all national and international unions in their efforts to carry out and put into practice the constitutional mandate to keep our organization "free from any taint of corruption or Communism."

ECONOMIC POLICY

The healthy functioning of our economic system is of paramount concern to American workers. Workers know that a high level of employment and a constantly improving standard of living cannot be achieved without a sound and growing economy. When the economic system falters, workers are the first to suffer from the cutbacks in production, resulting layoffs, and rising tides of unemployment.

Since World War II, the American economy has shown an amazing vitality. Although our nation, has had to absorb the impact of two reces-

sions, in 1949 and 1954, neither of these temporary setbacks has led to a general catastrophe similar to that of the 1930's.

Organized labor is proud of the American economy and the role which unions have played in helping it achieve its present high level of production. By their pressure for improved wages, unions have succeeded in winning continuing advances in living standards for American workers. The nation's rising level of wages has contributed to the rapid expansion of workers'

ability to buy the products of their labor.

Organized labor has likewise taken the lead in urging the federal government to assume a more positive responsibility for the nation's economic growth and stability. In the past 20 years, such government measures as those dealing with labor standards, taxation, social security, and housing, enacted at the urging of our labor movement, have introduced a greater degree of stability into our economic system. The passage of the Employment Act of 1946 providing for government efforts to "promote maximum employment, production and purchasing power" and the acceptance by both political parties of the obligations imposed by this Act, testify to the significant change that has taken place in the federal government's role in economic affairs.

The economic situation we face today is quite different from that of a year ago. General economic activity has increased substantially since the fall of 1954, when increased consumer spending began to lift the levels of output and sales out of the recession. Trade union strength together with economic and social legislation, had helped reduce the impact of the 1954 downturn and has contributed to the improvement in economic conditions of the past year.

The nation's total production of goods and services has risen over 9 percent since the spring of 1954, when the low-point of the economic downturn was reached. This increase in output, one of the largest in recent years, stands as a concrete demonstration of the nation's capacity for continued

economic growth.

A substantial expansion of consumer credit and mortgage debt, combined with a rise in inventories, has helped sustain the great advances in

production and sales during the past year.

The gains of the 1955 recovery have not been distributed evenly among all groups in the population. Between the first nine months of 1954 and the same period of 1955, farm income has dropped 10 percent. Compensation of employees has increased 6 percent in that period. Corporate profits, however, have risen 28 percent and stockholders' dividends, which increased during the downturn last year, have risen by 8 percent. Business failures—among small businesses, for the most part—remain high.

The improvement in employment has lagged considerably behind the rise of total production. The number of non-farm jobs, in the third quarter of 1955, was still 'slow the peak levels reached in 1953, before the downturn started. Manufacturing jobs are still almost half a million below the 1953

level.

Despite the general improvement in economic activity, substantial unem-

ployment has persisted in many communities, particularly those in which coal mining, textile manufacturing and railroad repair shops are located. Only a few days ago, the Labor Department reported that in 93 labor market

areas, 6 percent or more of the labor force was unemployed.

The lag of employment behind the sharp increase in output during the past year reflects a substantial rise in productivity, which has tended to reduce production costs and to increase profit margins. In addition, during the year, several major sections of American industry seized the opportunity presented by the recovery in business conditions to raise prices of their products by an amount far higher than justified by increased costs. This failure by business to exercise reasonable restraint in setting prices can seriously endanger sound and balanced economic progress.

American corporations already have profited more than handsomely from the economic recovery. Corporate profits, after taxes, in the first nine months of 1955 were 28 percent greater than in the same period of last year. Dividend payments to stockholders, which were rising during the economic

downturn in 1954, continue to increase at a marked rate.

Business failures, especially of smaller firms, however, have continued at surprisingly high levels, considering the over-all prosperity of business enterprise. In September, there were 822 business failures, compared with 819 in the same month of 1954, 686 in September 1953, and 539 in September 1952.

With both the productivity and the size of the labor force rising, continued economic expansion is essential to attain full employment, production and purchasing power. While the economy as a whole is operating at a high level of activity, dangerous weaknesses in some of the economy's vital areas are discernible.

A major weakness in the current economic picture is the continuing decline in farm income. Net farm income in the first nine months of the year was 10 percent below the same period of 1954 and was at a yearly rate of 26

percent below 1951.

Some of the forces that lifted economic activity so sharply in the past year seem now to have slowed down. Residential construction, which remained strong during the 1954 downturn, and provided part of the basis for the 1955 pick-up, is leveling off. Automobile production in 1956, according to many observers, may decline by as much as 10 percent below 1955.

With the expected easing off of the rate of growth in automobile and residential construction, other key areas must develop substantially to serve as a base for a continued upward impetus for the economy as a whole. No sector of the private economy appears ready to provide a stimulus of the magnitude offered by auto and residential construction in the past year. This gap in economic growth underlines the importance of both private and government economic policy for the months ahead.

Unfortunately, there is a serious question whether the current policies of the federal government will produce conditions required to sustain economic growth in the months ahead. The Administration seems more interested in tilting with the windmill of inflation by increasing interest rates than it is in creating the environment necessary for economic expansion.

While we recognize the monetary policy is a legitimate tool for stabilizing the economy, it is merely one among many weapons in the arsenal of economic programs. Moreover, unless used with extreme caution and precision timing, monetary measures can boomerang against the expansion of the economy and precipitate the economic decline they are intended to prevent. Thus, during the past summer the Federal Housing Administration and Veterans Administration increased down payments and cut the time period for mortgage payments. This had the effect of reducing housing construction, particularly of lower-priced homes; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, In the coming months, both private and government action will be needed to maintain economic growth and to sustain full employment levels in the years ahead. Such action should include the following:

1. Free collective bargaining must be encouraged by the federal, state and local governments. Reasonable wage and fringe-benefit improvements should be agreed upon at the bargaining table to enable wage and salary earners to share adequately in the fruits of industrial progress. Wherever feasible, provisions such as guaranteed employment plans should be negotiated to promote stability of workers' incomes and to eliminate unnecessary fluctuations in employment.

2. The federal government's tax policy must be revised to strengthen consumer buying power, especially among low and middle income groups, and to eliminate tax law loopholes that grant special privileges to wealthy families and corporations. Tax revisions should be made as soon as possible. State and local tax systems should also be revised to establish tax structures based more largely upon ability to pay.

3. Low-income families—whose earnings are less than \$3,000 a year—require special attention. The federal legal minimum wage should be extended to millions of low-paid workers who now lack its protection, and the minimum rate, raised to \$1.00 an hour by the past session of Congress, should be further increased to at least \$1.25. The inadequate coverage and minimum wage standards under state laws should be improved without further delay.

4. Congress should enact a specific program of special assistance to areas of persistent economic distress. It is the obligation of the federal government to assist these areas back to economic health. The government should discourage the continued pirating of plants and job opportunities by unscrupulous politicians and business associations—to prevent the spread of further distress in the older industrial centers.

5. The inadequate unemployment compensation system must be modernized. Congress and state legislatures must substantially increase both the amount and duration of unemployment compensation payments. Harsh disqualification provisions in the state laws must be removed.

6. The Social Security Act should be improved to raise old age and survivors' benefit payments to an adequate level of living requirements and to provide adequate protection against the hazards of long-term and temporary disability. A national health program should be adopted, including national

health insurance as part of the social security system and with full reservation of free choice of doctors and patients.

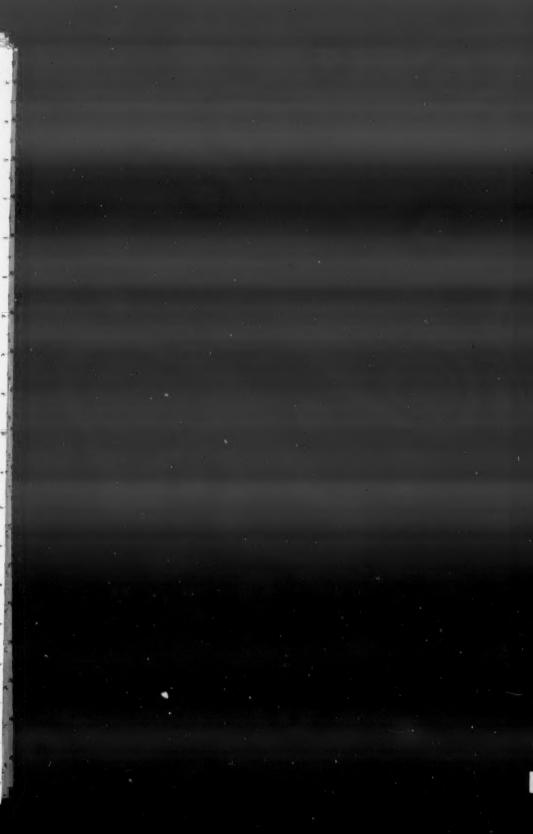
7. Two million new housing units a year should become the national housing goal. Interest rates on home loans must be reduced to meet the housing needs of families whose earnings are between \$3,000 to \$6,000 a year. A government program is required to stimulate the construction of new housing for middle income groups. Public housing construction should be substantially increased to provide adequate housing for low-income families.

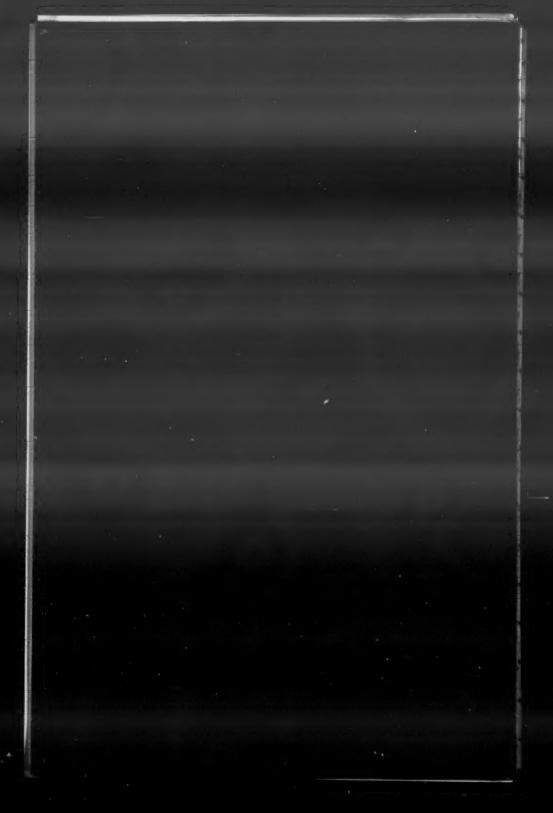
8. The continuing decline of farm income must be halted. Farm programs—such as price supports, conservation, low-cost credit and rural electrification and telephone service—should be improved to strengthen the income position of the family farmer, while making it possible to increase the consumption of agricultural products.

9. Low-interest loans, under liberal terms, are necessary to encourage business and farm investment, particularly for small businesses, as well as

to sustain high levels of residential construction.

In addition, the federal government must make a major contribution to economic growth by reducing the backlog of pressing public needs. Public services have been in a state of neglect for many years, despite the need for continuing improvements and expansion to meet the needs of a growing population. The sad state of our schools, hospitals and roads, as well as other public service facilities, indicates the urgent requirement for a vast program of improvement and growth. The federal government should start on a program of expanded federal aid to education, health facilities and roads, through direct federal programs, as well as grants and loans to states and local governments. Since many states have legal limits on the amount and type of borrowing, legislation should be adopted to enable the federal government to make special loans and grants to the states and local communities to get their much-needed programs under way. A public works program should be viewed as a continuing one, to keep the structure of society strong; in periods of economic decline, such programs should be accelerated without long delays.









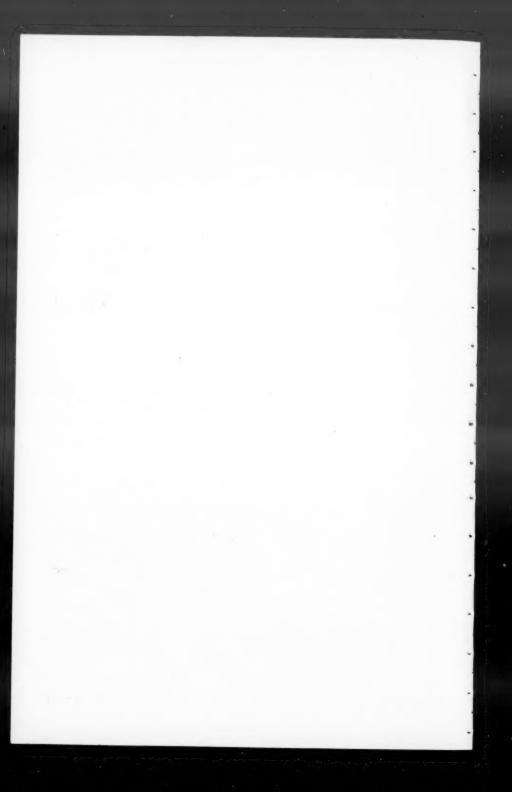
1955

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PROCEEDINGS

NEW YORK, N.Y., DECEMBER 5-6, 195

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS



REPORT of the





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AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS



AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL **ORGANIZATIONS**

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George Meany Walter P. Reuther Matthew Woll James B. Carev

George M. Harrison David J. McDonald Harry C. Bates William F. Schnitzler

DELEGATES

TO THE

First Constitutional Convention

American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations

Organizations	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	Names of Delegates
Actors and Artistes of America, Associated		6,799 6,799 6,799 6,798 6,798	Dullzell, Paul Shanks, H. O'Neill Somerset, Pat Bright, Jackie McKee, Alex
Agricultural Workers Union, National		3,713	Mitchell, H. L.
Air Line Dispatchers Association	1	₹ 609	Dunne, William B.
Air Line Pilots Association	8	2,920 2,920 2,920	Sayen, Clarence N. Beatley, C. E. Masland, W. M.
Aluminum Workers International Union	4	4,986 4,986 4,986 4,986	Stahl, Eddie R. Cowley, William L. Kelley, D. R. Mitchel, Claude R.
Asbestos Workers, International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and		{ 4,625 4,625	Sickles, C. W. Mulligan, Hugh E.
		50,390 50,390 50,390 50,390 50,390 50,390 50,390 50,390 50,390	Reuther, Walter P. Matthews, Norman Livingston, John W. Gosser, Richard Mazey, Emil Cote, Edward McCusker, Joseph McAulay, William Carter, Robert Woodcock, Leonard O'Malley, Patrick J.
Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, United		50,390 50,390 50,390 50,390 50,390 50,389	Ross, Raymond Ballard, Charles Berndt, Raymond H. Greathouse, Pat Letner, Russell Burt, George
		50,389 50,389 50,389 50,389 50,389 50,389 50,389 50,389	Gerber, Martin Kerrigan, Charles H. Kitzman, Harvey Merrelli, George Morris, Ken Robinson, Kenneth Bioletti, Charles Seaton, Norman B.
Automobile Workers of America, International Union, United	8	{ 24,443 24,443 24,448	Heaton, Earl Doria, Anthony Evans, Frank

ORGANIZATIONS	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	Names of Delegates
Bakery and Confectionery Workers Interna- tional Union of America	7	19,479 19,479 19,479 19,479 19,479 19,479 19,478	Winter, Herman E. Schnitzler, William F. Cross, James G. Sims, Curtis R. Landriscins, James Stuart, George Kralstein, Max
Barbers and Beauty Culturists Union of America	3	<pre>{ 1,001 1,001 1,001</pre>	Ernest, Herbert Moscowitz, Lilyan Freedman, Malvina
Barbers, Hairdressers and Cosmetologists' In- ternation Union of America, The Journey- men	6	10,834 10,834 10,833 10,833 10,833 10,833	Birthright, William C. Robinson, John B. Scafidi, Fred Crane, Charles T. Husk, George Sanders, E. M.
Bill Posters and Billers of America, Interna- tional Alliance of		{ 1,605	Noch, Michael
Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders, Black- smiths, Forgers and Helpers, International Brotherhood of	8	18,844 18,844 18,844 18,844 18,844 18,843 18,843	Calvin, William A. MacGowan, Charles J. Buckley, William J. Eberhardy, A. J. Nacey, Harry Nolan, George Pendergast, William G. Boggs, Maywood
Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of	8	$\left\{\begin{array}{c} 17,112\\17,112\\17,111\end{array}\right.$	Haskin, Robert E. Denny, Joseph Moran, Marion
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union	5	8,000 8,000 8,000 8,000 8,000	Mara, John J. Anderson, Frank W. Lawson, George W. Cory, Tom Goggin, Daniel J.
Brewery, Flour, Cereal, Soft Drink, and Dis- tillery Workers, International Union of United	6	$\left\{\begin{array}{c} 7,500\\ 7,500\\ 7,500\\ 7,500\\ 7,500\\ 7,500\\ 7,500\end{array}\right.$	Feller, Karl F. Rusch, Thomas Gildea, Arthur P. Watta, B. M. Dehner, John F. Person, Robert R.
Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers Interna- tional Union of America	6	$\left\{\begin{array}{c} 24,090\\ 24,090\\ 24,090\\ 24,089\\ 24,089\end{array}\right.$	Bates, Harry C. Murphy, John J. Conners, William R. Murphy, Thomas F. O'Donnell, Thomas H.
Brick and Clay Workers of America, The United	4	5,856 5,856 5,856 5,855	Flegal, H. R. Tracy, Wm. Duff, Nathan Santo, Carmine
Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, Interna- tional Association of	8	16,641 16,641 16,641 16,641 16,641 16,640 16,640	Lyons, J. H. Downes, J. R. Bauers, William F. Boyen, Joseph F. McCarthy, John L. Lyons, John H., Jr. McDonald, Thomas E. Rounds, Stanley
Broadcast Employees and Technicians, National Association of	8	<pre>{ 1,288 1,288 1,282</pre>	Rothery, Clifford F. Klumpp, Eugene Byers, Harold L.

Organizations	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	Names of Delegates
Building Service Employes International Union	8	25,659 25,659 25,659 25,659 25,659 25,658 25,658 25,658	McFetridge, William L. Fairchild, George E. Sullivan, David Collins, Walter D. Hardy, George Burke, Thomas Shortman, Thomas Hackman, Arthur
Carmen of America, Brotherhood Railway	6	19,334 19,334 19,334 19,334 19,333 19,333	Bernhardt, A. J. Burchfield, C. W. Duffin, Joseph L. Doll, E. C. Winters, J. F. Zloty, Steve
Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of	16	46,875 46,875 46,875 46,875 46,875 46,875 46,875 46,875 46,875 46,875 46,875 46,875 46,875 46,875 46,875	Hutcheson, M. A. Stevenson, John R. Blaier, O. Wm. Fischer, Albert E. Chapman, Frank Hanson, Charles W. Kenney, Ted Davis, Kenneth Johnson, Charles, Jr. Rajoppi, Raleigh Schwarzer, Harry Chandler, Henry W. Roberts, R. E. Cambiano, J. F. Cooper, Andrew V. Reiter, Carl
Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers Interna- tional Union, United	5	7,037 7,036 7,036 7,036 7,036	Jones, Felix C. Gallo, Toney Schoenberg, William Roe, Reuben Taub, Lawrence
Chemical Workers Union, International	7	11,350 11,350 11,350 11,350 11,349 11,349 11,349	Moffett, Edw. R. Shafer, Marshall Busby, A. Vincent Lewis, John E. McIlwain, Gordon Mitchell, Walter L. Donovan, Joseph J.
Cigarmakers' International Union of America	3	3,064 3,064 3,064	Azpeitia, Mario Campo, Ernest Haines, Sarah M.
Cleaning and Dye House Workers, International Association of	4	4,132 4,131 4,131 4,131	Gross, W. S. Zitello, John Minaden, M. J. Tusher, Morris
Clerks, National Federation of Post Office	6	16,242 16,242 16,242 16,242 16,242 16,242	George, Leo E. Hallbeck, E. C. Anderson, Rudolph D. Birchard, Percy W. Durand, Robert C. Oglesby, Clifford A.
Clerks, Brotherhood of Railway	10	26,423 26,423 26,423 26,423 26,422 26,422 26,422 26,422 26,422	Harrison, George M. Ziegler, Phil E. Sylvester, J. H. Goble, G. B. Morgan, Robert Snedden, L. B. Price, George O. Sullivan, Daniel J. Coleman, Walter T. Wysong, Charles W.

OBGANIZATIONS	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	Names of Delegates
Clerks, International Association, Retail	9	28,789 28,789 28,789 28,789 28,789 28,789 28,789 28,788 28,788 28,788	Suffridge, James A. Housewright, Vernon A. Sackett, Guy A. Shea, Frank C. Meyers, Samuel J. Crossler, Anthony B. Lafayette, Paul Hanson, Paul W. Ammond, Fred A.
Clothing Workers of America, Amalgamated	12	17,500 17,500 17,500 17,500 17,500 17,500 17,500 17,500 17,500 17,500 17,500	Potofsky, Jacob Rosenblum, Frank Blumberg, Hyman Chatman, Abraham Dickason, Gladys Genis, Sander La Capria, Vincent Block, Reuben Weinstein, Murray Salerno, Joseph Weinstein, Charles Brazier, Richard
Communications Workers of America	18	19,157 19,157 19,157 19,157 19,157 19,157 19,157 19,157 19,157 19,157 19,157 19,158	Beirne, J. A. Crull, John L. Hanscom, Mary Moran, J. J. Jones, A. T. Watts, Glenn Smallwood, W. A. Smith, W. G. Gill, George E. Smith, James Dreyer, Ray Knecht, Louis McCowen, D. L.
Coopers International Union of North America	1	{ 3,267	Doyle, James J.
Distillery, Rectifying and Wine Workers Inter- national Union	3	8,510 8,509 8,509	Oneto, George J. Autterson, Hobert Fontana, Alfred A.
Doll and Toy Workers of the United States and Canada	3	4,726 4,725 4,725	Damino, Harry O. Gordon, Milton Diana, Emanuel
Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, International Union of	. 13	20,860 20,860 20,860 20,860 20,860 20,860 20,860 20,859 20,859 20,859 20,859 20,859 20,859	Carey, James B. Hartnett, Al Block, Harry Kelley, Frederick Suarez, Jack Snoots, William Click, James Weihrauch, Milton Hockenberry, Ellis Hutson, Leonard Hutchens, George Kraft, E. J. Palmer, Alan
Electrical Workers, International Brotherhood	6	{ 76,707 76,706 76,706 76,706 76,706 76,706	Freeman, Gordon M. Keenan, Joseph D. Riley, Frank Dove, Horace Liggett, Joseph W. Paulsen, Charles M.
Elevator Constructors, International Union of	n . 8	{ 3,388 3,388 3,388	Smith, Edward A. Magee, Edwin C. Feeney, Jr., Frank

Organizations	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	Names of Delegates
Engineers, International Union of Operating	Ð	22,228 22,228 22,222 22,222 22,222 22,222 22,222 22,222 22,222 22,222	Maloney, Wm. E. Gramling, Chas. B. Delaney, Joseph J. Converse, Frank P. Swanson, Victor S. Stuhr, Wm. J. Wharton, Hunter P. Bronson, Ralph B. Weber, Peter
Engineers, American Federation of Technical	3	<pre>{ 3,387 3,386 3,386</pre>	Stephens, Russell M. Raimist, J. Lawrence Pratt, Foster J.
Engravers and Marking Device Workers Union, International Metal	1	₹ 400	Woelfel, Conrad
Engravers Union of North America, International Photo	4	8,900 3,900 3,900 3,900	Connell, Wilfrid T. Woll, Matthew Schmal, Henry F. Rehage, J. Arthur
Fire Fighters, International Association of	6	11,950 11,950 11,949 11,949 11,949 11,949	Redmond, John P. Richardson, George J. Barry, Howard P. Smith, Michael F. Beale, Robert McGuire, James
Firemen and Ollers, International Brotherhood of		9,449 9,449 9,448 9,448 9,448 9,448	Matz, Anthony E. Wright, George Tormey, Robert J. Kennedy, James Fredenberger, William E. Casselman, John
Flight Engineers' International Association	1	{ 1,385	Kent, William D.
Furniture Workers of America, United	6	5,749 5,749 5,748 5,748 5,748 5,748	Pizer, Morris Fulford, Fred De Cicco, Michael Stefan, Fred McCormick, Neil J. Buckner, Floyd
Garment Workers of America, United	5	8,000 8,000 8,000 8,000 8,000	McCurdy, Joseph P. Hogan, E. M. King, Madge Jordan, Emily Berkson, A.
Garment Workers Union, International Ladies'	11	34,794 34,794 34,794 34,794 34,794 34,794 34,794 34,794 34,794 34,794	Dubinsky, David Antonini, Luigi Nagler, Isidore Zimmerman, Charles S. Bresiaw, Joseph Bialis, Morris Otto, Samuel Stulberg, Louis Hochman, Julius Siems, Fred Bambace, Angela
Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada		9,396 9,396 9,396 9,396 9,395	Minton, Lee W. Dalton, Raymond H. Warren, J. Belton Ray, Wynema Giacobelli, James J.
Glass and Ceramic Workers of North America, United	6	6,828 6,823 6,823 6,823 6,823 6,822	Phares, Burl Beard, Leland Reiser, Ralph McCracken, Lewis Pelican, Willard Berger, Don

Organizations	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	Names of Delegates
Glass Cutters League of America, Window	1	{ 1,600	Boucher, Marcel R.
Glass Workers Union, American Flint	4	7,024 7,024 7,024 7,023	Cook, Harry H. Mangiopane, Bennie McMullen, William Scheff, Charles M.
Glove Workers Union of America, International	1	{ 2.833	Durian, Thomas
Government Employees, American Federation of		15,697 15,696 15,696	Campbell, James A. Kelly, Timothy J. Olding, Henrietta E.
Government and Civic Employees Organizing Committee	Б	5,464 5,463 5,463 5,463 5,463	Federoff, Anthony J. Murray, Milton Yancey, John L. Wagner, Martin Thomas, R. J.
Granite Cutters International Association of America, The		{ 4,000	Pagnano, Costanzo
Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers Interna- tional Union, United	5	6,400 6,400 6,400 6,400 6,400	Rose, Alex Lewis, Marx Hershkowitz, Samuel Zaritsky, Max Spector, Nathaniel
Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers Union of America, International	11	33,860 33,859 33,859 33,859 33,859 33,859 33,859 33,859 33,859 33,859	Moreschi, Jos. V. Morreale, Vincent F. Sullivan, Charles J. Sheet, Robert B. Lalor, Lee Fosco, Peter Garvey, John W. Graziano, Charles Waldron, Patrick Smith, Edgar F. Taylor, John
Horse Shoers of United States and Canada, International Union of Journeymen	1	{ 246	Miller, George C.
Hosiery Workers, American Federation of	4	8,750 3,750 3,750 3,750 3,750	McKeown, Alexander Janaskie, Andrew Held, Fred G. Banachowicz, Major
Hotel and Restaurant Employees' and Bar- tenders' International Union	8	87,500 37,500 37,500 87,500 87,500 87,500 87,500	Miller, Ed S. Weinberger, Jack Siegal, David Rogan, T. C. Sarricks, Lawrence H. Cooper, John L. Peterson, Ida M. Koenig, Louis
Insurance Agents International Union	4	3,136 3,136 3,136 3,136	Russ, George L. Shine, Max Heisel, Charles G. Pollack, Joseph
Insurance Workers of America	4	$ \left\{ \begin{array}{c} 2,184 \\ 2,184 \\ 2,183 \\ 2,183 \end{array} \right. $	Gillen, William A. Helfgott, Simon MacDermott, William S. Higginson, Arthur H.
Jewelry Workers Union, International	4	5,115 5,114 5,114 5,114	Morris, Joseph Powell, Hyman J. Barenboim, A. Herbert Spodick, Harry

Organizations	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	Names of Delegates
Lathers, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal	4	3,885 3,885 3,885 3,885	McSorley, William J. Mashburn, Lloyd A. Hagen, Harry J. Matthews, Walter
Laundry Workers International Union	6	12,040 12,040 12,040 12,039 12,039 12,039	Byers, Sam J. James, E. C. Naddeo, Charles Ballinger, Amy Chasmar, Winfield Gershman, Mischa
Leather Goods, Plastics and Novelty Workers Union, International		5,957 5,957 5,957 5,957 5,956	Walinsky, Ossip Zukowsky, Norman Lubliner, Philip Friss, Edward Wieselberg, Jack
Leather Workers International Union of America	2	{ 817 817	O'Keefe, Richard B. Duffy, Joseph A.
Letter Carriers, National Association of	6	16,667 16,667 16,667 16,667 16,666 16,666	Doherty, William C. Cahill, Peter J. Stocker, James C. Farrell, William F. Merritt, J. Byron Anderson, Henry
Lithographers of America, Amalgamated	5	$\left\{\begin{array}{c} 5.605\\ 5.605\\ 5.064\\ 5.604\\ 5.604\end{array}\right.$	Blackburn, John Mertz, Oliver Brown, Arthur W. Slater, Francis P. Grayson, Martin
Longshoremen — AFL, International Brother- hood of	3	$\left\{\begin{array}{c} 2,714\\ 2,713\\ 2,713\end{array}\right.$	Long, Larry Slaughter, E. L. Yeager, Frank
Machinists, International Association of Maintenance of Way Employes, Brotherhood of	. 8	41,794 41,794 41,794 41,794 41,794 41,793 41,793 41,793 41,793 41,793 41,793 41,793 41,793 11,793 11,793 11,793 11,793 11,793 11,793 11,793 11,793 11,793 11,793	Hayes, A. J. Peterson, Eric Walker, Elmer E. Coonely, Fred H. White, E. R. Dameron, William Snider, John Burrows, D. M. Carey, Thomas Melton, Earl Brown, Roy M. McBreen, J. L. Siemiller, P. L. McGlon, J. C. Schollie, Geo. P. Caroll, T. C. Shoemake, A. Wilson, J. P. Freccia, R. Padgett, H. L. Lambert, C. L. Bailey, R. L. Smith, C.
Sawyers, Tile and Marble Setters Helpers and Terrazso Helpers, International Association of	2	$ \left\{ \begin{array}{c} 3,000 \\ 3,000 \\ 5,391 \\ 5,391 \\ 5,391 \\ 5,391 \\ 5,391 \end{array} \right. $	McCarthy, William Conway, John J. Grogan, John J. Blood, Ross D. Pettis, Andrew A. Townsley, Joseph N. Williams, W. M., Jr.

Organizations	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	Names of Delegates
Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association, National	4	$\left\{\begin{array}{c} 2,146\\ 2,146\\ 2,146\\ 2,146\\ 2,145\end{array}\right.$	Daggett, H. L. La Barge, A. F. Edwards, William, Jr. Edwards, Robert C.
Maritime Union of America, National	6	6,089 6,089 6,089 6,089 6,088 6,088	Curran, Joseph Stone, Hedley M. Duffy, Adrian McDougali, John B. Federoff, Steve Ramos, Dave M.
Masters, Mates and Pilots, International Organization of	3	3,156 3,156 3,155	Atkins, C. T. Bishop, J. M. Lurvey, R. D.
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated	10	26,275 26,275 26,275 26,275 26,275 26,275 26,275 26,275 26,275 26,274	Jimerson, Earl W. Gorman, Patrick E. Lloyd, T. J. Belsky, Joseph Kelly, R. Emmet Muller, Karl Block, Max Hook, Maxvin W. Poole, Harry Wentz, Ray
Mechanics Educational Society of America	6	8,165 8,165 8,165 8,165 8,165 8,164	White, George Smith, Matthew Tarpley, Roy, Sr. Raymond, Jerry Kozma, James DeBella, James
Metal Workers International Association, Sheet		8,334 8,334 8,333 8,333 8,333 8,333	Byron, Robert Cronin, A. H. Bruns, C. D. Carlough, Edward Bonadio, Frank Ryan, James J.
Millers, American Federation of Grain	5	$\left\{\begin{array}{c} 6,531\\ 6,531\\ 6,531\\ 6,531\\ 6,531\end{array}\right.$	Ming, S. P. Schneider, H. A. Frazier, Marion C. Weiny, George D. Crane, N. D.
Molders and Foundry Workers Union of North America, International		11,160 11,159 11,159 11,159 11,159 11,159	Sample, Chester A. Maddox, Carl Collette, Levi Weise, Frank L. Scanlon, George Stein, Alphonse
Musicians, American Federation of	7	35,680 35,680 35,679 35,679 35,679 35,679 35,679	Petrillo, James C. Charette, Ed. Ringuis, Edward Field, Frank B. Sidell, Robert Bagley, Charles L. Davis, Hal C.
Newspaper Guild, American	5	$\left\{\begin{array}{c} 4,251\\ 4,251\\ 4,250\\ 4,250\\ 4,250\\ 4,250\end{array}\right.$	Collis, Joseph F. Murphy, Joseph P. Farson, William J. Rosenstock, Arthur Perlik, Charles A., Jr.
Office Employes International Union	3	<pre>{ 14,609 14,609 14,609</pre>	Coughlin, Howard Hicks, J. Howard Juliano, Nicholas

Organizations	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	Names of Delegates
Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Interna- tional Union	11	14,568 14,568 14,568 14,567 14,567 14,567 14,567 14,567 14,567 14,567	Knight, O. A. McCormick, T. M. Schafer, B. J. Appeibaum, Joseph Curran, J. T. Swisher, Elwood D. Dohaney, John F. Trombley, W. J. Davis, Raymond M. Ernst, Arthur Savage, Richard J.
Packinghouse Workers of America, United	9	13,060 13,060 13,060 13,059 13,059 13,059 13,059 13,059	Helstein, Ralph Hathaway, G. R. Stephens, A. T. Lasley, Russell Dowling, Fred LaRue, Burton Bull, Russell Thomas, George Hayes, Charles
Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, Brotherhood of	7	26,019 26,018 26,018 26,018 26,018 26,018 26,018	Raferty, Lawrence M. Rohrberg, William H. Yablonsky, Peter Owens, Frank Meehan, James Baker, Herbert Skoglund, Julius
Paper Makers, International Brotherhood of	6	9,957 9,957 9,956 9,953 9,956 9,956	Phillips, Paul L. Addy, Joseph Jones, John R. Bailey, John W. Brown, Al. E. Fisher, Mark
Paperworkers of America, United	6	6,667 6,667 6,667 6,667 6,667 6,667	Sayre, Harry D. Grasso, Frank Bridgwater, Charles Scott, Harry E. Vrataric, Nicholas Thoms, Donald
Pattern Makers League of North America	1	{ 11,000	Lynch, George Q.
Plasterers' and Cement Masons' International Association of the United States and Canada, Operative	6	10,066 10,066 10,066 10,065 10,065 10,065	Rooney, John E. Leonard, Edward J. Hauck, John J. Brennan, John J. Tantillo, Benedict McDevitt, James L.
Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry of the United States and Canada, United Associa- tion of Journeymen and Apprentices of the.	. 9	22,223 22,223 22,222 22,222 22,222 22,222 22,222 22,222 22,222 22,222 22,222	Murray, Gene Meany, George Schoemann, Peter T. Hillock, Edward J. McLaughlin, Wm. J. De Nike, Frank Murray, Thomas J. McHenry, Aloysius Goodwin, John E.
Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Helpers International Union, Metal	4	3,847 3,846 3,846 3,846	Muchlhoffer, Ray Oates, Dennis J. Weisler, Irving Scheuerman, Edward
Porters, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car	. 3	{ 3,334 3,333 3,333	Randolph, A. Philip Webster, Milton P. Dellums, C. L.
Post Office and Postal Transportation Servic Mail Handlers, Watchmen and Messengers National Association of	e . 1	{ 1,200	Carniato, Andrew W.

ORGANIZATIONS	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	Names of Delegates
Postal Transport Association, National	4	5,618 5,617 5,617 5,617	Thomas, Wm. Reilly, John L. Nagle, Paul A. Legge, W. J., Jr.
Potters, International Brotherhood of Operative	4	5,858 5,853 5,853 5,852	Hull, Frank Ansell, Lance Coberly, Ray Dales, C. Frank
Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers Union of North America, International Plate	1	{ 800	Brockwell, Harold D.
Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union of North America, International	7	12,496 12,496 12,495 12,495 12,495 12,495 12,495	Dunwody, Thomas E. Googe, George L. Maxted, F. W. De Andrade, Anthony J. Turner, Walter Torrence, Jack P. Rohan, A. J.
Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada, International Brotherhood of	8	19,219 19,219 19,219 19,219 19,219 19,218 19,218	Burke, John P. Meinz, Elmer P. Stewart, Charles E. Tonelli, Joseph Segal, Henry Clanciulli, Bernard Wray, Harriet Jackman, Chris
Radio and Television Directors Guild	1	{ 800	Burnett, Newman H.
Radio Association, American	2	{ 790 790	Smith, Bernard L. Steinberg, William J.
Railway Employes of America, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric	9	15,480 15,480 15,480 15,480 15,480 15,429 15,429 15,429	Spradling, A. L. Berrong, Sam B. Mastrian, Michael M. White, Louis R. Galasso, Vincent Shaughnessy, Frank L. McNamara, Daniel J. Mischo, O. J. White, Louis R.
Railway Patrolmen's International Union	1	{ 2,923	Macdonald, John V.
Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union.	9	10,782 10,782 10,782 10,782 10,781 10,781 10,781 10,781 10,781	Greenberg, Max Hangs, Alvin E. Paley, Jack Bail, Alex Osnian, Arthur Kovenetsky, Sam Livingston, David Sum, Julius Leone, Thomas
Roofers, Damp Waterproof Workers Associa-	4	<pre>{ 4,452 4,452 4,452 4,452</pre>	Aquadro, Charles D, Moore, Dean McConaty, John A. Vetter, Ben D.
Rubber, Cork, Linoleum and Plastic Workers of America, United	11	14,844 14,844 14,843 14,843 14,843 14,843 14,843 14,843 14,843 14,843	Buckmaster, L. S. Childs, Joseph W. Walker, Desmond Tools, Josh Lewis, G. L. Bowers, E. K. Hester, E. E. Allison, Norman Campos, Antone L. Garber, Robert E. Skiffington, John

OBGANIZATIONS 02 .	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	Names of Delegates
Seafarers International Union of North America	5	8,306 8,305 8,305 8,305 8,305	Lundeberg, Harry Hall, Paul Gomez, Andrea Fox, John M. Banks, Hal
Shoe Workers of America, United	7	7,321 7,321 7,321 7,321 7,321 7,320 7,320	Mitchell, James J. Taylor, Russell J. Bringle, James E. Pence, Emerson T. Griffin, John C. Goldstein, Meyer L. Morin, Harriet S.
Signalmen of America, Brotherhood Railroad	4	3,833 3,833 3,832 3,832	Clark, Jesse Fields, C. K. Howard, S. H. Hogan, John F.
Special Delivery Messengers, The National Association of	1	{ 2,000	Warfel, George L.
Stage Employes and Moving Pitcure Machine Operators of the United States and Canada, International Alliance of Theatrical		9,200 9,200 9,200 9,200 9,200 9,200	Walsh, Richard Holmden, Harland Green, Thomas V. McNabb, James Mungovan, Michael J.
State, County and Municipal Employees, American Federation of	7	14,142 14,142 14,142 14,142 14,141 14,141	Zander, Arnold S. Chapman, Gordon W. Morgan, Thomas E. Ruthenberg, Alvin H. McEntee, William J. Wurf, Jerry Mitten, Adrian L.
Steelworkers of America, United		32,654 32,654 32,654 32,655 32,655 32,655 32,653	McDonald, David J. Abel, I. W. Robb, James Hague, Howard R. Kojetinsky, A. J. Walsh, Martin J. Whitehouse, Al Ford, H. Charles McNichols, Joseph T. Bester, Earl T. Millard, Charles H. Nicholson, James C. Ohler, Berlin W. Atallah, Albert Farr, R. E. Burns, Martin Johns, John S. Germano, Joseph Shane, Thomas Griffin, James P. Murray, John F. Smith, Charles J. Nelles, Lorne H. Maurice, Eugene Graciar, John W. Medrick, George Burke, Walter J. Rusen, Paul Hough, Bert Newell, Cameron B.
Stereotypers and Electrotypers Union of North America, International	2	6,183 6,183	Buckley, Leo J. Farrenkopf, Frank
Stone and Allied Products Workers of America, United	4	$\left\{\begin{array}{c} 2,847 \\ 2,847 \\ 2,847 \\ 2,846 \end{array}\right.$	Scott, Sam H. Lawson, John C. Lowry, Lewis R. Dickens, Kenneth

Organizations	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	Names of Delegates
Stonecutters Association of North America, Journeymen	1	{ 1,900	De Pace, Frank
Stove Mounters International Union	8	<pre>{ 3,182 3,182 3,181</pre>	Lewis, Joseph Roberts, James M. Kaiser, Edw. W.
Switchmen's Union of North America	2	\$ 5,270 5,270	Fleete, William A. Collins, Daniel W.
Teachers, American Federation of	5 ,	8,000 8,000 8,000 8,000 8,000	Megel, Carl J. Elder, Arthur A. Borchardt, Selma M. Fewkes, John M. Roth, Herrick S.
Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America, International Brother- hood of	23	53,470 53,470 53,470 53,470 53,470 53,470 53,470 53,470 53,470 53,470 53,469	Beck, Dave English, John F. Biggers, John L. Lester, Robert Postma, Peter J. Bowen, B. I. Cleary, Joseph Hicks, William M. Steinberg, L. Clare, Raiph Thirion, Harold Harkin, Lewis Hoffa, James Mohn, Einar Griffin, William Lee, Wm. A. Williams, Roy Gibbons, Harold Anderson, Ernie San Soucie, Gene Saffo, Peter Pressler, Wm. Triscaro, Babe
Telegraphers, The Order of Railroad	2	{ 15,000 15,000	Leighty, G. E. Manion, E. J.
Telegraphers' Union, The Commercial Textile Workers of America, United	1	28,840 9,746 9,746 9,746 9,746 9,746	Allen, W. L. Valente, Anthony Klenert, Lloyd Jacobs, Joseph Sgambato, Frank Schaufenbil, Francis
Textile Workers Union of America	11	18,410 18,409 18,409 18,409 18,409 18,409 18,409 18,409 18,409 18,409	Rieve, Emil Chupka, John Belanger, R. J. William Pollock, William Payton, Boyd E. Stetin, Sol Cook, Wesley A. Daoust, Harold Rubenstein, Jack Williams, H. S. Gordon, William
Tobacco Workers International Union	3	. 8,889 8,889 8,889	O'Hare, John Blane, S. E. Petree, R. J.
Transport Service Employees of America, United	8	{ 1,000 1,000 1,000	Townsend, Willard S. Young, Al Weaver, George L-P

Organizations	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	Names of Delegates	
Transport Workers Union of America	f America 8 10,4 10,4 10,4 10,4 10,4 10,4 10,4 10,4		Faber, Gustav Guinan, Mathew Attreed, Eugene V. Sheehan, Frank O'Rourke, Paul Horst, James F.	
Typographical Union, International	7	11,142 11,142 11,142 11,142 11,141 11,141 11,141	Randolph, Woodruff Moriarty, J. Arthur Hathaway, Ernest M. Reilly, Wallace C. Hermann, Lewis M. Brigham, Fred H. Peth, Thomas	
Upholsterers' International Union of North	6	8,436 8,436 8,436 8,436 8,436 8,436	Hoffman, Sal B. Rota, Alfred R. Remshardt, Tony Bucher, George Albarino, R. Alvin Kohn, William	
Utility Workers Union of America	7	$\left\{\begin{array}{c} 7,551\\ 7,551\\ 7,551\\ 7,551\\ 7,551\\ 7,550\\ 7,550\\ 7,550\\ 7,550\end{array}\right.$	Fisher, Joseph A. Pachler, William J. Straub, Harold J. Munger, William R. McGrath, Patrick Watson, James T. Brown, Reginald	
Woodworkers of America, International	9	10,146 10,145 10,145 10,145 10,145 10,145 10,145 10,145	Hartung, A. F. Botkin, William Dicey, J. E. Nelson, Harvey R. Sullivan, Tim Johnson, Gordon Anderson, Arley Fadling, J. E. Gardiner, Howard	
Yardmasters of America, Railroad	2	{ 2,000 2,000	Schoch, Milton G. Meyer, W. Fred	

531 - 67,

DEPARTMENTS

Organizations	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	Names of Delegates
Building and Construction Trades Department	1	1	Gray, Richard J.
Maritime Trades Department	1	1	Weisberger, Morris
Metal Trades Department	1	1	Brownlow, James A.
Railroad Employes' Department	1	1	Fox, Michael
Union Label and Service Trades Department	1	1	Leheney, Raymond F.
STATE CENT	TRAL	BODIE	S
Alabama	1	1	Holley, P. G.
Alabama	1	- 1	Robertson, Cecil A.
Alaska	1	1	McFarland, R. E.
Arizona	1	1	Brown, Keene S.
Arizona	1	1	Dragon, Nicholas
Arkansas	1	1	McKimmey, Vernon E.
Arkansas	1	1	Ellison, George H.
California	1	1	Haggerty, C. J.
California	1	1	Dias, Manuel
Colorado	1	1	Van Portfliet, Frank G.
Colorado	1	1	Anderson, R. C.
Connecticut	1	1	Rourke, Joseph M.
Connecticut	1	1	Sviridoff, Mitchell
Delaware	1	1	Derrickson, Gene
Delaware	1	1	Colatriano, Charles
Florida	1	1	Roche, Frank G.
Florida	1	1	Walton, Howard D.
Georgia	1	1	King, F. H.
Georgia	1	1	Montague, W. H., Sr.
Idaho	1	1	McIntire, Elmer F.
Idaho	1	1	Beattie, Albert G.
Illinois	1	1	Soderstrom, Reuben G.
Illinois	1	1	McElligott, Maurice F.
Indiana	1	1	Mullen, Carl H.
Indiana	1	1	Sells, Dallas
Iowa	1	1	Mills, Ray
Iowa	1	1	Dale, Vernon
Kansas	1	1	Black, F. E.

Organizations	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES OF DELEGATES
Kansas	1	1	Yount, H. J.
Kentucky	1	1	Coke, Oscar J.
Kentucky	1	1	Billingsley, Wm. F.
Louisiana	1	1	Bourg, E. J.
Louisiana	1	1	Flory, K. G.
Maine	1	1	Dorsky, Benjamin J.
Maine	1	1	Jabar, George
Maryland-District of Columbia	1	1	Preller, Clement F.
Maryland	1	1	Windsor, Culver B.
Massachusetts	1	1	Kelley, Kenneth J.
Massachusetts	1	1	Camelio, Salvatore
Michigan	1	1	Thorpe, John H.
Michigan	1	1	Scholle, August
Minnesota	1	1	Sherburne, Neil C.
Minnesota	1	1	Jacobson, Rodney C.
Mississippi	1	1	Hines, W. L.
Mississippi	1	1	Hanna, J. B.
Missouri	1	1	Rollings, John I.
Missouri	1	1	Davis, James A.
Montana	1	1	Umber, James S.
Montana	1	1	Leary, James J.
Nebraska	1	1	Preble, Gordon C.
Nebraska	1	1	Stocker, J. H.
Nevada	1	1	Ryan, James G.
New Hampshire	1	1	Moriarty, Joseph
New Hampshire	1	1	Pitarys, Thomas
New Jersey	1	1	Marciante, Louis P.
New Jersey	1	1	Krebs, Paul
New Mexico	1	1	Roberts, W. S.
New York	1	1	Murray, Thomas A.
New York		1	Hollander, Louis
North Carolina	. 1	1	Barbee, W. M.
North Carolina		1	Holder, J. W.
Ohio		1	Hannah, Phil
Ohio		1	Clayman, Jacob
Oklahoma		1	Gillen, James A.

Organizations	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES OF DELEGATES
Oklahoma	1	1	Yarborough, Len
Oregon	1	1	Marr, James T.
Oregon	1	1	Brown, George
Pennsylvania	1	1	McDonough, Joseph A.
Pennsylvania	1	1	Boyer, Harry
Puerto Rico	1	1	Marcano, Hipolito
Rhode Island	1	1	Brown, Edwin C.
Rhode Island	1	1	Policastro, Thomas F.
South Carolina	1	1	Britton, Earle, R.
South Carolina	1	1	Knox, L. B.
South Dakota	1	1	Maag, Albert J.
l'ennessee	1	1	Smith, Stanton E.
Tennessee	1	1	Evans, Leonard
Texas	1	1	Holleman, Jerry R.
Texas	1	1	Schmidt, Fred
Utah	1	1	Turner, David S.
Utah	1	1	Konkle, Ormond
Vermont	1	1	St. Armour. C. E.
Vermont	1	1	Driscoll, Morris
Virginia	1	1	Welsted, I. C.
Virginia	1	1	Carper, Julian F.
Washington	1	1	Weston, E. M.
Washington	1	1	Slater, Harold
West Virginia	1	1	Carter, E. A.
West Virginia	1	1	Rusen, Paul
Wisconsin	1	1	Haberman, George A.
Wisconsin	1	1	Walter, Wilbert
Wyoming	1	1	Tucker, Frank E.
Wyoming	1	1	Krusee, E. S.
CENTRAL LA	BOR	UNION	S
Adrian, Mich	1	-1	Baker, Everrett
Akron, Ohio	1	- 1	Radabaugh, L. W. 163 fir V
Albany, N. Y.	1	1	Cerutti, Joseph P.
Albuquerque, New Mex	1	1	McCoy, J. B.
Alexandria, Arlington and Fairfax Counties,	1	1	Koehne, Herbert M.

ORGANIZATIONS	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES OF DELEGATES
Alton, Ill.	1	1	Blakely, James E.
Anchorage, Alaska	1	1	Groothmuis, Harold
Ann Arbor, Mich. (Washtenaw County)	1	1	Predmore, Wayne
Ashland County, Ohio	1	1	Hackett, Wade A.
Astoria, Oregon	1	1	McClure, M. J.
Atlanta, Ga	1	1	Moore, J. O.
Atlantic City, N. J	1	1	Moretti, John
Auburn, N. Y.	1	1	Maggio, Canio
Augusta, Ga	1	1	Rowe, W. A.
Baltimore, Md	1	1	Filbey, Francis S.
Barberton, Ohio	1	1	Whitman, Lewis
Barre, Vt	1.	1	Dykeman, Frederick
Baton Rouge, La	1	1	Conran, Robert I.
Bay City, Mich	1	1	Wolfgang, Myra K.
Beaver County, Pa	1	1	Russo, James J.
Bedford, Ind	1	1	Ashley, James
Belleville, Ill	1	1	Reichling, William P.
Benton Harbor, Mich	1	1	Knox, Taylor Marshall, Sr.
Bergen County, N. J	1	1	Seward, Arthur
Binghamton, N. Y	1	1	Quain, Maurice J.
Birmingham, Ala.	1	1	Medders, Johnny
Blair County, Pa	1	1	Lane, Thomas F.
Bloomington, Ind	1	1	Whitehaurst, Earl
Blue Island, Ill	1	1	Nielubowski, Robert A.
Boston, Mass	1	1	McCloskey, Stephen E.
Bridgeport, Conn	1	1	Regnery, Frank
Brockton, Mass	1	1	Brides, Henry
Bucks County, Pa	1	1	Rodgers, Henry J.
Buffalo, N. Y	1	1	Higgins, John J.
Butler, Pa	1	1	Sabel, Joseph H.
Calumet, Ill	1	1	Moenich, Joseph
Cambridge, Mass	1	1	Sullivan, Edward T.
Camden, N. J.	1	1	McComb, Joseph J.
Canton, Ohio	1	1	Pollock, Sam
Carbondale, Pa.	1	1	Fitch, Clyde O.
Centre County, Pa.		1	Fisher, Marlin M.

ORGANIZATIONS	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES OF DELEGATES
Charleston, W. Va. (Kanawha Valley)	1	1	Rebhan, Frank A.
Chattanooga, Tenn	1	1	Cuthbert, Brownie H.
Chehalis and Centralia, Wash	1	1	Bradley, A. A.
Chicago, Ill	1	1	Lee, William A.
Chicago Heights, Ill	1	1	Johnson, Jeff O.
Cincinnati, Ohio	1	1	Hurst, John J.
Clark, Skamania and West Klickitat Counties, Wash.	1	1	Smith, William R.
Clearfield County, Pa	1	1	Caldwell, Clifton C.
Cleveland, Ohio	1	1	Finegan, William
Clinton County, Pa	1	1	Beglar, Sam
Colorado Springs, Colo	1	1	Cavender, George A.
Columbus, Ind	1	1	Taylor, Wesley I.
Columbus, Ohio	1	1	Vesy, Albert D.
Contra Costa County, Calif	1	1	Cooper, Bernice
Council Bluffs, Iowa	1	1	Pardekooper, Martin
Dade County, Fla	1	1	Nuckols, Burton P.
Dallas, Tex.	1	1	Terrell, George
Danville, Ky	1	1	Bugher, Forrest
Dayton, Ohio	1	1	Breidenbach, John E.
Daytona Beach, Fla	1	1	Palmer, Bob
Decatur, Ala	1	1	McDuffie, W. W.
Delaware County, Pa	1	1	Mullen, Jack
Denver, Coloshati. V	1	1	Youngs, James R.
Des Moines, Iowada	1	1	Jeffries, Ben E.
Detroit, Mich. (Wayne County)	1	1	Gibson, James G.
Dover, N. J414	1	1	Butler, Robert S.
Duluth, Minn.	1	1	Olson, Robert A.
East Liverpool, Ohio	1	1	Duffy, Frank
Easton, Pa	1	1	Seifert, Stewart A.
East St. Louis, Iffisco incla-	1	1	Pirtle, Charles A.
Elgin, Ill	1	1	Ehlert, Glen
Elizabeth, N. J.	1	1	Cushing, George F.
Elyria, Ohio	1	1	Herman, Wayne
Erie, Pa.	1	1	Ricci, Michael
Escanaba, Mich.	1	1	Allingham, R. Earle

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Votes of each Delegate	Names of Delegates
Evansville, Ind	1	Soucie, John G.
Five Counties, Calif 1	1	Gilleran, Frank
Flint, Mich	1	Clark, Gilbert
Fort Wayne, Ind 1	1	Kepler, Wayne
Fresno, Calif 1	1	O'Rear, W. T.
Galesburg, Ill 1	1	Moon, William H.
Geneva, N. Y 1	1	Brennan, Henry S.
Gibson County, Ind 1	1	Harpe, Ralph
Grand Island, Nebr 1	1	Mundy, Leonard
Grand Rapids, Mich 1	1	Amsterburg, Robert J.
Grundy County, Ill 1	1	King, John
Hagerstown, Md 1	1	Lushbaugh, Lester
Harrisburg, Pa 1	1	Kline, Alan E.
Hartford, Conn 1	1	Scott, William
Honolulu, T. H 1	1	Reile, A. S.
Hopkinsville, Ky 1	1	Ezelle, Sam
Houston, Texas 1	1	Coward, N. E.
Hudson County, N. J 1	1	Quinn, Joseph G.
Indianapolis, Ind 1	1	Roberts, Jacob R.
Jackson County, Mich I	1	French, Charles
Jackson, Miss	1	Ross, Holt
Jackson, Tenn	1	McLemore, E. Brooks
Jamestown, N. Y 1	1	Ritzo, George T.
Jasper, Ala	1	Barnett, E. J.
Jefferson City, Mo 1	1	Howser, Victor
Johnson City, Tenn 1	1	Houk, Charles M.
Johnstown, Pa 1	1	Arcurie, Frank
Joliet, Ill. (Will County) 1	1	Miller, S. P.
Juneau, Alaska I	1	McFarland B F
Kalamazoo, Mich 1	1	Bailey, Florence
Kansas City, Kans	1	Harrison, Geo. J.
Kansas City, Mo 1	1	Raymond, Hugh L.
Kenosha, Wis	1	Whiteside, Paul
Kenton and Campbell Counties, Ky 1	1	Koester, William B.
Keokuk, Iowa 1	1	Weiny, Vivian
Klamath Falls, Oregon 1	1	Sweetman, Alma

ORGANIZATIONS	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each	Delegate	Names of Delegates
Knoxville, Tenn.	1		1	Comer, Fred F.
Lake Charles, La	1		1	Prater, M. L.
Lake County, Colo	1		1	Bell, Charles J.
Lake County, Ind	1		1	Schutz, Fred F.
Lancaster, Ohio	1		1	Freeman, Henry
Lansing, Mich.	1		1	Borst, Tom
Laramie, Wyo	1		1	Walter, W. J.
Lawrence, Mass	1		1	Callahan, John A.
Lawrence County, Pa	1		1	Davis, Richard C.
Leavenworth, Kans	1		1	Townsend, George
Lebanon County, Pa	1		1	McCarten, George
Lexington, Ky	1		1	Gregg, Turner W.
Livingston, Mont	1		1	Collins, John D.
Long Beach, Calif	1		1	Brown, Edward L.
Longview, Tex	1		1	Johnson, A. R.
Lorain City, Ohio	1		1	Scheid, Richard
Los Angeles, Calif	1		1	Bassett, W. J.
Louisville, Ky.	1		1	Blume, Norbert
Lowell, Mass.	1		1	Le Bow, Sidney E.
Lynn, Mass.	1		1	Donovan, John F.
McKeesport, Pa	1		1	Hagarty, Nicholas J.
Macomb County, Mich	1		1	Carver, K. Jack
Macon, Ga	1		1	Pate, J. B. Kanana &
Madison, Wis	1		1	Huffman, Richard H.
Malden, Mass	1		1	Regan, John J.
Manchester, N. H.	1		1	Martel, Louis I.
Marysville, Calif.	1		1	Weakley, Ronald T.
Memphis, Tenn.	1		1	Gorman, John R.
Meriden, Conn	1		1	Depnolo, Joseph N.
Michigan City, Ind.	1		1	Maddocks, William
Middletown, Ohio	1		1	Lukens, Robert M.
Milwaukee, Wis.	1		1	Friedrick, J. F.
Minneapolis, Minn.	1		1	Crammond, Walter R.
Mobile, Ala.	1		1	Griffin, Carl E.
Modesto, Calif	1		1	Green, C. Al.
Monroe, La	1		1 .	Kreger, Fred

Organizations C Z O	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES OF DELEGATES
Monterey Peninsula, Calif 1	1	Wilson, George J.
Montgomery, Ala 1	1	Williams, Ted
Moses Lake, Wash 1	1	Gibson, Harold J.
Muncie, Ind	1	McMahan, George
Munising, Mich 1	1	Wilderspin, Charles
Muscatine, Iowa 1	1	Bayers, Gerald L.
Muskegon County, Mich 1	1	Pierce, Arthur M.
Nassau and Suffolk Counties, N. J 1	1	MacGregor, Robert W.
Newark, N. J. (Essex Trades) 1	1	Fuchs, Morris
Newark, Ohio 1	1	Muhleman, Forest R.
New Bedford, Mass 1	1	Vertente, John, Jr.
New Britain, Conn 1	1	O'Brien, Francis W.
New Brunswick, N. J 1	1	Hallenbeck, Edwin F.
New Orleans, La	1	Soule, Robert L.
Newport, R. I 1	1	Fournier, Albert
New York, N. Y 1	1	Quinn, James C.
Niagara Falls, N. Y 1	1	Jordan, Harry S.
Norfolk, Va 1	1	Paul, C. H.
North Platte, Nebr 1	1	Atwood, Fern
Northumberland County, Pa 1	1	Miller, Edward H.
Oakland, Calif 1	1	Ash, Robert S.
Onk Ridge, Tenn	1	Sylvia, Theodore M.
Oklahoma City, Okla 1	1	Held, John K.
Olean, N. Y 1	1	Myrick, Osborn
Omaha, Nebr 1	1	Silhasek, Joseph
Orange County, Calif 1	1	Hull, Wayne J.
Oregon City, Oregon 1	1	Sweet, Gertrude
Oswego, N. Y	1	Rose, Martin
Ottumwa, Iowa 1	1	Baum, Earl J.
Paducah, Ky	1	Kerth, O. L.
Pasadena, Calif 1	1	De Silva, Joseph T.
Pasco-Kennewick, Wash	1	Loiseau, Lionel
Passaie County, N. J 1	1	Maso, Sal
Pawtucket, R. I 1	1	Carey, Hope V.
Peoria, Ill 1	1	Rimington, Anna C.
Perth Amboy, N. J 1	1	Soltes, John

Organizations	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	Names of Delegates
Petaluma, Calif	1	1	Thornton, Sylvan
Petersburg-Hopewell, Va	1	1	Butler, John R.
Pittsburgh, Pa	1	1	Feigel, John A.
Philadelphia, Pa	1	1	Blumberg, Norman
Phoenix, Ariz	1	1	Sebestyen, George S.
Polk County, Fla	1	1	Hunley, Noel R.
Pomona Valley, Calif	1	1	Hyans, Curtis J.
Pontine-Oakland, Mich	1	1	Cover, Alex
Port Huron, Mich	1	1	Delaney, Raymond A.
Portland, Maine	1	1	Howe, Horace E.
Portland, Oregon	1	1	Anderson, Gust
Portsmouth, N. H	1	1	Sheehan, Thomas E.
Poughkeepsie, N. Y	1	1	Sorenson, William
Providence, R. I	1	1	Di Sano, Salvatore
Quincy, Ill.	1	1	Trine, Oscar
Quincy, Mass	1	1	Wipfler, John
Reading and Berks County, Pa	1	1	Haletsky, John T.
Renton, Wash	1	1	McDonald, Jack
Richmond, Ind	1	1	Dean, William E.
Richmond, Va	1	1	Boyd, Harold
Riverside, Calif	1	1	Williams, Sam K.
Roanoke, Va	1	1	Myers, R. E.
Rochester, N. Y	1	1	Burke, James L.
Sacramento, Calif	1	1	Finks, Harry
Saginaw, Mich	1	1	McIlvain, G. N.
St. Helens, Oregon	1	1	Hill. Roy C.
St. Joseph, Mo	1	1	Welsh, Warren S.
St. Louis, Mo	1	1	Webb, William A.
st. Paul, Minn. Jak.	1	1	Schleifer, Frank J.
Salem County, N. J.	1	1	Schachter, Leon B.
Salem, Oregon	1	1	Egan, L. E.
Salisbury, Md. (Del-Mar-Va. Peninsula)	1	1	Cohen, Harry
Salt Lake City, Utah	1	1	Evans, Don R.
San Antonio, Texas	1	1	Tyler, Julia
San Bernardino, Calif	1	1	Howard, J. W.
San Diego County, Calif	1	1	Quimby, John W.

Organizations	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES OF DELEGATES
San Mateo, Calif	1	1	Ballerini, Anthony
Sandusky, Ohio	1	1	Kistler, Forrest
San Francisco, Calif	1	1	Johns, George W.
San Pedro-Wilmington, Calif	1	1	Seltzer, Richard J.
San Rafael, Calif	1	1	Rotel, Thomas A.
Santa Monica, Calif	1	1	Pitts, Thomas L.
Savannah, Ga	1	1	Cain, John Wesley
Schenectady, N. Y	1	. 1	Carmichael, Richard J.
Scranton, Pa	1	1	Downes, Joseph L.
Seattle, Wash	1	1	Carr, Harry L.
Sedalia, Mo	1	1	Bowles, Otto
Shreveport, La	1	1	Bussie, Victor
South Bend, Ind	1	1	Barders, Tex. W.
South Chicago, Ill	1	1	Doyle, Frank E.
Springfield, Ill	1	1	Bonansinga, Sam
Springfield, Mass	1	1	Surprenant, Roy J.
Springfield, Mo	1	1	Cline, J. Frank
Stamford, Conn	1	1	Friend, George M.
Syracuse, N. Y	1	1	Ferrante, Nicholas
Texas City, Texas	1	1	Le Unes, G. J.
The Dalles, Oregon	1	1	Scanlon, Thomas L.
Fillamook, Oregon	1	1	Howard, William H.
Coledo, Ohio	1	1	Fischer, Frank
Copeka, Kans	1	1	Robinson, H. V.
Frenton, N. J.	1	1	Dunn, Thomas J.
Frumbull County, Ohio	1	1	La Polla, Ruth M.
Cucson, Aris	1	1	Darland, Fara
Fulsa, Okla	1	1	Vinall, R. P.
Jrbana-Champaign, Ill	1	1	James, Clifford H.
Jtica, N. Y	1	1	De Perno, R. J.
Ventura, Calif	1	1	Cowan, Walter
/incennes, Ind	1	1	Reed, Walter
Visalia, Calif. (Tulare Co.)	1	1	Hyans, C. J. Curt
Washington, D. C	1	1	McGuigan, F. H.
Waterbury, Conn.	1	1	Collins, Timothy M.
Watertown, N. Y	1	1	Cunningham, F. Roger

Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	Names of Delegates
1	1	Davis, John R.
1	1	Dunlap, Cecil
1	1	Stauder, Lewis
1	1	Malcolm, W. W.
1	1	Matheson, Min Lurye
1	1	La Pointe, Emmet F.
1	1	Burns, Don H.
1	1	Green, Leo B.
1	1	Saltus, Alfred A.
1	1	Harrelson, Frank
1	1	Peterson, Paul M.
1	- 1	Hopkins, David J.
1	1	Bishop, Charles G.
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LOCAL INDUSTRIAL UNION COUNCILS

Bessemer, Ala	1	1	McGinnis, F. C.
Birmingham, Ala	1	1	Stafford, Donald D.
Gadaden, Ala. 21	1	1	Elkins, E. R.
Huntsville, Alat	1	1	Hoffman, Frank N.
Mobile, Ala.	1	1	Schermer, Lillian F.
Montgomery County, Ala	1	1	Battles, James W.
Tuscaloosa County, Ala	1	1	Haigler, Carey E.
Fort Smith, Ark.	1	1	Ellison, George
Greater Alameda County; Calif	1	1	Drury, James
Contra Costa, Calif	1	1	Angelo, Joseph
Los Angeles, Calif	1	1 -	Lunceford, Albert T.
San Diego, Calif.	1	1	Curry, James H.
San Francisco, Calif	1	1	Hellender, Arthur
Denver, Colo	1	1	Pieper, Fred C.
Bridgeport, Conn	1	1 :	Lavery, Edward J.
Bristol, Conn			
Hartford, Conn.	1	1	McQuiggan, Roger
Greater Naugatuck, Conn	1	1 .	Mengacci, Raymond
New Haven, Conn	1	1 .	Stapleton, William
Stamford, Conn	1	1	Phelps, E. E.
Greater Waterbury, Conn	1	1	Belsky, Herman

N S S S S S S S S S S S S S S S S S S S	No. of Votes of each Delegate	Names of Delegates
District of Columbia, Washington, D. C 1	1	Monaghan, John L.
Duval County, Fla 1	1.	Gillman, C. H.
Atlanta, Ga	1	Lester, Jesse
Cook County, Ill	- 1	Smith, Ellsworth M.
Four Counties, Ill 1	1	Grogg, Sam L.
Lake County, Ill 1	1	Pearson, Harvey
LaSalle County, Ill 1	1	Bollard, Robert D.
Peoria, Ill 1	1	Watson, Peter J.
Rockford, Ill	1	Foss, Robert
St. Clair County, Ill 1	1.	Cox, Val
Springfield, Ill 1	1	England, Frank
Tri-City, Ill	1	McBride, Lloyd
Will County, Ill	1	Mlakar, Frank
DeKalb County, Ind 1	1	Daniel, Franz E.
Delaware County, Ind	1	Wells, John
Elkhart County, Ind	1	Nitka, Clement
Evansville, Ind	1	Pearce, Charles
Fayette County, Ind 1	1	Jones, George P.
Fort Wayne, Ind	1	Newer, Roy
Howard County, Ind 1	1	Bedell, Daniel S.
Indianapolis, Ind	1	Smith, Timothy
Lake County, Ind 1	1	Truchan, John
Lawrence County, Ind 1	1	Bartee, John
Madison County, Ind 1	1	Goehring, Harold J.
New Castle, Ind	1	Noel, Harlan J.
St. Joseph County, Ind	1	Ladd, Stanley
Twin Counties, Ind	1	Hutton, Carol M.
Vigo County, Ind 1	1	Broshears, James R.
Wayne County, Ind 1	1	Fritzmeier, Richard G.
Black Hawk County, Iowa 1	1	Dahl, Carl
Cedar Rapids, Iowa 1	1	Henry, Henry J.
Cerro Gordo, Iowa 1	1	Cronin, Frank
Des Moines, Iowa 1	1	Booth, Harry
Dubuque County, Iowa	1	Eakovitz, Rudolph
Ottumwa, Iowa 1	1	Henry, Ben
Sioux City, Iowa 1	1	Owens, Edris H.

Organizations	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	Names of Delegates
Webster County, Iowa	1	1	Leonard, Richard T.
Topeka, Kans	1	1	Murphy, Willard
Wichita, Kans	1	1	Taylor, James E.
Boyd and Greenup Counties, Ky	1	1	Siebert, Henry
Louisville, Ky	1	1	Cornett, Emil
Paducah Area, Ky	1	1	Christopher, Paul R.
Central Maryland IUC, Md.	1	1	Brayton, Glenn R.
Greater Boston, Mass	1	1	Horan, John J.
Greater Lawrence, Mass	1	1	Arivella, Ralph D.
Greater New Bedford, Mass	1	1	Carignan, George E.
Lynn, Mass	1	1	Fuller, James E.
Western Massachusetts, Mass	1	1	Greenberg, Herman
Worcester, Mass	1	1	Lavin, James B.
Bay County, Mich	1	1	McCreedy, Herbert T.
Cadillac County, Mich	1	1	Barbour, Al
Calhoun County, Mich	1	1	Morgan, James A.
Dickinson County, Mich	1	1	Scouthwell, Henry
Grand Traverse, Mich	1	1	Rogers, Charles A.
Greater Detroit and Wayne, Mich	1	1	Novak, Mike
Greater Flint, Mich	1	1	Finnin, Lawrence J.
Gogebie County, Mich	1	1	Zonarich, N. A.
Greater Ingham County, Mich	1	1	Tubbs, Elton E.
Jackson County, Mich	1	1	Reuther, Victor G.
Kalamazoo, Mich	1	1	Jackson, Clarence A.
Kent County, Mich.	1	1	Peterson, Florence
Lenawee County, Mich.	1	1	Conway, Jack T.
Macomb County, Mich	1	1	Hopkins, Barney
Marquette County, Mich:	1	1	Chatak, Smoile
Monroe County, Mich.	1	1	Baker, George E.
Pontiae and Oakland, Mich.	1	1	Haggard, Fred V.
Port Cities, Mich	1	1	Sexton, Brendon
Saginaw District, Mich	1	1	Jasper, John T.
St. Clair County, Mich.	1	1	Gettlinger, Larry
Sturgis and St. Joseph Counties, Mich	1	1	Carr, Lyle
Washtenaw County, Mich	1	1	Reuther, Roy L.
Duluth, Minn.	1	. 1	Hockin, Stewart M.

AREA . LECORGANIZATIONS	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES OF DELEGATES
Hennepin County, Minn	1	1	Bryant, John C.
Iron Range; Minn.	1	1	Krmpotich, Nick
St. Paul, Mimn	1	1	Rafferty, Charles
Greater Kansas City, Mo	1	1	Capell, John R., Jr.
St. Joseph, Mo	1	1	Lewis, William
St. Louis, Mo	1	1	Ehrhardt, Oscar A.
Lincoln, Neb.	1	1	Starnes, D. W.
Omaha-Council Bluffs, Neb	1	1.	Garst, Delmond
Bergen County, N. J	1	1	Donovan, Jeremiah
Burlington County, N. J	1	1	Sternotti, Ernest
Central Jersey, N. J	1	1	Kovacs, Charles
Essex-W. Hudson Counties, N. J	1	1	Caldwell, Hugh
Hudson County, N. J	1	. 1	Feola, Nicholas L.
Middlesex County, N. J	1	1	Toth, Ernest J.
Passaic County, N. J	1	1	Frawley, Christopher J.
South Jersey, N. J.	1	1	Meloni, Frank E.
Union County, N. J	1	1	Trice, James
Greater Buffalo, N. Y	1	1	Miller, James
Dunkirk Area, N. Y	1	1	Hart, William J.
Finger Lakes, N. Y	1	1	Maurillo, John J.
Jamestown Area, N. Y	1	1	Olfano, Samuel
New York City, N. Y	1	1	Iushewitz, Morris
Nassau and Suffolk Counties, N. Y	1	1	Lindahl, Emil G.
Niagara County, N. Y	1	1	Hilger, William S.
Oswego County, N. Y	1	1	Lovas, Joseph
Rochester, N. Y.	1	1	Cooper, John H.
Schenectady Area, N. Y	1	1	Morreale, Sandy
Greater Syracuse, N. Y	1	1	Ewaniszyk, John
Troy Area, N. Y	1	1	Killian, Joseph C.
Upper Hudson Area, N. Y	1	1	Cohen, Sy
Greater Utica, N. Y	1	1	Molony, Joseph P.
Westchester, N. Y.	1	1	Riddett, Wilbur
Mecklenburg County, N. C	1	1	Graham, John R.
Akron, Ohio	1	1	Dugan, Leo E.
Alliance, Ohio	1	1	McCaulley, R. J.
Ashtabula County, Ohio	1	1	Saverice, Fred

Organizations	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	Names of Delegates
Barberton, Ohio	1	1	Smethurst, Walter
Butler, Ohio	1	1	Vechazone, John G.
Greater Cincinnati, Ohio	1	1	Hellkamp, Edward B.
Cleveland, Ohio	1	1	Detirich, Ellwood S.
Columbiana, Ohio	1	_ 1	Camens, Sam
Franklin County, Ohio	1	1	Mayfield, Harry E.
Licking County, Ohio	1	1	Cory, Charles L.
Lima Regional, Ohio	1	1	Winkeljohn, Harry
Lorain County, Ohio	1	1	Balogh, Eugene
Mahoning County, Ohio	1	. 1	Shipka, Albert
Marion County, Ohio	1	1	Burke, John
Masillon, Ohio	1	1	Green, John
Miami, Shelby, Darke Counties, Ohio	1	1	Fagan, Arthur
Montgomery County, Ohio	1	1	Kreutzer, Joseph
Muskingum County, Ohio	1	1	Turner, George
Portage County, Ohio	1	1	Kemmery, Marie
Portsmouth, Ohio	1	1	Staiger, Wm. R.
Richland, Ohio	1	1	Young, James L.
Sandusky, Ohio	1	1	Kroll, Jack
Sandusky-Ottawa, Ohio	1	1	Lopez, Alfred
Stark County, Ohio	1	1	Wycoff, W. E.
Toledo, Ohio	1	1	Rediger, Howard H.
Tri-County, Ohio	1	1	Knapp, Harold E.
Trumbull County, Ohio	1	1	Dively, Henry A.
Washington County, Ohio	1	1	Lavelle, William V.
Oklahoma City, Okla	1	1	L'Hoste, L. A.
Tulsa, Okla	1	1	Rackleff, R. H.
Portland, Oregon	1	1	Brost, John M.
Allegheny Valley, Pa	1	1	Haser, John
Armstrong County, Pa	1	1	McCabe, Francis
Beaver County, Pa	1	1	Sesti, Sam
Berks County, Pa	1	1	Haas, Edward F.
Blair County, Pa	1	1	Shamas, A. C.
Bucks County, Pa	1	1	Flatch, Frank F.
Butler County, Pa	1	1	Petrak, Michael A.
Chester County, Pa	1	1	Reach, Michael

Organizations	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES OF DELEGATES
Clearfield Centre County, Pa	1	1	Maietta, Julia L.
Crawford County, Pa	1	1	Ewing, William R.
Delaware County, Pa	1.	1	Roberts, William R.
Erie, Pa	1	1	Jenkins, L. H.
Harrisburg Region, Pa	1	1	Carcella, Hugh
Greater Johnstown, Pa	1	1	Thomas, Russell
Greensburg Area, Pa	1	1	Rhea, Dick W.
Lancaster County, Pa	1	1	Medrick, Charles
Lawrence County, Pa	1	1	Barberio, George T.
Lebanon County, Pa	1	1	Englebach, Charles A.
Lehigh County, Pa	1	1	Nejmeh, George
Lycoming County, Pa	1	1	Pesotine, Joseph W.
Mifflin County, Pa	1	1	Bailey, Joseph W.
Monongahela Valley, Pa	1	1	Lasick, Frank
Montgomery County, Pa	1	1	Quarry, John S., Sr.
Northampton, Pa	1	1	Moran, William
Northumberland, Montour & Snyder Co., Pa	1	1	Bittler, Carl
Philadelphia, Pa	1	1	Kelley, Joseph T.
Scranton-Lackawanna, Pa.	1	1	Patrick, Genevieve
Shenango County, Pa	1	1	Nicholson, William C.
Steel City, Pa.	1	1	Federoff, Anthony J.
Tarentum District, Pa	1	1	Schults, Casmier F.
Venango County, Pa	1	1	Atwell, Ross L.
Wilkes-Barre Area, Pa	1	1	Merolla, Dominic
York County, Pa	1	1	Harris, Lloyd B.
Greater Charleston, S. C	1	1	Starnes, R. E.
Chattanooga, Tenn	1	1	Frazier, W. B.
Knoxville, Tenn.	1	1	Derrick, Reece
Memphis, Tenn	1	1	Crawder, Earl A.
Nashville, Tenn.	1	1	Ellis, Victor
Bexar County, Texas	1	1	Ellinger, W. Don
Dallas Area, Texas	1	1	Hardesty, A. R.
Houston Area, Texas	1	1	McCarty, Frank
Sabine Area, Texas	1	1	Goldberg, Arthur J.
Blue Ridge, Va	1	1	Switzer, Silas
Richmond, Va	1	1	Binford, Wm. M.

Organizations	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES OF DELEGATES
Roanoke, Va	1	1	Keen, Paul S.
Tidewater, Va	1	1	Pendleton, James A.
Grays Harbor, Wash	1	1	Wickre, Julius
Seattle-King Counties, Wash	1	1	DeShetler, Irwin L.
Spokane County, Wash	1	1	Nimz, Earl
Tacoms, Wash	1	1	Glenn, John M.
Cabell County, W. Virginia	1	1	Garner, George L.
Harrison County, W. Virginia	1	1	DeNucci, George
Kanawha County, W. Virginia	1	1	Stanley, Miles C.
Wheeling Region, W. Virginia	1	1	Bussa, Homer
Chippewa Valley, Wis	1	1	Rettinger, George
Dane County, Wis	1	1	Haywood, Albert
Fond du Lac, Wis	1	. 1	Stamey, Leon
Kenosha County, Wis	1	- 1	Maxin, Michael
La Crosse County, Wis	1	1	Davidson, Robert J.
Milwaukee County, Wis	1	1	Erchul, Fred A.
Racine County, Wis	1	1	Norman, Loren
Rock County, Wis	1	1	Michel, F. J.
Sheboygan County, Wis	1	1	Graskamp, Allan
Waukasha County, Wis	1	1	Kraus, Eugene
Winnebago County, Wis	1	1	Lamotte, Leo
LOCAL	UNI	ONS	
14712, Philadelphia, Pa	1	25	Borman, J.
15293, New York, N. Y	1	30	Wolpert, William
16303, New York, N. Y	1	914	Varrone, Anthony
18032, New York, N. Y	1	449	Weintraub, Milton
18195, Scranton, Pa	1	391	Milberger, Helen G.
18205, New York, N. Y	1	409	Lufrano, Louis
18267, Cleveland, Ohio	1	541	Kozak, Andrew
18377, Brockton, Mass.	1	258	Lavigne, Francis E.
18456, Kenosha, Wis.	1	2,468	Colby, Howard
18527, Chicago, Ill.	1	2,466	
			Disselhorst, Lewis Earl
18558, La Crosse, Wis.	1	1,688	Ferris, Darrel
18579, Rochester, N. Y	1	600	Stockmaster, Erwin

Organizations	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	Names of Delegates
18671, Cleveland, Ohio	1	233	McCourt, William R.
18887, Philadelphia, Pa	1	1,947	Dever, Alex I.
8919, Hartford, Conn	1	578	Camarco, Rido
9322, Kenosha, Wis	1	1,111	Madison, John H.
19340, Milwaukee, Wis	1	343	Norbeck, W. J.
19469, Chicopee Falls, Mass	1	659	Ricardi, Nello P.
19635, Muskegon, Mich	1	695	Hansen, Ove Harry
9806, Milwaukee, Wis	1	4,868	Le Clair, Wilbur
9981, Bellfonte, Pa	1	955	Dolan, Harold
19985, Kenosha, Wis	1	107	Ruffolo, Anthony
20037, Crockett, Calif	1	1,216	Cooper, Charles Francis
20186, Barberton, Ohio	1	2,805	Sepelak, George F.
20311 (521 votes), 24768 (77 votes), Dayton, Ohio	1	598	Butts, Robert A.
20467, Chicago, Ill	1	613	Dorfman, Paul J.
20499, New York, N. Y	1	674	Daubman, Robert
20538, Auburn, N. Y	1	441	Tuleya, Anna
20567, Malden, Mass	1	271	Bishop, Thomas F.
20572, Toledo, Ohio	1	482	Tucker, Earl
20582, Springfield, Mass	1	140	Maciolek, Michael
20665, Baltimore, Md	1	106	Johns, Edward H.
20711, St. Louis, Mo	1	16	Rubin, Maury E.
20890, Geneva, N. Y	1	263	Amidon, Theodore
20909, Rochester, N. Y	1	168	Harber, Elwood
21108, Hagerstown, Md	1	306	Norris, James
21479, (230 votes) 21480, (205 votes) Toronto, Ont., Can	1	435	Federman, Max
21481, (59 votes) Toronto, Ont., Can	1	59	Litvack, Al.
21538, Blackwell, Okla	1	869	Campbell, O. C.
21625, New York, N. Y	1	1,330	Silverman, Herman
21664, Syracuse, N. Y	1	235	Galuski, Frank
1877, Chicago, Ill	1	20	Klass, Irwin E.
21914, Watertown, Mass	1	4,484	Percoco, Salvatore A.
21920, Newark, N. J	1	265	Santos, William Serile
22006, Hamlin, N. Y	1	634	Le Storti, James
22095, Cleveland, Ohio	1	92	Shapiro, Simon
22177, Detroit, Mich	1	2,429	Del Campo, Albert

ORGANIZATIONS	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	Names of Delegates
24410, Leadville, Colo	1	1,120	Larch, Jess A.
24428, Evansville, Ind	1	461	Hartig, Theodore L.
24472, Torrington, Conn	1	223	Hohnke, Eric
24659, Rochester, N. Y	1	583	Webb, Daniel R.
24760, Bridgeport, Conn	1	701	Burns, James F.
24779, Buffalo, N. Y	1	86	Wismar, Arthur H.
24787, Waukegan, Ill	1	126	Foxworth, Charles E.
24882, Olean, N. Y	1	199	Brown, Charles
24866, Washington, D. C	1	22	Stanley, Mrs. Lee
24910, New York, N. Y	1	1,383	McDonough, Patrick A.
24928, Ponce, P. R	1	50	Grant, Pedro A.
24935, Gary, Ind	1	20	Kuckson, Edmund C.

LOCAL INDUSTRIAL UNIONS

72	Amalgamated Office Workers, Detroit,	1		
	Mich	1	485	Averill, D. Elizabeth
83	Un. Dairy Wkrs., Detroit, Mich	1	4,812	Stoner, Ralph F.
255	Un. Theater Emps., Clarksburg, W. Va.	1	6	McPeak, Carl A.
520	Printing & Paper Trades, Philadelphia, Pa.	1	701	McCaffrey, James
677	Un. Publication Workers, Brooklyn, New York	1	91	Blumstein, Samuel
798	Un. Bakery Wkrs., McKeesport, Pa	1	92	Brophy, John
917	Un. Sugar Wkrs., Sugarland, Texas	1	547	Walker, Knox W.
934	Un. Pencil Wkrs., New York, N. Y	1	589	Beardwood, James F.
984	Un. Foremen & Supervisors, LaCrosse, Wis.	1	59	Flannery, Robert G.
1162	Un. Motion Picture Employees, Lamarque, Texas	1	5	Allen, Carlin
1242	Un. Slag Wkrs., Pittsburgh, Pa	1	159	Craig, George
1279	Un. Scrap & Salvage & Waste Material Wkrs., Pittsburgh, Pa.	1	103	Sanguigni, Samuel
1308	Local Industrial Union, Flint, Mich	1	95	Finnin, Lawrence
1420	Un. Sugar Wkrs., Mathews, La	1	207	Parr, George
1422	Un. Sugar Wkrs., Labadieville, La	1	282	Pelet, Henry
1474	Un. Sugar Wkrs., Raceland, La	1	102	Barranco, Charles
1475	Un. Sugar Wkrs., Montegut, La	1	30	Riffe, John V.
1525	Uni. Construction Wkrs., South Bend, Ind.	1	30	Louis, James G.

Organizations	Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	Names of Delegates
645 Roosevelt College Office Employees, Chicago, Ill.	1	70	White, Leland A.
660 Un. Sugar Refinery Wkrs., So. Boston, Mass.	1	571	Hutton, Richard
1670 CWA-CIO Office Wkrs., Washington, D. C.	1	22	Schaar, Walter
686 Un. Clerical Wkrs., South Bend, Ind	1	22	Colwell, George
693 Un. Office Employees, Cincinnati, Ohio.	1	15.	Shy, Arthur
694 Un. Bank Employees, New York, N. Y.	1	38	Titone, John
695 Un. Clerical Wkrs., Washington, D. C.	1	95	Moran, Thomas P.
1699 Un. Office Employees, Portland, Ore	1	24	Dusten, Chester
1700 Un. Office Wkrs., Columbus, Ohio	1	38	Rooney, John R.
1705 Local Industrial Union, Whitewater, Wis.	1	73	Murray, Tom
719 Un. Office & Clerical Workers, Flint,	1	50	Frazer, Douglas A.
1727 Un. Office Wkrs., Akron, Ohio	1	54	Burla, Beulah M.
1729 Office Workers, Los Angeles, Calif	1	47	Yuster, Sylvia A.
1733 Community & Social Agency Employees, Oakland, Calif	1 1	58	Despol, John
1736 Federation Engineers, Chemists & Teck- nicians, Philadelphia, Pa	1	23	Garrison, Oral L.
1788 Un. Office Employees, Milwaukee, Wis	1	32	Graham, Sylvester
1746 Un. Clerical Wkrs., Washington, D. C	1	22	Rubin, Eve
1752 Consolidated Services & Car Drivers, St. Louis, Mo.	1	91	Ryan, Arlanda
1771 Warehousemen and Drivers, Lincoln, Neb	1	66	Oliver, Robert
1772 Un. Office and Clerical Wkrs., Long Island City, N. Y.	1	118	Rosenkrantz, John
1777 Duluth Fur Wkrs., Duluth, Minn	1	26	Cuniff, John
1779 Un. Office Wkrs., Richmond, Va	1	67	DuCuennois, T. D.
1782 Office Employees, Grand Rapids, Mich	1	15	Sherwood, Lillian
1788 CWA Office Employees, Dallas, Texas	1	11	Starnes, R. W.
1793 Un. Publishing Emp., New York, N. Y.	1	49	Mann, Michael
1794 Un Office and Clerical Wkrs., Cleveland, Ohio	1	31	Eiben, Louis
1805 Amalgamated Office Workers, Indianapolis, Ind.	1.	28	Widman, William J.
1806 Un. Clerical Wkrs., Waterbury, Conn	1	21	Belcinski, Mary
1811 Un. Bay Area Office Wkrs., San Francisco, Calif.	1	12	Clark, Robert

Organizations	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	Names of Delegates
812 Virgin Islands Labor Union, St. Thomas, V. I., U. S. A	1	80	King, Austin C.
1818 Federation of Shorthand Reporters, New York, N. Y	1	45	Davidson, Jean
814 CIO Sabine Area, Port Arthur, Texas	1	157	Dutton, Mrs. R. Z.
821 Alaska Fishermen's Un., Seattle 11, Wash.	1	8,353	Smith, William J.

Number of Unions	Name	Number of Delegates	Number of Votes
185	National and International Unions	758	18,612,712
5	Departments	5	5
98	State Central Bodies	98	98
490	Central Labor Unions and Local Industrial Union Councils	490	490
148	Federal Labor Unions and Local Industrial Unions	146	75,948
871		1,487	13,689,241

CONSTITUTION OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND

CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

PREAMBLE

The establishment of this Federation through the merger of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations is an expression of the hopes and aspirations of the working people of America.

We seek the fulfillment of these hopes and aspirations through democratic processes within the framework of our constitutional government and consistent with our institutions and

traditions.

At the collective bargaining table, in the community, in the exercise of the rights and responsibilities of citizenship, we shall responsibly serve the interests of all the American people.

We pledge ourselves to the more effective organization of working men and women; to the securing to them of full recognition and enjoyment of the rights to which they are justly entitled; to the achievement of ever higher standards of living and working conditions; to the attainment of security for all the people; to the enjoyment of the leisure which their skills make possible; and to the strengthening and extension of our way of life and the fundamental freedoms which are the basis of our democratic society.

We shall combat resolutely the forces which seek to undermine the democratic institutions of our nation and to enslave the human soul. We shall strive always to win full respect for the dignity of the human individual whom our unions serve.

With Divine guidance, grateful for the fine traditions of our past, confident of meeting the challenge of the future, we proclaim this constitution.

ARTICLE I

Name

This Federation shall be known as the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations. It is established pursuant to and as a result of a merger agreement between the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations. It shall consist of such affiliates as shall conform to its constitution and the rules and regulations adopted thereunder.

ARTICLE II

Objects and Principles

The objects and principles of this Federation are:

- 1. To aid workers in securing improved wages, hours and working conditions with due regard for the autonomy, integrity and jurisdiction of affiliated unions.
- 2. To aid and assist affiliated unions in extending the benefits of mutual assistance and collective bargaining to workers and to promote the organization of the unorganized into unions of their own choosing for their mutual aid, protection and advancement, giving recognition to the principle that both craft and industrial unions are appropriate, equal and necessary as methods of union organization.
- 3. To affiliate national and international unions with this Federation and to establish such unions; to form organizing committees and directly affiliated local unions and to secure their affiliation to appropriate national and international unions affiliated with or chartered by the Federation; to establish, assist and promote state

and local central bodies composed of local unions of all affiliated organizations and directly affiliated local unions; to establish and assist trade departments composed of affiliated national and international unions and organizing committees.

4. To encourage all workers without regard to race, creed, color, national origin or ancestry to share equally in the full benefits of union organization.

5. To secure legislation which will safeguard and promote the principle of free collective bargaining, the rights of workers, farmers and consumers, and the security and welfare of all the people and to oppose legislation inimical to these objectives.

6. To protect and strengthen our democratic institutions, to secure full recognition and enjoyment of the rights and liberties to which we are justly entitled, and to preserve and perpetuate the cherished traditions of our democracy.

7. To give constructive aid in promoting the cause of peace and freedom in the world and to aid, assist and cooperate with free and democratic labor movements throughout the world.

8. To preserve and maintain the integrity of each affiliated union in the organization to the end that each affiliate shall respect the established bargaining relationships of every other affiliate and that each affiliate shall refrain from raiding the established bargaining relationship of any other affiliate and, at the same time, to encourage the elimination of conflicting and duplicating organizations and jurisdictions through the process of voluntary agreement or voluntary merger in consultation with the appropriate officials of the Federation, to preserve, subject to the foregoing, the organizing jurisdiction of each affiliate.

9. To aid and encourage the sale and use of union made goods and union services through the use of the union label and other symbols; to promote the labor press and other means of furthering the education of the labor movement.

10. To protect the labor movement

from any and all corrupt influences and from the undermining efforts of communist agencies and all others who are opposed to the basic principles of our democracy and free and democratic unionism.

11. To safeguard the democratic character of the labor movement and to protect the autonomy of each affiliated national and international union.

12. While preserving the independence of the labor movement from political control, to encourage workers to register and vote, to exercise their full rights and responsibilities of citizenship, and to perform their rightful part in the political life of the local, state and national communities.

ARTICLE III

Affiliates

Section 1. The Federation shall be composed of (1) affiliated national and international unions and organizing committees, (2) directly affiliated local unions (such as Local Trade Unions, Federal Labor Unions, and Local Industrial Unions) and national councils thereof, (3) state and local central bodies (such as State and Territorial Federations, City Central Labor Unions and Industrial Union Councils), and (4) trade and industrial departments.

Sec. 2. Each national and international union and each federal labor union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor at the time of the adoption of this constitution by reason of a charter or certificate of affiliation granted by that federation and each national and international union, organizing committee and local industrial union affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organizations at the time of the adoption of this constitution by reason of a charter or certificate of affiliation granted by that federation shall retain its charter or certificate, which shall become and be a charter or certificate of this Federation and, by virtue of the same and as a result of the merger between the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, shall be an affiliate of this Federation and subject to its rules and regulations.

Sec. 3. Each such affiliate shall retain and enjoy the same organizing jurisdiction in this Federation which it had and enjoyed by reason of its prior affiliation with either the American Federation of Labor or the Congress of Industrial Organizations. In cases of conflicting and duplicating jurisdictions involving such affiliates the President and the Executive Council of this Federation shall seek to eliminate such conflicts and duplications through the process of voluntary agreement or voluntary merger between the affiliates involved.

Sec. 4. The integrity of each such affiliate of this Federation shall be maintained and preserved. Each such affiliate shall respect the established collective bargaining relationship of every other affiliate and no affiliate shall raid the established collective bargaining relationship of any other affiliate. When a complaint has been filed with the President by an affiliate alleging a violation of this section by another affiliate, that has not been settled under the provisions of the No-Raiding Agreement referred to in Article XVIII, the President shall endeavor, by consultation with the appropriate officers of both affiliates, to settle the matter by voluntary agreement between such affiliates. In the event no such voluntary agreement is reached within a reasonable time the President shall report to the Executive Council with such recommendations as he may deem appropriate. Upon such report being submitted, the Executive Council shall consider the same, shall hear the appropriate officers of the affiliates involved, and shall make such decision as it believes to be necessary and proper to carry out the provisions of this section. In the event an affiliate shall fail to comply with such decision, the Executive Council shall submit the matter to the convention for such action as the convention may deem appropriate under the provisions of this constitution.

Sec. 5. State and Territorial Federations of Labor and Local Central Bodies affiliated with the American Federation of Labor at the time of

the adoption of this Constitution, and State and Local Industrial Union Councils affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organizations at the time of the adoption of this constitution, shall become and be affiliates of this Federation and shall, as such, continue to exist as state, territorial and local central bodies, each representing the respective federal labor unions or local industrial unions now affiliated to such central body and such local unions now affiliated to such central body as are affiliated with a national or international union or organizing committee affiliated with this Federation. Provided, however: That a merger of these state, territorial and local central bodies, heretofore affiliated with the Ameri-can Federation of Labor or the Congress of Industrial Organizations, shall be effected within two years after the adoption of this constitution, through the process of negotiation and agreement under the guidance of the President of this Federation and its Executive Council.

Sec. 6. Existing departments of the American Federation of Labor at the time of the adoption of this constitution shall continue as trade departments of this Federation with the rights of and subject to the rules governing trade and industrial departments provided in Article XII.

Sec. 7. The Executive Council shall have power to issue charters or certificates of affiliation to organizations desiring to affiliate with this Federation. This power may be delegated to the President. Subject to the provisions of Sections 2 and 3 of this Article, charters or certificates of affiliation shall not be issued to national or international unions, organizing committees, or directly affiliated local unions in conflict with the jurisdiction of affiliated national or international unions, except with the written consent of such unions, and shall be based upon a strict recognition that both craft and industrial unions are equal and necessary as methods of trade union organization, and that each affiliated national and international union is entitled to have its autonomy, integrity and jurisdiction protected and preserved. Sec. 8. Except as otherwise provided in this constitution no national or international union chartered by or affiliated with this Federation may be suspended from membership in the Federation except by a majority roll-call vote at the convention. No such national or international union shall have its charter or certificate of affiliation with the Federation revoked except by a two-thirds majority roll-call vote at the convention.

Sec. 9. No organization officered, controlled or dominated by communists, fascists, or other totalitarians, or whose policies and activities are consistently directed toward the achievement of the program or purposes of the Communist Party, any fascist organization, or other totalitarian movement, shall be permitted as an affiliate of this Federation or any of its state or local central bodies.

Sec. 10. Affiliates of the Federation shall be encouraged to eliminate conflicts and duplications in organization and jurisdictions through the process of voluntary agreement or voluntary merger in consultation with the appropriate officials of the Federation.

ARTICLE IV

Convention

Section 1. The convention shall be the supreme governing body of the Federation and, except as otherwise provided in this Constitution, its decisions shall be by a majority vote.

Sec. 2. The regular conventions of the Federation shall be held every two years, beginning in 1955, at a time during the last four months of the year. The time and the place for holding the regular conventions shall be designated by the Executive Council which shall give at least 90 days' notice of the time and place designated.

Sec. 3. (a) Special conventions may be called by direction of a regular convention, by order of the Executive Council, or on request of national and international unions representing a majority of the total membership of the Federation, as evidenced by the records of the Secretary-Treasurer to the last convention.

(b) In the event a special conven-

tion has been called all affiliated organizations shall be given at least 30 days' notice, together with a statement of the particular subject or subjects to be considered at such convention.

(c) Representation to special conventions shall be on the same basis and subject to like qualifications and procedure governing regular conventions.

(d) A special convention shall be clothed with like authority and power conferred upon regular conventions, its decisions shall be equally binding and it shall be governed by the same procedure applicable to regular conventions; however, such special conventions shall be limited solely to the subject or subjects specifically and definitely indicated in the call for such special convention.

Sec. 4. Each national or international union and organizing committee shall be entitled to the number of delegates indicated in the following scale:

Less

than	4.000	members		.1	delegate
Over	4,000				delegates
66	8,000	66		.3	44
66	12,000			.4	
66	25,000	44		.5	66
6.6	50,000			.6	
66	75,000			.7	64
66	125,000			.8	66
66	175,000			.9	66

plus one additional delegate for each 75,000 members over 175,000.

Each directly affiliated local union and each national trade and industrial department shall be entitled to one delegate. Each industrial union council and each state or local central body shall be entitled to one delegate. Directly affiliated local unions, with the approval of the President, may combine with other such unions within a reasonable distance to elect a single delegate to represent such unions.

Sec. 5. Delegates to a regular convention of the Federation shall be elected or otherwise designated by the affiliate at least 30 days prior to the convention, except in cases in which the convention of the affiliate meets within this 30-day period. The names of the delegates shall be forwarded to

the Secretary-Treasurer of the Federation immediately after their selection.

Sec. 6. No organization that has seceded or has been suspended or expelled by this Federation, the American Federation of Labor, or the Congress of Industrial Organizations, or by any national or international union or organizing committee affiliated with this Federation shall, while under such penalty, be allowed representation or recognition in the Federation, or in any subordinate body thereof, or in any national or inter-national union or organizing committee affiliated with this Federation, under the penalty of the suspension of the body violating this section. No affiliate which, at the opening date of the convention, is in arrears to the Federation for per capita tax or assessments for two months or more, shall be entitled to recognition or representation in the convention.

Sec. 7. No organization shall be entitled to representation unless such organization has applied for and obtained a certificate of affiliation at least one month prior to the convention, and no person shall be recognized as a delegate who is not a member in good standing of the organization he is selected to represent.

Sec. 8. The number of members of each national and international union, organizing committee and directly affiliated local unions for the purpose of selecting delegates and for roll-call votes at the convention shall be the average monthly number on which per capita tax is paid for the 24-month period prior to and including the second month preceding the month of the opening date of the convention. Where affiliation has occurred during this 24-month period, the average shall be computed from the month of affiliation, and the number of members shall be deemed to be one twentyfourth of such average for each month for which per capita tax has been paid. The Secretary-Treasurer shall prepare for the use of the convention and submit to it a printed list showing the number of votes and the number of delegates to which each affliate is entitled.

Sec. 9. The President shall appoint,

in consultation with the Executive Council, prior to the opening date of the convention and subject to the approval of the convention, such committees as are necessary to conduct the affairs of the convention. Such committees may meet before the opening date of the convention and shall proceed to consider all resolutions, appeals, reports, and constitutional amendments submitted to the convention, and shall report thereon to the convention.

Sec. 10. (a) All resolutions, petitions, memorials and appeals to be considered by any convention of the Federation must be received by the Secretary-Treasurer at headquarters in Washington, D. C., 30 days immediately preceding the opening of the convention; except in instances where such matters have been acted upon and approved at a regular convention of a national or international union, or state central body, or national trade and industrial department held during this 30-day period in which event such proposals shall be received up to the opening date of the convention.

- (b) All resolutions, petitions, memorials and appeals received or submitted after the time stipulated above or during the convention shall be referred to the Executive Council, and the Executive Council shall refer all such proposal or proposals to the convention with the understanding that consideration of such proposal or proposals is dependent upon the unanimous consent of the convention.
- (c) Any or all proposals emanating from directly affiliated local unions shall be referred to the Executive Council for consideration and disposition. The Executive Council shall in turn advise the convention of the disposition made of such proposal or proposals.
- (d) Proposals emanating from state central bodies to receive consideration of a convention must first have received the approval of the previous convention of the state central body involved. In the case of local central bodies any proposal or proposals to be considered must have first received the approval of such central labor

body at a regularly constituted meeting of such organization.

(e) Each resolution, memorial, petition, or appeal properly received for consideration by the convention, as soon as practical after receipt thereof, shall be classified by the President as to nature, contents and subject matter and referred by him to an appropriate committee, which committee shall make a report thereon to the convention prior to consideration of any such matter by the convention. He shall cause to be distributed copies of such resolutions, petitions, memorials or appeals to the delegates of the convention at the opening session thereof or as soon thereafter as practical, but before any such matters are considered by the convention.

Sec. 11. Not less than 60 days prior to the opening of each regular convention, the Secretary-Treasurer shall furnish each affiliate with credential blanks in duplicate, which must be attested as required on the blanks. The duplicates shall be retained by the delegate, and the original sent to the Secretary-Treasurer. Subject to the provisions of Section 5 of this Article, no credentials shall be accepted later than 20 days prior to the opening date of the convention.

Sec. 12. Prior to the opening date of the convention, the Executive Council shall meet and constitute itself or a subcommittee as the Credentials Committee for the convention. Appeals from its decisions may be made to the floor of the convention. The convention shall not be constituted for business until after the Credentials Committee shall have examined and reported on credentials of all delegates present at the scheduled time on the opening date of the convention.

Sec. 13. All members of the Executive Council who are not elected as delegates shall be ex-officio delegates to the convention with all the rights and privileges of elected delegates, but without vote.

Sec. 14. Fraternal delegates attending conventions of the Federation shall be entitled to all the rights of delegates but shall not be entitled to vote.

Sec. 15. At the opening of the convention the President shall take the chair and call the convention to order, and preside during its sessions.

Sec. 16. One-fourth of the delegates seated at any convention shall constitute a quorum for the transac-

tion of business.

Sec. 17. Questions may be decided by division or a show of hands, but a call of the roll may be demanded by 30 percent of the delegates present. Upon such roll-call each delegate representing affiliated national or international unions, organizing committees and directly affiliated local unions shall be entitled to cast one vote for every member whom he represents. Each state and local central body and national trade and industrial department shall be entitled to one vote.

Sec. 18. The rules and order of business governing the preceding convention shall be enforced from the opening of any convention of the Federation until new rules have been adopted by action of the convention.

Sec. 19. Unless otherwise specified, any action taken by the convention shall take effect immediately upon adoption.

ARTICLE V

Officers

Section 1. The officers shall consist of a President and a Secretary-Treasurer, who shall be the Executive Officers, and 27 Vice Presidents.

Sec. 2. Each officer shall be a member of an affiliated organization.

Sec. 3. The officers shall be elected by the convention by majority vote. Such election shall take place on the last day of the convention, unless otherwise determined by the convention. In the event that more than two candidates are nominated for any office and no one candidate receives a majority of the votes cast, all except the two candidates receiving the highest votes shall be eliminated from the list of candidates and a second vote taken.

Sec. 4. Each officer elected at the convention shall take office immediately upon his election and shall serve until his successor is elected at the next regular convention.

Sec. 5. In the event of a vacancy in the office of either the President or the Secretary-Treasurer by reason of death, resignation or otherwise, the remaining executive officer shall perform the duties of the vacant office until a successor is elected. It shall be the duty of such executive officer to issue, within ten days of the date of the vacancy, a call for a meeting of the Executive Council of this Federation, upon ten days' notice, for the purpose of electing an executive officer to fill said vacancy for the unexpired term.

Sec. 6. In the event of a vacancy in the office of Vice President by reason of death, resignation or otherwise, the Executive Council shall have the power to fill the vacancy by majority vote of all its members for the period of the unexpired term.

Sec. 7. The national headquarters of the Federation shall be maintained by the Executive Officers at Washing-

ton, D. C.

Sec. 8. The Executive Officers shall, by virtue of their office, hold title to the real estate of the Federation as trustees for the Federation.

Sec. 9. The President and Secretary-Treasurer of the Federation or either of them may retire after reaching age 65 years, and after having served 20 years. Time served as an officer of any organization affiliated with the Federation, or with the American Federation of Labor or the Congress of Industrial Organizations, shall be included in determining length of service hereunder. In the event of retirement such officers shall have the title of President Emeritus, or Secretary-Treasurer Emeritus and shall render service to the Federation in an advisory and consultative status. They shall be compensated for such service by the Federation for life in an amount, payable weekly, equal to 75 percent of the annual salary paid to the corresponding Executive Officer of this Federation.

Sec. 10. No individual shall be eligible to serve either as an Executive Officer or as a member of the Executive Council who is a member of the Communist Party, any fascist organization, or other totalitarian movement, or who consistently pursues

policies and activities directed toward the achievement of the program or the purposes of the Communist Party, any fascist organization or other totalitarian movement.

ARTICLE VI Duties of the President

Section 1. The President shall function as the chief executive officer of the Federation. He shall exercise supervision of the affairs of the Federation, sign all official documents and preside at regular and special conventions, and at meetings of the Executive Council, Executive Committee and General Board. He shall call meetings of the Executive Council at least three times each year and a meeting of the General Board at least once each year.

Sec. 2. The President shall have authority to interpret the constitution between meetings of the Executive Council and his interpretation shall be conclusive and in full force and effect unless reversed or changed by the Executive Council or a convention.

Sec. 3. The President shall receive for his services a salary of \$35,000 per annum payable weekly.

Sec. 4. The appointment and compensation, direction, suspension and removal of organizers, representatives, agents and employees of the Federation shall be under the direction of the President.

Sec. 5. The President shall make a report of the administration of his office and of the affairs of the Federation to the convention through the report of the Executive Council.

ARTICLE VII

Duties of the Secretary-Treasurer

Section 1. The Secretary-Treasurer shall be the chief financial officer of the Federation and shall receive and collect all moneys due the Federation which moneys shall be paid out only on the approval of the President.

Sec. 2. The Secretary-Treasurer shall be in charge of and preserve all moneys, properties, securities and other evidences of investment, books, documents, files and effects of the

Federation which shall at all times be subject to the inspection of the President and Executive Council.

Sec. 3. The Secretary-Treasurer shall issue the call for and act as secretary at conventions, and shall cause the proceedings of all conventions and all sessions of the Executive Council and General Board to be recorded.

Sec. 4. It shall be the duty of each national and international union, organizing committee, each trade and industrial department, state and local central bodies and each directly affiliated local union, to furnish the Secretary-Treasurer a copy of all official reports issued by such affiliated organizations together with a statement of their membership in good standing and to furnish such additional statistical data in their possession relating to the membership of such organizations as may be called for by the Secretary-Treasurer of this Federation.

Sec. 5. The Secretary-Treasurer shall give a bond for the faithful performance of his duties in such amount as may be determined by the Executive Council and shall report to the biennial convention of the Federation through the report of the Executive Council, and for his services he shall receive \$33,000 per annum, payable weekly.

Sec. 6. The Secretary-Treasurer shall print quarterly, as a separate document, a financial statement of the Federation and forward a copy thereof to all affiliated national and international unions, organizing committees, directly affiliated local unions and local central bodies.

Sec. 7. The Secretary-Treasurer shall be required, from time to time, but no less than semi-annually, to provide for an audit of all books, accounts, records and financial transactions of the Federation by an independent public accountant. Such audits shall be furnished to the Executive Council and a biennial audit shall be furnished to the Convention.

Sec. 8. The Secretary-Treasurer shall, under the direction and instructions of the Executive Council, invest the surplus funds of the Federation in sound securities or deposit the same in a bank or banks.

ARTICLE VIII

Executive Council

Section 1. The Executive Council shall consist of the President, the Vice Presidents and the Secretary-Treasurer.

Sec. 2. The Executive Council shall be the governing body of this Federation between conventions. It is authorized and empowered to take such action and render such decisions as may be necessary to carry out fully and adequately the decisions and instructions of the conventions and to enforce the provisions contained in this constitution. Between conventions it shall have the power to direct the affairs of the Federation and to take such actions and render such decisions as are necessary and appropriate to safeguard and promote the best interests of the Federation and its affiliated unions, including the organization of unorganized industries by means most appropriate for that purpose.

Sec. 3. The Executive Council shall meet upon the call of the President at least three times within each year at a time and place designated by the President.

Sec. 4. It shall be the duty of the Executive Council to watch legislative measures directly affecting the interests of working people, and to initiate, wherever necessary, such legislative action as the convention may direct.

Sec. 5. The Executive Council shall prepare and present to the convention in printed form a statement of all matters of interest to the convention and of the activities of the Federation between conventions.

Sec. 6. The Executive Council shall have power to make rules to govern matters consistent with this constitution and shall report accordingly to the Federation.

Sec. 7. It is a basic principle of this Federation that it must be and remain free from any and all corrupt influences and from the undermining efforts of communist, fascist or other totalitarian agencies who are opposed to the basic principles of our democracy and of free and democratic

trade unionism. The Executive Council. when requested to do so by the President or by any other member of the Executive Council, shall have the power to conduct an investigation, directly or through an appropriate standing or special committee appointed by the President, of any situation in which there is reason to believe that any affiliate is dominated, controlled or substantially influenced in the conduct of its affairs by any corrupt influence, or that the policies or activities of any affiliate are consistently directed toward the advocacy, support, advancement or achieve-ment of the program or of the purposes of the Communist Party, any fascist organization or other totalitarian movement. Upon the completion of such an investigation, includ-ing a hearing if requested, the Executive Council shall have the authority to make recommendations or give directions to the affiliate involved and shall have the further authority, upon a two-thirds vote, to suspend any affiliate found guilty of a violation of this section. Any action of the Executive Council under this section may be appealed to the convention, provided, however, that such action shall be effective when taken and shall remain in full force and effect pending any appeal.

Sec. 8. Subject to the provisions of Article III, Section 7, the Executive Council shall use every possible means to assist affiliated unions in the organization of the unorganized and to organize new national and international unions, organizing committees, and directly affiliated local unions.

and directly affiliated local unions.

Until such time as it is feasible to form a new national or international union composed of directly affiliated local unions or to affiliate such unions with an existing affiliated national or international union within whose they might properly iurisdiction come, the Executive Council group such directly affiliated local unions, in a particular craft or industry, into national councils or organizing committees which shall be under the direct supervision and control of the Executive Council and the President.

Sec. 9. In carrying out the provi-

sions of this Article the Executive Council shall recognize that both craft and industrial unions are appropriate, equal and necessary as methods of trade union organization and that all workers whatever their race, color, creed or national origin are entitled to share in the full benefits of trade union organization.

Sec. 10. A majority of the members of the Executive Council shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of the business of the Council.

Sec. 11. The Executive Council shall have the power to file charges and conduct hearings on such charges against any Executive Officer of the Federation or other member of the Executive Council on the ground that such person is guilty of malfeasance or maladministration, and to make a report to the convention recommending appropriate action. The Executive Council must serve such officer with a copy of the written charges a reasonable time before the hearing.

Sec. 12. The Executive Council shall have the further power to refuse to seat or to remove from office any member of the Executive Council, or to remove from office any officer, who is found by the Council, by a two-thirds vote after notice and hearing, to be ineligible to serve under the provisions of Article V, Section 10. Any action of the Executive Council under this section may be appealed to the convention, provided, however, that such action shall be effective when taken and shall remain in full force and effect pending any appeal.

Sec. 13. In any case in which an affiliate has been suspended from membership in the Federation by the convention, or by a two-thirds vote of the Executive Council in the cases set forth in Section 7 of this Article, and in which it is shown that the cause for such suspension no longer exists, the Executive Council shall have the power, upon a two-thirds vote, to terminate such suspension.

Sec. 14. No affiliated national or international union or organizing committee shall be permitted to change its title or name without first having obtained the consent and approval of the Executive Council or the convention.

Sec. 15. The Executive Council shall be authorized to reimburse members of the Council for necessary expenses in performing their duties for the Federation.

ARTICLE IX

Executive Committee

There shall be an Executive Committee which shall consist of the President and the Secretary-Treasurer and six Vice Presidents to be selected by the Executive Council. The Executive Committee shall meet every two months and shall advise and consult with the President and Secretary-Treasurer on policy matters.

ARTICLE X

General Board

Section 1. The General Board of the Federation shall consist of all of the members of the Executive Council of the Federation and the president or other principal officer of each of the affiliated national or international unions and each trade and industrial department.

Sec. 2. The General Board shall meet upon the call of the President of the Federation, but such meeting shall be called at least once each year.

Sec. 3. The General Board shall decide all policy questions referred to it by the Executive Officers or by the Executive Council.

Sec. 4. Questions coming before the General Board shall be decided in accordance with the applicable provisions of Section 17 of Article IV of this Constitution with the president or other principal officer of each affiliated national or international union casting the vote of such union and with the president or other principal officer of each department casting the one vote of such department. number of members of each national or international union on a roll-call vote of the General Board shall be deemed to be the number of members represented at the last preceding convention except in the case where affili-ation has occurred subsequent to such convention or within a 24-month period prior to and including the second month preceding such convention. In

such cases the number of members of such affiliate shall be deemed to be one twenty-fourth of the average membership for which per capita tax was paid for each month, prior to the meeting of the General Board, for which such tax was paid.

ARTICLE XI

Department of Organization

Section 1. The organizing work of this Federation as set forth in Article VIII, Section 8, shall be conducted by the Department of Organization under the general supervision of the President. The Department of Organization shall be provided the staff and resources necessary to conduct such activities.

Sec. 2. The Department of Organization shall be headed by a Director of Organization who shall be appointed by the President after consultation with the Executive Committee, subject to the approval of the Executive Council.

ARTICLE XII

Trade and Industrial Departments

Section 1. The Trade and Industrial Departments shall be subordinate to the Federation and shall consist of the following: Building and Construction Trades Department; Metal Trades Department; Union Label and Service Trades Department; Railway Employees Department; Railway Employees Department; and a department of industrial organizations to be known as Industrial Union Department, and such other departments as may be established by the Executive Council or the convention. Each department is to manage and finance its own affairs and may establish local councils or railway system federations of departments. Affiliation to the departments in the Federation shall be open to all appropriate affiliated national and international unions and organizing committees.

Sec. 2. To be entitled to representation in any department, international unions and organizing committees eligible to join it must first be and remain in affiliation to the Federation.

Sec. 3. To be entitled to representation in local councils or railway system federations of Departments, local unions are required to be part of affiliated national and international unions and organizing committees affiliated to departments or to be directly affiliated to the Federation.

Sec. 4. The fundamental laws and procedure of each department are to conform to and be administered in the same manner as the laws and procedure governing the Federation. No department, local council or railway system federation of the same shall enact laws, rules or regulations in conflict with the laws and procedure of the Federation, and in the event of change of laws, rules, regulations and procedures of the latter, departments, local councils and railway system federations are to change their laws, rules, and regulations to conform thereto.

Sec. 5. Each department is to be considered an official method of the Federation for transacting the portion of its business indicated by the name of the department, in consequence of which affiliated and eligible organizations should be part of their respective departments and should comply with the actions and decisions of such departments, subject to appeal therefrom to the Executive Council and the conventions of the Federation. An organization affiliated with one or more departments shall pay per capita tax to each such department upon the number of members whose occupation comes under such department.

Sec. 6. The officers of the various departments shall submit a quarterly report to the Executive Council of the Federation of the work done by their department and its general conditions.

Sec. 7. At all regular meetings of the Executive Council of the Federation, there shall be present, during some period of the Council meeting, the executive officer or officers of each department, to take up with the Council matters that may be of mutual interest.

Sec. 8. Departments of the Federation shall have their headquarters in Washington, D. C., and in the

headquarters of the Federation unless permitted to locate elsewhere.

ARTICLE XIII

Committees and Staff Departments

Section 1. The President of the Federation shall appoint the following standing committees and such other committees as may from time to time be necessary. The President with the approval of the Executive Council may combine standing committees. The committees, under the direction of the President, and subject to the authority of the Executive Council and the Convention, shall carry out their functions as described herein:

(a) The Committee on Legislation shall undertake to carry out the policies and programs of the Federation in the Congress and in the legislatures of state and local

governments:

(b) The Committee on Civil Rights shall be vested with the duty and responsibility to assist the Executive Council to bring about at the earliest possible date the effective implementation of the principle stated in this constitution of non-discrimination in accordance with the provisions of

this constitution:

(c) The Committee on Political Education shall be vested with the duty and responsibility to assist the Executive Council in meeting the need for sound political education and in bringing about the effective implementation of the objectives stated in this constitution of encouraging workers to register and vote, to exercise their full rights and responsibilities of citizenship and to perform their rightful part in the political life of the city, state, and national communities;

(d) The Committee on Ethical Practices shall be vested with the duty and responsibility to assist the Executive Council in carrying out the constitutional determination of the Federation to keep the Federation free from any taint of corruption or communism, in accordance with the provisions of

this constitution;

(e) The Committee on International

Affairs shall be concerned with international developments facing our nation and the Federation's relationships with the international trade union movement;

(f) The Committee on Education shall promote the widest possible understanding among union members of the aims of the Federation, shall assist affiliated unions in developing their own educational programs and shall implement the Federation's interest in providing the nation with the highest standard of education at all levels;

(g) The Committee on Social Security shall have the responsibility of providing guidance and information in the fields of social in-

surance and welfare;

 (h) The Committee on Economic Policy shall undertake to recommend programs and policies toward the end of promoting prosperity, full employment and full utilization of our resources;

(i) The Committee on Community Services shall stimulate the active participation by members and affiliated unions in the affairs of their communities and the development of sound relationships with social agencies in such communities;

 (j) The Committee on Housing shall advise on all matters relating to housing programs and policies;

- (k) The Committee on Research shall have the responsibility of reviewing and appraising the research activities of the Federation to the end that adequate research facilities are available to the Federation;
- The Committee on Public Relations shall review and appraise
 the needs of the Federation in
 keeping the general public in
 formed of the goals and policies
 of the Federation, the extent to
 which these needs are being met
 and shall make recommendations
 in this field;
- (m) The Committee on Safety and Occupational Health shall be vested with the responsibility of recommending and promoting ways in which the work places of our na-

tion can be made safe and health-

(n) The Committee on Veterans Affairs shall keep all affiliates informed of the rights and benefits available to veterans under federal and state laws and shall propose measures to protect such rights and benefits;

(o) All other committees shall have the function vested in them by the President, the Executive Council, or the convention, consistent with this constitution.

Sec. 2. Staff departments shall be established where appropriate under the direction of the President to function in the fields of activity described above and in such other fields as may be determined by the President, the Executive Council or the convention.

Sec. 3. The Committees and staff departments shall have adequate staff which shall be under the general direction of the President of the Federation.

ARTICLE XIV

State and Local Central Bodies

Section 1. Central bodies subordinate to the Federation may be established upon a city, state or other regional basis as may be deemed advisable by the Executive Council and shall be composed exclusively of locals of national and international unions and organizing committees affiliated with the Federation, directly affiliated local unions, local central bodies within the geographical limits of state and regional bodies, and such other subordinate bodies as the Executive Council may determine are eligible for affiliation.

Sec. 2. It shall be the duty of all national and international unions and organizing committees affiliated with the Federation to instruct their local unions to join affiliated central labor bodies in their vicinity where such exist. Similar instructions shall be given by the Federation to all local unions affiliated directly to it.

Sec. 3. The Executive Council of the Federation shall issue rules governing the conduct, activities, affairs, finances and property of central labor bodies and providing procedures for

the discipline, including suspension and expulsion, of such bodies or their officers. Such rules shall define the powers of the President, or his designee, with respect to disciplinary action against central labor bodies, or their officers. They shall provide for notice and hearing in all cases in which such action is taken, but shall permit emergency action (including the authority to suspend officers and establish a trusteeship over such central bodies and their property) prior to hearing where in the opinion of the President the interests of the Federation so require. The rules shall further provide for appeals to the Executive Council and to the convention, but shall provide that decisions appealed from shall remain in full force and effect pending any appeal.

Sec. 4. Upon the dissolution, suspension or revocation of the charter of any state or local central body, all funds and property of any character shall revert to the Federation to be held in trust until such time that the suspended or defunct organization may be reorganized and be able to confine its activities and actions to conform with the constitution and laws of this Federation. It shall be the duty of the officers of a state or local central body which has been dissolved or whose charter has been suspended or revoked, or which has been placed under trusteeship under Section 3 of this Section, to deliver all funds and property to the President of the Federation or his designated representative. In the event of a failure or refusal to so deliver such funds and property, all expenses incurred by the Federation in recovering such funds and property shall be a lawful charge upon the funds and property involved and, on recovery thereof, the Federation shall reimburse itself from the funds and property recovered.

Sec. 5. Merger of existing state and local central bodies of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations shall be accomplished as provided in Article III, Section 5. Pending such merger state and local central bodies of both the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial

Organizations shall be permitted to continue to exist as state and local central bodies representing the respective local unions or organizations now affiliated to such central bodies.

ARTICLE XV

Local Unions Directly Affiliated to the Federation, Organizing Committees and National Councils

Section 1. Subject to the provisions of Article III, Section 7, the Federation is authorized to issue charters and certificates of affiliation to organizing committees and directly affiliated local unions.

Sec. 2. The Executive Council of the Federation shall issue rules governing the conduct, activities, affairs, finances and property of organizing committees, national councils, and directly affiliated local unions, and governing the suspension, expulsion and termination of such organizations. Such rules shall define the powers of the President, or his designee, with respect to disciplinary action against such organizations, or their officers. They shall provide for notice and hearing in all cases in which such action is taken with respect to directly affiliated local unions, but shall permit emergency action (including the authority to suspend officers and establish a trusteeship over such local unions and their property) prior to hearing where in the opinion of the President the interests of the Federation so require. The rules shall further provide for appeals to the Executive Council and to the convention, but shall provide that decisions appealed from shall remain in full force and effect pending any appeal.

Upon the dissolution, suspension or revocation of the charter of any such organizations, all funds and property of any character shall revert to the Federation, which shall to the extent appropriate hold such funds and property in trust until such time that the suspended or defunct organization may be reorganized and be able to confine its activities and actions to conform with the constitution and laws of this Federation. It shall be the duty of the officers of any such organization which has been dissolved or whose charter has been suspended

or revoked to deliver all funds and property to the President of the Federation or his designated representative. In the event of a failure or refusal to so deliver such funds and property, all expenses incurred by the Federation in recovering such funds and property shall be a lawful charge upon the funds and property involved and, on recovery thereof, the Federation shall reimburse itself from the funds and property recovered.

Sec. 3. It shall be the duty of the Executive Council to combine directly affiliated local unions in related fields into national or international unions, organizing committees or national councils when such action appears to be appropriate. Any local union directly affiliated to the Federation or a group of such local unions may request the Executive Council to au-

thorize such combination.

When directly affiliated local unions are grouped into an organizing committee they shall become locals of the organizing committee. The organizing committee shall have the same status as a national or international union under this constitution except that it shall be under the direct supervision and control of this Federation, as provided herein.

When directly affiliated local unions are grouped into a national council they shall remain local unions directly affiliated with this Federation.

Sec. 4. The per capita payment to the Federation by local unions directly affiliated to it shall be deternined by the Executive Council but shall not be less than eighty cents per month.

Sec. 5. Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions and Local Industrial Unions which are affiliated with this Federation pursuant to Article III, Section 2, of this constitution shall be for all purposes local unions directly affiliated to the Federation under this and all other sections of the constitution.

Sec. 6. The Defense Fund for Local Trade and Federal Labor Union of the American Federation of Labor, created under its constitution, shall be continued as a defense fund for local unions directly affiliated with this Federation, subject to the rules provided

for in Section 2 of this Article and subject to such provisions concerning contributions by and the eligibility of Local Industrial Unions formerly affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organizations as may be determined by the Executive Council.

ARTICLE XVI

Per Capita Tax and Assessments

Section 1. A per capita tax shall be paid upon the full paid up membership of each affiliated national or international union, organizing committee and directly affiliated local union.

Sec. 2. Each national or international union and organizing committee shall pay on or before the fifteenth day of each month, for the preceding month, a per capita tax of 4 cents per

member per month.

Sec. 3. Each directly affiliated local union shall pay on or before the fifteenth day of each month, for the preceding month, a per capita tax of not less than 80 cents per member per month, as provided for in the rules governing the organization and activities of such directly affiliated local unions. Each directly affiliated local union shall also pay to the Federation a portion, to be fixed by the Executive Council, of the initiation fee received by such union from its members, but such payment to the Federation shall in no case be less than \$1.00 per member.

Sec. 4. Revenue may also be derived from assessments when and as ordered by a majority vote of a convention. The Executive Council may also declare an assessment of not to exceed 4 cents per member per month on all affiliated unions for a period not to exceed six months in any one year when the interests of the Federation require and when funds available from per capita tax are insufficient to meet the needs of the Federation.

Sec. 5. Any affiliated organization which does not pay its per capita tax on or before the fifteenth of each month, and assessment or assessments when due and payable, shall be notified of that fact by the Secretary-Treasurer of the Federation. Any af-

filiated organization three months in arrears in payment of per capita tax or assessments automatically becomes suspended from membership in the Federation and can be reinstated only after such arrearages are paid in full.

Sec. 6. Each affiliate, upon the issuance of a certificate of affiliation, shall pay to the Federation the sum

of \$15.00.

Sec. 7. Each state and local central body affiliated with the Federation shall pay to the Federation an annual fee of \$20.00.

Sec. 8. The Executive Council may exonerate any national or international union, organizing committee and directly affiliated local union from the payment of per capita tax or assessments due to the Federation for any month upon a proper showing that, in the opinion of the Executive Council, good cause therefor exists. Exonerated members shall be regarded, for the purposes of this constitution, as paid up members for the period of exoneration.

ARTICLE XVII Amendments

This constitution can be amended or altered only by the convention, by a two-thirds vote of those present and voting, either by a show of hands, or, if a roll-call is properly demanded as provided in this constitution, by such roll-call.

ARTICLE XVIII **Existing Agreements**

Section 1. The agreement for the merger of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, as approved by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the Ex-ecutive Board of the Congress of Industrial Organizations and the conventions of both federations is incorporated herein and made a part of this constitution.

Sec. 2. The AFL-CIO No-Raiding Agreement shall be preserved and, with the consent of the signatories, shall be extended for a period of two years from its present expiration date and amended to make it effective as between all unions signatory to it

irrespective of their former affiliation. The CIO Organizational Disputes Agreement shall be maintained in force for its term as between the unions which have adhered to it. The AFL Internal Disputes Plan shall be maintained in force for its term with respect to the unions which have adhered to it. A Joint Committee shall be established by the Executive Council to formulate the means for incorporating these three agreements into a combined no-raiding and organizaand tional iurisdictional disputes agreement which can be effective as between all of the unions becoming signatory to it irrespective of their former affiliation and for the purpose of extending, by voluntary agree-ment, such provisions to all affiliates of this Federation.

ARTICLE XIX **Initial Convention**

Section 1. The provisions of this constitution shall govern the initial convention of the Federation except as otherwise provided in this Article.

Sec. 2. The initial convention shall be called, and the time and place dethe Joint AFL-CIO termined, by Unity Committee, subject to the approval of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Board of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, and the conventions of the two federations.

Sec. 3. The Joint AFL-CIO Unity Committee shall act as the credentials committee for the initial convention and shall be empowered to accredit as delegates to such convention all of the delegates who have been duly accredited to the conventions of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations which approved this constitu-tion. Where the total number of such delegates of any affiliated organiza-tion is less than the number of delegates to which such organization is entitled under Article IV, Section 4, the Joint AFL-CIO Unity Committee shall be empowered to accredit additional delegates from such organization up to such number.

Sec. 4. Delegations representing national and international unions, organizing committees and directly

affiliated local unions shall each be entitled to a total number of votes based upon the membership represented by such delegation at the conventions of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations approving this constitution. State and local central bodies and national departments shall each be represented by one delegate and shall each be entitled to one vote.

Sec. 5. The Joint AFL-CIO Unity Committee shall report to the convention, designate temporary officers for the convention, appoint all convention committees, and take such other action with respect to the conduct of the convention as may become necessary by virtue of the fact that it is an initial convention.

ARTICLE XX Effective Date

This constitution and the Merger Agreement between the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations shall become effective upon approval by the separate conventions of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations and shall govern the affairs of the Federation beginning with the first convention of the Federation.

MERGER AGREEMENT

AGREEMENT FOR THE MERGER OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND THE CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

Signed February 9, 1955

1. Agreement to Merge

The American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations agree to create a single trade union center in America, through the process of merger which will preserve the integrity of each affiliated national and international union. They further agree upon the following principles and the procedures to accomplish this end.

2. Principles of Merger

(a) It is recognized, as a fundamental basis for the merger of the AFL and CIO, that each national and international union, federal labor union, local industrial union and organizing committee (hereafter referred to as affiliated union) holding a charter or certificate of affiliation granted by either federation shall retain its charter or certificate and become, by virtue of the merger, an affiliate of the merged federation.

(b) It is further recognized and agreed that the integrity of each affiliated union in the merged federation shall be maintained and preserved. In order to effectuate this principle, the Constitution of the merged federation shall contain a constitutional declaration for respect by each affiliate of the established bargaining relationship of every other affiliate and against raiding by any affiliate of the established collective bargaining relationship of any other affiliate. The merged federation shall provide appropriate machinery to implement this constitutional declaration.

(c) The parties further agree that, subject to the foregoing, each affili-

ated union shall have the same organizing jurisdiction in the merged federation as it had in its respective prior organization.

(d) The parties recognize that the above provisions may result in conflicting and duplicating organizations and jurisdictions. Where such is the case, affiliates of the merged federation will be encouraged to eliminate conflicts and duplications through the process of agreement, merger, or other means, by voluntary agreement in consultation with the appropriate officials of the merged federation.

(e) The merged federation shall be based upon a constitutional recognition that both craft and industrial unions are appropriate, equal and necessary as methods of trade union organization.

(f) The merged federation shall constitutionally recognize the right of all workers, without regard to race, creed, color or national origin to share in the full benefits of trade union organization in the merged federation. The merged federation shall establish appropriate internal machinery to bring about, at the earliest possible date, the effective implementation of this principle of non-discrimination.

(g) The merged federation shall constitutionally affirm its determination to protect the American trade union movement from any and all corrupt influence and from the undermining efforts of communist agencies and all others who are opposed to the basic principles of our democracy and of free and democratic trade unionism.

The merged federation shall establish appropriate internal machinery with authority effectively to implement this constitutional determination to keep the merged federation free from any taint of corruption or communism.

3. Government and Structure of the Merged Federation

- (a) There shall be established within the merged federation a Department to be known as the Council of Industrial Organizations. Such Department shall have the status of, and, in general, be comparable to, the existing Departments of the American Federation of Labor, which Departments shall be continued within the merged federation. This Department shall be open to all industrial unions within the merged federation. All other Departments in the merged federation shall be open to all appropriate unions.
- (b) The executive officers of the merged federation shall be a President and a Secretary-Treasurer, who shall be elected at the regular conventions of the merged federation. Initially, the President and Secretary-Treasurer shall be elected from the unions now affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.
- (c) The Department of Organization of the merged federation shall be headed by a Director of Organization who shall be appointed by the President, after consultation with the Executive Committee, subject to the approval of the Executive Council.

Initially, the Director of Organization shall be selected from a union now affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organizations. The Department of Organizations shall be provided the staff and resources necessary to conduct organizational activities in cooperation with the various affiliated unions, in the common effort to organize the unorganized into collective bargaining units which experience has shown to be the most effective and appropriate for the protection of such workers.

(d) The Convention of the merged federation shall be its supreme governing body. The convention shall meet regularly every two years. The delegates of affiliated unions to such convention shall vote the per capita membership of the unions which they represent. State and local central bodies shall be entitled to one vote each at conventions.

- (e) In addition to the officers set forth in paragraph (b), there shall be twenty-seven Vice Presidents, to be elected at the regular conventions of the merged federation. The Vice Presidents shall, with the executive officers, constitute the Executive Council. The Executive Council shall meet not less than three times each year. It shall be authorized and empowered to take such action and render such decisions as will be necessary to carry out fully and adequately the decisions and instructions of the conventions and between conventions shall have the power to direct the affairs of the federation and to take such actions and render such decisions as are nec-essary and appropriate to safeguard and promote the best interests of the federation and its affiliated unions, including the organization of unorganized industries by means most appropriate for that purpose. At the first convention of the merged federation, seventeen of the Vice Presidents shall be elected from unions now affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and ten shall be elected from unions now affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organizations.
- (f) There shall be an Executive Committee which shall consist of the Executive Officers and six of the Vice Presidents to be selected by the Executive Council. The Executive Committee shall meet bi-monthly and shall advise and consult with the executive officers on policy matters. Initially, three of the Vice Presidents constituting the Executive Committee shall be selected from unions now affiliated with the AFL and three of the Vice Presidents shall be selected from unions now affiliated with the CIO.
- (g) There shall be a body known as the General Board which shall consist of the members of the Executive Council and the President or other principal officer of each of the national or international unions affiliated with the merged federation. The General Board shall meet at least once each year and shall decide all policy questions referred to it by the executive officers, and the Executive Council. The rules of the convention as to voting shall govern the General Board.

(h) The constitution of the merged federation shall provide for standing committees of the federation in appropriate fields of action. These committees shall have appropriate staffs and due recognition shall be given to unions now affiliated with the AFL and the CIO in determining the chairmanships of, and in staffing, such committees.

(i) The constitution shall provide for state and local central bodies of the merged federation. In addition, the constitution shall permit the Council of Industrial Organizations to maintain subordinate councils, as now provided for departments of the American Federation of Labor. Existing state and local bodies of the AFL and CIO shall be merged as provided for in paragraph 6(g) of this Agreement.

4. Finances

(a) The merged federation shall succeed to all the assets of the American Federation of Labor and shall assume all of its liabilities and contractual obligations. The merged federation shall succeed to that part of the net assets of the Congress of Industrial Organizations which bears the same relationship to the membership of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (as measured by per capita tax paid as of the date of the 1954 Congress of Industrial Organizations Convention) as the net assets of the American Federation of Labor as of the date of merger bear to the membership of the American Federation of Labor (similarly measured as of the date of the 1954 American Federation of Labor Convention). The Council of Industrial Organizations to be established within the merged federation shall succeed to the balance of the assets of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, after all of its liabilities, both accrued and potential, have been provided for. The term assets shall include real estate held in trust for the respective federations.

(b) The per capita tax payable to the merged federation by national, international unions and organizing committees shall be 4 cents per member per month. The per capita tax of federal labor unions and local industrial unions shall be not less than 80 cents per member per month. The Council of Industrial Organizations, acting as a department of the merged federation, shall establish its own per capita tax, as shall all other departments of the merged federation.

5. Existing Agreements

The AFL-CIO No-Raiding Agreement shall be preserved and, with the consent of the signatories, shall be extended for a period of two years from its present expiration date and amended to make it effective as between all unions signatory to it irrespective of their former affiliation.

The CIO Organizational Disputes Agreement shall be maintained in force as between the unions which have adhered to it. The AFL Internal Disputes Plan shall be maintained in force with respect to the unions which have adhered to it. A Joint Committee shall be established to formulate the means for incorporating these three agreements into a combined noraiding and organizational and jurisdictional disputes agreement which can be effective as between all of the unions becoming signatory to it irrespective of their former affiliation and for the purpose of extending, by voluntary agreement, such provisions to all affiliates of the merged federation.

6. Methods of Merger

The merger shall be effected by the following procedure:

(a) This agreement shall be submitted for approval to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Board of the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

(b) Upon approval by them, a proposed constitution for the merged federation, reflecting the provisions of the merger agreement and containing such other necessary and appropriate provisions as may be agreed to, shall be drafted by the Joint AFL-CIO Unity Committee. The proposed constitution of the merged federation shall, consistent with the merger agreement, preserve the essential features of the present AFL and CIO constitutions and the basic rights and obligations of the affiliates of both federations.

(c) The proposed Constitution shall be submitted for approval to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the Execu-tive Board of the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

(d) Upon approval by them, this Agreement and the proposed Constitution, and such other agreements as are necessary to accomplish the merger shall be submitted to separate conventions of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

(e) Upon approval by the separate conventions of the two federations of the Merger Agreement and the proposed Constitution of the merged federation, a joint convention shall be held. Such joint convention shall constitute the first regular biennial convention of the merged federation.

(f) Initially, the headquarters and field staff of the AFL and the CIO shall be retained as the staff of the

merged federation. A special committee shall be established of the present executive officers of the AFL and the CIO which shall, in conjunction with the executive officers of the merged federation, make just, fair and equitable provision for the integration of the staffs of the AFL and the CIO into a single staff for the merged federation.

(g) Merger of existing state and local central bodies of the AFL and CIO shall be accomplished within two years after the date of the merger of the two national federations by the process of negotiation and agreement under the guidance of the officers of the merged federation. Pending the conclusion of such agreements state and local central bodies of both the AFL and CIO shall be permitted to continue to exist as state and local central bodies representing the respective local unions now affiliated to such central bodies.

IMPLEMENTATION AGREEMENT

Made this 30th day of November, 1955, by and between the American Federation of Labor, sometimes referred to hereinafter as the AFL, and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, sometimes referred to hereinafter as the CIO.

WHEREAS, the AFL and the CIO, by their duly constituted executive bodies, have concluded an agreement entitled "Agreement for the Merger of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations" to combine and continue both organizations into a single organization, the "American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations" (sometimes referred to hereinafter as the AFL-CIO), and

WHEREAS, the executive bodies of the AFL and the CIO have approved a proposed constitution for such combined organization, and

WHEREAS, the agreement to com-

bine and the proposed constitution will be submitted for approval to the forthcoming constitutional conventions of the AFL and of the CIO, and

WHEREAS, the combination of the AFL and the CIO into the AFL-CIO will become effective, in accordance with the agreement to combine and the proposed constitution of the AFL-CIO, on the effective date of the approval of such agreement and such constitution by the separate conventions of the AFL and of the CIO, and

WHEREAS, the duly constituted executive bodies of the AFL and the CIO have authorized the undersigned Officers of the respective organizations to enter into this agreement to implement the combination of the

AFL and the CIO,

NOW, THEREFORE, the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations do hereby

agree as follows

1. The AFL-CIO shall be deemed, for all purposes, to be a combination and continuation of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations. Neither of such organizations shall be deemed, for any purpose, to be dissolved, ter-minated or discontinued, but upon the effective date of the combination they shall be combined and continued as a single organization, the AFL-CIO, to be governed by the constitution of the AFL-CIO, which shall be an amendment to and substitute for the present separate constitutions of the AFL and the CIO.

2. Immediately prior to the effective date of the combination of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, the CIO shall, in accordance with paragraph 4(a) of the "Agreement for the Merger of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations" transfer to an appropriate account or other depository, for the benefit of, and to be the sole property of, the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO, a sum in cash or securities estimated to be equal to the difference between the value of the net assets of the CIO and \$1,238,536.00. Any errors in this estimate of the amounts due to the AFL-CIO and to the Industrial Union Department under the said Paragraph 4(a) shall be corrected subsequently by an appropriate adjustment between the AFL-CIO and the Industrial Union Department.

3. On the effective date of the combination, all the property, real and personal and mixed and all right, title and interest, either legal or equitable, in any monies, funds or property, tangible and intangible, of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, and their respective separate names, trademarks, and emblems, and all debts due to each of them, and all the rights, privileges and powers and every other interest of each of them, of whatever nature, except for the sum transferred to the Industrial Union Department as provided in paragraph 2 of this Agreement, shall by virtue of the combination of the AFL and the CIO, be transferred to and vested in the AFL-CIO and all such rights and properties shall thereafter be as effectually the property of the AFL-CIO as they were of the AFL and the CIO. Title to any prop-

erty, real, personal or mixed, legally or beneficially vested by deed or otherwise in the AFL or the CIO, shall not be in any way impaired by reason of the combination but shall in all respects be vested in the combined organization by virtue of the combination. The AFL-CIO shall, on and after the effective date of the combination, be responsible, by virtue of the combination, for all the debts, liabilities and obligations of the AFL and the CIO, and all such debts, liabilities and obligations shall from that time forth attach to the combined organization and may be enforced against it to the same extent as if the said debts, liabilities, and obligations were incurred or otherwise contracted by it.

- 4. The present executive officers, the present members of the Executive Council of the AFL and any trustee holding property for the AFL, and the present executive officers, present members of the Executive Board of the CIO and any trustee holding property for the CIO shall be empowered to and shall from time to time after the effective date of the combination, execute and deliver or cause to be executed and delivered, upon request of the combined organization, all such deeds, authorizations, or other instruments as the combined organization may deem necessary or desirable in order to confirm the right and title of the combined organization to the property, rights and privileges referred to in paragraph 3 above, and shall take such further and other action as may be requested by the combined organization for such purposes.
- 5. In accordance with the provisions of Article III of the proposed consti-tution of the AFL-CIO, each national and international union and each Federal Labor and Local Trade Union and each State and Territorial Federation of Labor and Local Central Body affiliated with the AFL, and each department of the AFL and each national and international union, organizing committee and Local Industrial Union, and each State and Local Industrial Union Council affiliated with the CIO, and the Industrial Union Department provided for in Article XII of the constitution of the

AFL-CIO, shall, on the effective date of the combination of the AFL and the CIO, and by virtue of such combination, be an affiliate of the AFL-CIO unless, in the case of a national or international union, it expressly disaffiliates therefrom.

- 6. The combination of the AFL and the CIO into the AFL-CIO shall not affect, interrupt or change in any way the continuing status, or the rights or duties with respect to third persons, of any organization affiliated with the AFL or the CIO, or any of their subordinate or affiliated bodies, whether such organization be a national or international union, organizing committee, national council, federal labor or local trade union, local industrial union, state or territorial federation, city central labor union, state or local industrial union council, or trade and industrial department, and, further, shall not impair the status of such organizations, or any their subordinate or affiliated bodies, in any pending action or proceedings, or any right, title or interest in any property or arising from any deeds, bonds, mortgages, leases or contracts of any kind, or the continuity thereof; and, further, shall not impair any federal, state or territorial certification or any rights or obligations of such organizations, or any of their subordinate or affiliated bodies, under their existing collective bargaining agreements or checkoff authorizations.
- 7. The combination of the AFL and the CIO is not intended to affect any presently existing collective bargaining agreement or any federal, state or territorial certification of the AFL or the CIO, but all rights, privileges, duties and responsibilities vested in either the AFL or the CIO pursuant to such contracts or certifications are intended to be vested in the AFL-CIO by virtue of the combination.
- 8. The combination of the AFL and the CIO is not intended, nor shall it be deemed, in itself to terminate the employment of any employee of either the AFL or the CIO. All employees of the AFL and the CIO initially shall, upon the effective date of the combination, and by virtue thereof, be deemed to be employees of the

AFL-CIO without interruption of their employment status.

9. The combination of the AFL and the CIO shall not terminate or affect in any way any existing pension or insurance plan which may be in effect with respect to the employees of the AFL or the CIO but such plans shall be maintained in force by the AFL-CIO with respect to the employees covered thereby on the effective date of the combination until such time as consolidated pension and insurance plans shall be substituted therefor.

10. This Agreement is subject to and shall not become effective unless the agreement to combine the AFL and the CIO and the proposed consti-

tution of the AFL-CIO are approved and made effective by the separate conventions of the AFL and the CIO.

GEORGE MEANY,
President,
American Federation of Labor.

WILLIAM F. SCHNITZLER, Secretary-Treasurer, American Federation of Labor.

WALTER P. REUTHER,
President,
Congress of Industrial Organizations.

JAMES B. CAREY, Secretary-Treasurer, Congress of Industrial Organizations.

First Constitutional Convention

of the

American Federation of Labor Congress of Industrial Organizations 1955 Proceedings

New York, New York, December 5, 1955



Report of

FIRST DAY—MONDAY MORNING SESSION

New York, New York December 5, 1955

Pursuant to action taken by the separate conventions of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations held in the City of New York on December 1 and 2, 1955, the First Constitutional Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations Convened in the Seventy-First Regiment Armory in the City of New York, at 9:30 o'clock, A. M., December 5, 1955. Mr. George Meany and Mr. Walter Reuther jointly called the Convention to order, with Mr. Reuther thereupon presiding as Temporary Chairman.

While the delegates and guests were assembling they were entertained by Paul Lavalle's Cities Service Band of America.

CHAIRMAN REUTHER: On behalf of the Joint Labor Unity Committee I now declare this founding Convention of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organi-zations in order for business. I will ask the delegates and guests to stand for the National Anthems of the United States and Canada. I am privileged to present, for the National Anthem of the United States, Miss Lil-

lian Hayes, and for the Canadian Na-tional Anthem Mr. Joseph Bono. . . . The audience joined in the singing of the National Anthems.

CHAIRMAN REUTHER: Will you please remain standing for the invocation. It is my privilege to present one of America's most outstanding spiritual leaders, His Eminence, Francis Cardinal Spellman, Archbishop of New York.

INVOCATION Francis Cardinal Spellman, Archbishop of New York

of New York

Lord Jesus, Carpenter of Nazareth, Thou hast called us to play our part in a day of destiny and decision. Grave problems face us which we may not put aside. Them must we meet and solve with justice for all men. Grant that we may not be little men in a great day bequeathed by dedicated men who dared in darker hours to believe and hope; to sacrifice and starve.

We know that by ourselves we are insufficient for these tasks and for problems vaster than the measure of our best vision. Be Thou present, then, O Delegate Unseen, in our midst, with the marks of the nails in Thy hands calloused by honest toil—to lead us and to bless us. Move us that there may be

concession without coercion and con-ciliation without compromise. In Thy spirit may we be courageous enough to begin with confidence; fearless enough

spirit may we be courageous enough to begin with confidence; fearless enough to admit mistakes; humble enough to forgive wrongs. Take away from our deliberations the temper of selfishness and shield us from the lust for power which forges chains on free men's arms and drenches the earth in blood and tears. Make unity of purpose in organizing for the common good our plighted goal and dominant concern.

May the leaders of industry find in the new merged ranks of Free Labor not enemies, but friends; not competitors but collaborators; not menaces but a mighty safeguard of their own enterprise and freedoms. And may the foe of liberty and free labor who plots to pull down the sceptre of God and dominate our country, degrade the dignity of man and ensare and enslave the toilers of the world by luring, lying slogans, know that we plerce the veil of his hypocrisy and scorn his insidious, deceitful promises.

Bless, O Lord, we beseech Thee, this merger of our nations' two great labor bodies and grant peace and harmony in all their deliberations and actions. Let the spirit of cooperation and collaboration prevail in the difficult days ahead when so many complex problems

in all their deliberations and actions. Let the spirit of cooperation and collaboration prevail in the difficult days ahead when so many complex problems challenge the wisdom and restraint of its leaders. We pray Thee, bless them with knowledge and understanding, wisdom and justice in their councils. Let this new unity which brings 15,000,000 laboring men together in common purpose be the means of renewing their remembrance of Thy provident care and of Thy bountiful provision for re and of Thy bountiful provision for I their needs. It has not been the tragic lot of the

all their needs.

It has not been the tragic lot of the American working man to bend his neck beneath the dictator's yoke. He has not seen his property and the hard won gains of his daily work appropriated by a ruthless state. The goad of the Commissar and the relentless pressure of the Five Year Plan he has not known. And so we give thanks to Thee, O merciful Father, for the favors of freedom and prosperity which Thou hast bestowed upon our workers and upon our country.

From strength to strength may organized labor go forward remaining conscious always of the stewardship it holds for so many millions of workers as it closes the ranks today in this historic merger and may the blessing of God the Father, of Christ the Worker and of the Holy Spirit be with it now and always.

and always.

CHAIRMAN REUTHER: Thank you, Cardinal Spellman, for invoking God's guidance upon our deliberations and the work that lies ahead.

I am privileged at this time to present a veteran of almost half a century in the service of the American labor movement. About 45 years ago this brother became active in the Teamsters Union in New York City. As a matter of fact, I am told that he and his colleagues 45 years ago began to work on the present traffic jam that we all had to buck into this convention hall. He has been the President of the Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York since 1942. He has served as Chairman of the Executive Committee of Labor's League Executive Committee of Labor's League

for Political Education in the New York area, and I am very pleased and proud to present our good friend, Brother Martin T. Lacev.

MR. MARTIN T. LACEY President, Central Trades and Labor Council of New York City

As President of the Central Trades & Labor Council of New York City it is a privilege to extend a heartfelt welcome to the officials and delegates gathered together in this great merger convention. We here today are embarking on an historic task. This is an outstanding moment in the history of organized labor. It holds tremendous promise for the future of the Labor Movement, and for the welfare of every working man and working woman in our country.

The job ahead of us is a momentous one. It calls for the best that each and every one of us has to give. The work that we do now and the measure of our individual devotion to our common cause will decide whether we make the most of the tremendous opportunity at

most of the tremendous opportunity at

hand.

nand.

There is much work to be done, many problems to be met and mastered. It is well that we have a full appreciation of this fact. We will have need for tact, for mutual understanding, cooperation, forebearance and, perhaps most of all, for patience

It may be trite to say that Rome wasn't built in a day, but it is a truth we need to be reminded of at this time. Great movements are the result of great forces that gather momentum slowly, but are irresistable. In a movement as mighty as ours we can afford to be patient.

mighty as ours we can afford to be patient.

My call for patience and understanding I know will not be used as an excuse for apathy, or laziness, or indifference. Our patience must be active, not passive. Only by the utmost diligence and energy of which we are capable can we make this great unification of organized labor the force for good it should be, both in the development of our country and in the individual lives of all workers.

Let us give generously in this good work—give of ourselves, our capacities our energies, our willingness, our good will and our devotion to the general welfare. The great opportunity is at hand. Let us make the most of it. May our efforts bear rich fruit and may God speed our success.

And now it becomes my great pleas—

And now it becomes my great pleasure to introduce to you the Secretary-Treasurer of the New York City Industrial Union Council, Morris Iushe-

MR. MORRIS IUSHEVITZ

Secretary-Treasurer; New York City Industrial Union Council

Chairman Reuther, officers, Cardinal Spellman, distinguished guests and fellow delegates: It is a great privilege and a high honor to welcome you today on behalf of the half million members of the CIO in this area. We welcome you to our town, a great union town, and we are proud and happy

that you have chosen New York as the

that you have chosen New York as the setting for this historic and momentous occasion.

It is sometimes difficult to speak for other people, but I have no hesitation in saying to you today that I know I speak for all the CIO people in New York when I say we have waited a long time for unity. We are grateful that it has been achieved, and we expect great things from the great, new union, the AFL-CIO.

We are confident that under that banner we will go forward to greater giory and good for all America.

We wish you well in your deliberations.

And now I have the honor to pre-sent to you Brother Thomas Murray, President of the New York State Fed-eration of Labor.

MR. THOMAS MURRAY President, New York State Federation of Labor

Mr. Chairman, Your Eminence Cardi-al Spellman, distinguished guests,

Mr. Chairman, Your Eminence Cardinal Spellman, distinguished guests, delegates and friends:
In my more than 50 years as a trade unionist, this is the proudest and most privileged moment of my life, to address this unified labor gathering brought about by the intelligent thinking of both the CIO and AFL.
The solidification of the labor movement will be a forward step toward a firmer foundation for a greater prosperity and a higher standard of living and the safeguard of purchasing power that is essential for the progress of our great nation. With the merger will come a greater responsibility, a greater opportunity to serve the public welfare.
There can be no higher form of

can be no higher form of

There can be no nigner form of patriotism.

I have known the next speaker for a great many years and have always found him ready and willing to cooperate for the progress of the working people of this State and Nation. It is a privilege to present to you Louis Hollander, President, New York State Congress of Industrial Organizations.

MR. LOUIS HOLLANDER President, New York State Congress of **Industrial Organizations**

President Reuther, President Meany stinguished leaders of our united bor movement, delegates and friends: distinguished labor movement, delegates and friends:
I deem it a great privilege to jo'n
Tom Murray, the President of the
State Federation of Labor, in welcoming you and greeting you at this historic convention. Actually what we
are doing this morning is making history in building a united and unified
labor movement for the good of all the
people and not only for the good of
our members.

people and not only for the good of our members.

I think at this time, in these brief seconds, it would perhaps be fitting for me. President Reuther and President Meany, to recite to you some of the things that the CIO and the AFL have done in New York. We are proud of our record. We are proud of the work

we have done because the State CIO has been active in the community partnership with our neighbors, not only for the achievement of a dollar more for the worker but for the achievement of a better community for all people. We have participated in every activity in the community. We have rought for better housing, better schools, and better hospitals and health facilities.

.Yes, Mr. President, we have in the last week helped to perform a great act that would bring benefits and blessings to our children of these United States. Our affiliates partici-United States. Our affiliates particl-pated in bringing into one house a conference for education. In the tra-dition of labor we have fought for education just as we have fought against sweat shops in industry, and we have fought against overcrowded classrooms, rought against overcrowded classrooms, unpaid teachers, overworked teachers, which constitute sweat shop conditions in education. We refuse to have our children educated under sweatshop conditions, and we are happy that we had a great deal to do in influencing that great movement to eliminate sweatshop conditions in education as we have eliminated sweatshop conditions in influency. tions in industry.

We have been active in the legislative halls, in political activities, and when the history will be written of the CIO a page will be given to the New York State Organization that many of the good laws on the legislative books today were initiated by the State CIO and its affiliates in the State.

affiliates in the State.

I am looking forward to the State CIO joining hands with the leadership and membership of the State AFL. I know in uniting we can be a force for good. I know in united action we can do the things not only for our own members but good things for all the people in our communities. And may the time come when we will work together in the State as well as here in the cities and all over to eradicate the evils that are still here and place them with the good things of life for everyone.

In this spirit I greet you and I welcome you, and may God give you all these blessings. Thank you very much.

CHAIRMAN REUTHER: I thank the four good brothers from the State of New York for their greetings of friendship and hospitality. It is now my privilege to present our special guest this morning who is a distinguished son of a very distinguished father. His late and beloved father, that great Senator, Robert F. Wagner, was a great champion of labor's rights in America. He was the author of the great "Magna Charta" of American labor—the Wagner Act. He put more positive, constructive social legislation into the laws of our great land than anyone else in the history of our great country.

But our friend this morning is not CHAIRMAN REUTHER: I thank the our good brothers from the State of

But our friend this morning is not content to rest on the laurels of his distinguished father. He, too, is dedicating his life in the public interest in serving all his fellow men. As a New York Assemblyman he won distinction and respect for his positive and constructive contribution in advancing legislation to deal with the basic problems of the people in this great State.

He served with distinction as Commissioner of Housing and Building in New York City, as Chairman of the Safety Planning Commission, President of the Borough of Manhattan, motivated always by great energy and great idealism. The people of the City of New York, recognizing that here was a dedicated public servant, decided that he was the proper man for the highest executive office in this great city, and two years ago he was elected Mayor of the City of New York. He was the first mayor of any city in the United States to establish a City Department of Labor because he recognized that labor does have problems that need specialized attention of people familiar with these problems.

that need specialized attention of peo-ple familiar with these problems. Last week he was elected the head of the Municipal Association. It is a distinct honor and a great privilege at this time to present the Mayor of the City of New York, the Honorable Robert F. Wagner.

HONORABLE ROBERT F. WAGNER Mayor, New York City

Walter Reuther, my good friend George Meany, Your Eminence, Dis-tinguished Officers and Delegates to the

Convention:

tinguished Omcers and Delegates to the Convention:

This is a memorable day for Labor, industry, and our country. It is an honor to all of us of New York that you have selected it as the place to carry out your dedicated task, to build one house of labor. It is a pleasure, too, to welcome to New York and to this convention, the great representatives of free labor in other lands. We hope they will get to know us well.

New York takes pride that it was the birthplace of many of the unions that created the two wings, now being put under one roof. It takes pride, too, that many of the most eminent of labor statesmen had their origins and first fought the good fight here, in the homes and factories of our town. Without the inspiration, the dedication of these men and without the hard work of their supporters—not only would this of their supporters—not only would this day not have dawned for labor, but this city and this country would not be day not have dawned for labor, but this city and this country would not be what they are. America is a land where we have knit together men and women of many different economic and national backgrounds so that they here live and work in harmony and friendship. New York has led the way in that respect. New York, the great port of entry to our country will give good proof of that again, when, with your help, our nation opens the gates again to all who will make good citizens, regardless of their color or land of birth. With that background in its history, New York is a happy choice for the site, where, for the first time in twenty years, you meet together, to work and live in harmony and friendship. There is another, a symbolic reason why New York is a happy choice for this convention. Here we proudly boast that we are always rebuilding the town. When the framework of a building is completed, those in the trade say the building is "topped-out". In joining in this convention you are to adopt a new constitution. With that task completed, you will "top-off" the framework for the new, united house of labor. I have always believed and fought for the idea that the interest of our country and the interest of the working man and woman are the same. In fact, what is good for the country is good for labor. It is indeed this ideal that has made New York the leader in our nation, in the never-ending task of devising better ways to improve the lot of all who work for a living in our democratic society. As mayor I am in a sense, an employer of nearly 200,000 people. It has been my aim, as the head of city government, to carry the philosophy I just expressed, into the too-long neglected sphere of government. To that end I have taken steps to recognize and accord to each in city employment, the right to be heard to recognize for all the right, in strength and unity of organization, to have a voice in the pay, and conditions under which they work to carry on the city's affairs. city's affairs.

You who have assembled in this convention have had many knotty problems to solve, to bring you to this point. That you have worked out so many, is a tribute to your will, and to your purpose. It is encouraging, and a further tribute that you know that your work is not ended. From the statements you have issued, it is clear that you do not rest in the assumption that adoption of the wonderful preamble, and the new constitution itself ends the job. You know that this great charter does not itself breathe life into the organization, or that it has solved all problems. Just as for our country, it took years of building before our constitution could be written, and just as even today, we in this nation have old problems still to solve and new ones coming up day to day, so it must be with you. A document, a set of rules and principles, welding men with common needs to a common cause, can live and breathe only in the You who have assembled in this cona set of rules and principles, weiging men with common needs to a common cause, can live and breathe only in the light of the facts and problems of each new day. This is the philosophy you have wisely adopted. For the success of your purpose there could be no other.

of your purpose there could be no other. It is encouraging too, to see how few are the prophets of doom on this occasion among those who usually see goblins in anything that you may do. That there are but few such critics is testimony to the rightness of your cause. We should rejoice that most leaders in the industrial life of our country view with great hore what you leaders in the industrial life of our country view with great hope what you do here today. To the few disparagers the "nervous nellies", I say, read the preamble to the new constitution of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. and tremble no more, for you need not fear the men of labor, who make a pledge to work in unity and say "The achievement of ever higher living and working conditions"

who make a pledge to work in unity and say "The achievement of ever higher living and working conditions" Those who fear and doubt should have naught but hope for our beloved country from such as you who pledge to: "Combat resolutely the forces, which seek to undermine the demo-

to: "Combat resolutely the forces, which seek to undermine the democratic institutions of our nation and to enslave the human soul."
These noble words and aims are expressed in your new constitution, and in the indomitable will and leadership of George Meany. Walter Reuther, and all who work with them. These words you will surely carry into deeds.
They must be made to mean for each

among our fellow-citizens a free right to Join a union, to work wherever his talents direct him, a right to better homes, better scnools, and a fuller life. It is a fight not yet won. You must continue to educate your members, you must continue to lead the country along these paths. It is a cause in which I have enlisted for the duration, so that we can bring these aims to pass on a local and a national scale. Enlisting under such a banner, you and I cannot fail.

Let me close with expressing my

Let me close with expressing my own heartfelt wish for your success; and let me invite you to the hostitality York, when next you meet New convention.

May God bless you in your noble ork for the betterment of America

and the world.

REUTHER: On CHAIKMAN REUTHER: On behalf of the delegates to the Convention I should like to express our sincere appreciation for the words of inspiration from Mayor Wagner and for the words of welcome and hospitality.

Thank you Bob, and good luck in the period ahead.

CONVENTION PHOTOGRAPH

. . . At this time the Convention photograph was taken,

CHAIRMAN REUTHER: At this time I should like to introduce the people who have worked hard in bringing us where we are today, who really have been the architects of this beginning of a united labor movement, I would like to ask all the members of the Joint Unity Committee to stand so that you can give them a big hand at this

... The Joint Unity Committee rose and acknowledged the introduction ...

CHAIRMAN REUTHER: At this time I am privileged to yield the gravel to the oldest member of the subcommittee of the Unity Committee, a brother who has given years of service to the American labor movement. He is old in years, in faith and service, but young in spirits. I have learned to know him and to respect him as we worked together on the task of fashioning a united labor movement. No one during these many, many meetings has shown greater understanding, greater patience, or more good sense or more good will than the bricklayer whom I am told that

good will than the bricklayer whom I am going to present I am told that he is the No. 1 bricklayer of America. I was told that there was an argument one day in the headquarters of the Bricklayer's Union in Washington as to who was the oldest union man in the Bricklayer's Union. One fellow contended that the fellow whose name he advanced was the oldest bricklayer. In order to support the fellow whose name he advanced was the oldest bricklayer. In order to support the convention he said, "Why, this fellow served his apprenticeship when they were the great Pyramids in Egypt." building The fellow who was arguing the point that the person whom I want to present was the oldest bricklayer said. "Hell, this guy was the business agent on that job."

It is a great privilege to be able to work with men like this fellow, because he is a great source of information to the younger people coming up in the labor

movement. I am proud to present good friend, the President of the Bi layers Union, Brother Harry Bates. the Brick-

MR. HARRY BATES

I want to thank President Reuther for his kind remarks. Up until he made this speech here this morning I didn't know that I was such a good man.

It is with great pleasure that I present to you at this time one of America's most able and distinguished labor statesman. It is unnecessary for me to elaborate on the wonderful contributions made to labor by this man. His record speaks for itself. I present for an address to this convention Brother Walter Reuther, President of the CIO and President of the United Automobile Workers-CIO of America.

MR. WALTER REUTHER

My good friend Harry Bates, Brother George Meany, distinguished guests, fellow workers and friends: All of us are truly blessed in having the great human experience of sharing in the shaping of the decisions of this historic Convention. In truth we stand on the threshold of the beginning of what I know will be the most glorious chapter in the history of the American labor movement. Millions of workers throughout the world are watching us with high hope and rejoicing as they see the forces of free labor joining together in this Convention, and behind the Iron Curtain, where men slave in the Iron Curtain, where men slave in the darkness of the Communist tyranny, our actions here this week will give men renewed hope in their struggle to be free. My good friend Harry Bates, Brother

darkness of the communications here this week will give men reactions here this week will give men renewed hope in their struggle to be free.

We are building a new and united labor movement, and we are building it well, because the policies that we have established are morally right and they are foundation of principles that are sound and honorable.

We say frankly we have not achieved perfection, because no work of man is perfect. There will be problems, but I perfect. There will be problems, but I believe with all of my heart that the same good will, the same common sense and the same good faith that brought us from where we were to where we are today, where we were to where we are today, that same good sense and good faith will solve the new problems that may lie ahead in working out the final mechanics

ahead in working out the final mechanics of labor unity.

I say to George Meany and our many friends who make up the leadership of the former American Federation of Labor unions, and I say this in behalf of myself and my colleagues and for the millions of workers back home whom we have the privilege of representing—I say, George, to you and your colleagues we extend the hand of friendship and the hand of friendship and the hand of fellowship, and I say, together united in the solidarity of human brother-hood we shall go forward to build a labor movement and a better America for all people in this great and wonderful country of ours.

This is an unparalleled opportunity to begin to lay the basis for moving forward.

This is an unparalleled opportunity to begin to lay the basis for moving forward. for organizing the millions of unorganized workers who are still denied the protection and the benefits that only trade union membership can give them.

I am confident that we will find the means of rising above the conflicts of the past and we will find a way in America

to organize the unorganized into craft unions where that is proper and into in-dustrial unions. There are enough unor-ganized workers in America to keep every craft union and industrial union working side by side for many years to come if we do the job together. Every union can grow. Every union can bring to the membership that they bring into their ranks these great blessing of organize the unorganized into

into the membership that they bring into their ranks these great blessings of organized labor.

Now as we meet today our enemies have plans under way to mobilize their forces. These are the forces of selfishness and greed and reaction. They are the same forces who fought against the 8-hour day, against the Child Labor Law, against social security, against free public education. They shall again be rising up and challenging the rights of organized labor to come together. Watch llenging the rights of organized labor come together. Watch the editorial amns, and many of the same papers columns. who yesterday criticized labor because its house was divided—they are now going to criticize us because we are united, because they say this is the beginning of

a monopoly.

We say you are wrong. We agree with
Mayor Wagner. We reject the slogan of
General Motors that what is good for
GM is good for America. We will buy
Mayor Wagner's slogan that what is good
for America is good for American labor.

Mayor Wagner's slogan that what is good for America is good for American labor. That shall be our slogan.

We want to make progress, not at the expense of our neighbors, we want to make progress with our neighbors, and with the American people because we share the same hopes, the same aspirations, and we dream the same dreams of a better tomorrow.

We ofter our hand to men and women of good will all over America, and we say, let us work together in the vineyards of American democracy in building a better tomorrow in which people everywhere can share more

in building a better tomorrow in which people everywhere can share more fully in the blessings of economic and social justice, in which people can live at peace and freedom together.

We would like nothing better than to be able to work constructively with all groups in America in building that better world in which peace and human freedom could be made secure a

to be able to work constructively with all groups in America in building that better world in which peace and human freedom could be made secure, a world in which we could banish war and man's inhumanity to man forever. These are the things that we strive for, and we are joining together, not ocreate a powerful economic pressure group or a political pressure bloc; we are joining together so that together we may make a greater contribution in the building of a finer America for all people.

What kind of things are we going to fight for? We want a decent educational system so that every child in America, conceived in the image of God, will have the kind of educational opportunities so that every child could grow intellectually and spiritually and culturally into a finer human being.

We want to wipe out the slums so that every family can live in a decent house, in a wholesome neighborhood. We want social security so that our old people can share economic security and human dignity in the last years of their lives.

We want adequate medical care: we

their lives.

We want adequate medical care; we want the things that the American people want. These are the things to which we shall dedicate our efforts in the years ahead.

We also want to join with Americans in all walks of life in proving that America, the last best hope of free men everywhere, is worthy of the leadership of the free world. And i believe that this labor movement of ours will make a great contribution in the field of civil liberties and civil rights. We need to understand that we cannot accept the attitude of the Governor of Georgia and hope to lead the free world. American democracy must square its noble promises with pactical performance. We need to work hard to overcome the ugly form of racial discrimination and intolerance both within the labor movement and all over nd intolerance both with-movement and all over

cvercome the ugly form of racial discrimination and intolerance both within the labor movement and all over America in the years ahead.

We are blessed like no other people in the world. We have the greatest economic resources; we have the most productive economy. What we need to do is to find a way to gear this developing technology and this growing abundance to the needs and the hopes and the aspirations of all the people of our great country.

The same science and technology that give us the know-how to produce the H-bomb with which we can destroy human life also provide us with the tools of undreamed-of economic abundance if we have but the good sense to use these tools constructively in uplifting mankind to higher living standards and a fuller measure of justice and human dignity.

This is the first time in the history of human civilization where we have the tools of abundance with which to conquer poverty and hunger, disease and ignorance, and man's other ancient enemies. It is the task of the American labor movement to provide positive leadership in finding a way so that free men, instead of struggling

and ignorance, and man's other ancient enemies. It is the task of the American labor movement to provide positive leadership in finding a way so that free men, instead of struggling together in an effort to divide up economic scarcity, can find new forms of cooperation in the glorious opportunity of creating and sharing economic abundance. This is the great challenge that we have before us in America. We believe that the possibilities of human progress and human betterment are as unlimited as the creative genius of the free human spirit. Our basic problem in America, unlike the problem of any other people in the world, is to work at the practical problem of maintaining a dynamic, expanding balance between greater productive power and greater purchasing power. Every time we get more productive power we have got to increase wages and purchasing power so that we can maintain this dynamic balance on a higher and higher economic plateau.

that we can maintain this dynamic balance on a higher and higher economic plateau. If you will look at the possibilities you will find that within the next ten or twelve years the American people can double their living standards. We can have higher wages, more of the good things of life, and we can have a shorter work week. But when we say these things, the men of little faith always say it can't be done. They said we couldn't have a 10-hour day. They said we couldn't have an 8-hour day. We said we could, and America has proven it; we have fashioned our greatness as a nation by doing what the men of little faith said was impossible.

When we go to the bargaining table fighting for higher wages, we are not

only fighting for economic justice for the workers we represent; we are fighting to achieve the expansion of purchasing power so that our economy can go on expanding with full produccan go on expanding with tion and full employment.

We ask a simple question: If America can achieve full employment and full production making the weapons of war and destruction, then pray tell us, we ask, why can't we achieve and maintain full employment and full production making the good things of life for people in peace time? These are the things we are going after.

It is a funny thing in America: when a corporation executive gets \$500,000 a year take-home-pay and he is in there

a corporation executive gets \$500,000 a year take-home-pay and he is in there striving and working to get \$600,000, that is fine. That is how we make progress, by individual drive, initiative and incentive. I ask these spokesmen for big business in America, what process of mental and moral gymnastics does one need to go through to say that it is morally right and economically sound for a \$500,000 executive to try to get \$600,000 but it is economically unsound and morally wrong for a \$5,000 worker to fight through his union to worker to fight through his union to get \$6,000. I say if it is right for the executive it is a thousand times more right for the worker at his income

right for the worker at ms meaning level.

We say to the American farmers, we recognize your problem. We know that you are being denied your fair equity within the framework of the American economy. We know that the future well-being of American farmers and American working people is inseparably tied together. But there are people in Washington who would like the American workers and the American farmers to fight each other. It is the old technique of divide and rule. They are trying to make the farmers believe that their economic situation is deteriorating and that prices are going up on industrial commodities because American labor has won higher wages, when industrial commodities because American labor has won higher wages, when everyone who knows the facts knows that it is greedy corporations in their lust for greater profits who are responsible for higher prices.

I would like to say to the Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. Benson, why doesn't have the secretary of the contraction of the c

of Agriculture, Mr. Benson, why doesn't he join the American labor movement in getting a Congressional investigation on who exactly is responsible for higher prices of industrial commodities. Corporation profits have gone up 30 per cent. Let me just give you a couple of specific figures. The General Motors Corporation raised the price of all of its automobiles, and yet in the first nine months of 1955 the General Motors Corporation made such fantastic profits that you need to take a course in Corporation made such fantastic profits that you need to take a course in higher mathematics to understand them. They made, based upon their nine months' figures if extended for the year, a profit of \$2,635,000,000.00, or 79 per cent return on their capitalization. For every minute, including Saturdays, Sundays and holidays in the first nine months of 1955 General Motors made \$3,00,000.00 profit per hour, and they made \$2,200,000.00 profit per day, and they made \$220,000.000.00 profit per month for every one of those nine months. And yet American labor is being blamed for higher prices. We need to tear down this propa-ganda campaign and let the American farmers know that their best friends in America are the working people who buy their goods and who provide the things they use.

Senator Goldwater proposed yesterday that the American labor movement be politically disfranchised. He says we have no rights with respect to endorsing candidates for public office. I say what we need to say to Mr. Goldwater is, "Our answer to you, Senator, is not less political action but more political action on the part of the American labor movement."

This is our country. We are workers and we are citizens, and politics is the practical housekeeping job of democracy, and the American labor movement intends to help keep that democracy in this country of ours.

We have said very clearly that we are going to work within the two-party system, endorsing candidates, not based upon their party label, but based upon the competence and the integrity of the individual, and where his party stands on the basic issues as they affect the American people. To do this we need to work hard to raise the level of political understanding in America on the part of the great mass of people.

Finally in this Convention we extend our hand to the delegates from the ICFTU who are in attendance, and we

Finally in this Convention we extend our hand to the delegates from the ICFTU who are in attendance, and we say through them to the millions of workers that they represent throughout the free world, "We will work with you, we will work together with free labor in the world in building the free labor movement in every country in the world, because the free labor movement of the world is the strongest anti-Computer force in the world."

of the world is the strongest anti-Com-munist force in the world."
You look where labor is free and strong and you will find that there the communists are weak. But where labor is weak, where there is injustice and graft and poverty the communists are able to form that poverty into power, and therefore we say, free labor is ef-fective in the struggle for peace and freedom, because free labor understands that that struggle is tied together with the struggle for social justice.

freedom, because that that struggle is tied together that that struggle for social justice.

As we meet here today we need to draw inspiration and a sense of rededication from the struggles of those who went before us. And I believe that men went before we men like William men like William.

draw inspiration and a sense of rededication from the struggles of those who went before us. And I believe that men like Philip Murray, men like William Green who gave their lives in the service of the American labor movement; in the struggle for social justice and human betterment, I say that men like Phil Murray and Bill Green did more in one week to fight communism than all the Goldwaters will do in the rest of their lives, in a practical sense.

I say to George Meany, George, this is a great, new beginning. You will lead the American labor movement to higher and higher and higher levels of achievement. You will enable the labor movement to make a greater and greater contribution to the whole of American and the free world. And I pledge to you, George, with all of my heart, that those of us who share in the leadership of the CIO, that we shall stand with you, and together with your colleagues from the AFL we shall fight together; we shall march together; we shall build

together, and we shall win together that better tomorrow for American peo-

Thank you and May God bless all of

CHAIRMAN REUTHER: T am leged now to call upon another member of the Unity Subcommittee, the brother of the Unity Subcommittee, the brother who made a great contribution in working out the many difficult problems related to labor unity. I might say that he had the reputation on our Committee of being the packhorse. He is the only executive in Washington, D. C. who knows how to carry a brief case in each hand. In order to get all the records that we needed that was an essential part of his equipment.

part of his equipment.

He is a baker, and last night George He is a baker, and last night George Meany and I were cutting a big, fancy, eight-layer cake that the I.B.E.W. had at their party, and we asked this brother where he baked those kind of cakes when he was working in a bake shop. And we were told that no, he was not a cake baker, he was a bagel baker. Now I am very privileged at this time to present to the convention a member of the Unity Subcommittee, a man who has made a great contribution to bring us to where we are, my good friend Bill Schnitzler.

Schnitzler.

REPORT OF CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE

DELEGATE SCHNITZLER: The AFL-CIO Unity Committee wishes to report that we have received the names of 1,487 certified delegates eligible to be seated in the First Constitutional Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizaand Congress of Industrial Organiza-tions, representing 135 National and In-ternational Unions, 5 Departments, 93 State Branches, 490 Central Bodies and Industrial Union Councils, 148 Local Un-ions and Local Industrial Unions, and recommend that they be seated forth-

with.

Brother Schnitzler submitted the following list of delegates:

NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS

Actors and Artistes, 33,993—Dullzell, aul, 6,799, Shanks, H. O'Neill, 6,799, merset, Pat, 6,799, Bright, Jackie, 798, McKee, Alex, 6,798. Agricultural Workers, 3,713—Mitchell, Somerset, Pa 6 798, McKee,

Agricultural Workers, 3,713—Mitchell, H. L., 3,713.
Air Line Dispatchers, 609—Dunne, William B., 609.
Air Lines Pilots, 8,760—Sayen, Clarence N., 2,920, Beatley, C. E., 2,920, Masland, W. M., 2,920.
Aluminum Workers, 19,944—Stahl. Eddie R., 4,986, Cowley, William L., 4,986, Kelley, D. R., 4,986, Mitchel, Claude R., 4,986

Asbestos W., 4 62

4,986.
Asbestos Workers, 9,250—Sickles, C. W. 4,625. Mulligan, Hugh E., 4,625. Automobile Workers, 73,329—Heaton, Earl, 24,443, Doria, Anthony, 24,443. Evans, Frank, 24,443. Automobile, 1,259,741—Walter P. Reuther, 50,390, Emil Mazey, 50,390, John W. Livingston, 50,390, Kichard Gosser, 50,390, Norman Matthews, 50,390, Edward Cote, 50,390, Joseph McCusker, 50,390, William McAulay, 50,390, Robert

Carter, 50,390, Leonard Woodcock, 50,390, Patrick J. O'Malley, 50,390, Raymond Ross, 50,390, Charles Ballard, 50,390, Raymond H. Berndt, 50,390, Pat Greathouse, 50,390, Russell Letner, 50,390, George Burt, 50,389, Martin Gerber, 50,389, Charles H. Kerrigan, 50,389, Harvey Kitzman, 50,389, George Merrelli, 50,389, Ken Morris, 50,389, Kenneth Robbinson, 50,389, Charles Bioletti, 50, 9, Charles, 50,388, Kitzman, 50,388, Kon Morris,

vey Kitzman, bu,sey, George, So,389, Kenneth So,389, Ken Morris, 50,389, Kenneth Robinson, 50,389, Charles Bioletti, 50,389, Norman B. Seaton, 50,389.

Bakery Workers, 136,352 — Winter, Herman E., 19,479, Schnitzler, William F., 19,479, Cross, James G., 19,479, Sims, Curtis R., 19,479, Landriscina, James, 19,479, Stuart, George, 19,479, Kralstein, March 19,478, Kralstein, March 19,479, Kralstein, March 19,478, Kralste

Curtis R., 18,719, 19,479, Kralstein, 19,479, Stuart, George, 19,479, Kralstein, Max, 19,478.
Barbers, 65,000—Birthright, William C., 10,834, Robinson, John B., 10,834, Scafidi, Fred, 10,833, Crane, Charles T., 10,833, Husk, George, 10,833, Sanders, E. M., 10,833.

M., 10,000 Barbers H M., 10,833.

Barbers & Beauty Culturists, 3,003—
Ernest, Herbert, 1,001, Moscowitz, Lilyan, 1,001, Freedman, Malvina, 1,001.

Bill Posters and Billers, 1,605—Noch,

Bill Posters and Bhiers, 1,005—Noch, Michael, 1,605.
Boiler Makers, 150,750—Calvin, William A., 18,844, MacGowan, Charles J., 18,844, Eberhardy, A. J., 18,844, Nacey, Harry, 18,44, Nolan, George, 18,844, Pendergast, William G., 18,848, Boggs, Maywood, 18,849.

Bookbinders, 51,335—Haskin, Robert E., 17,112, Denny, Joseph, 17,112, Moran, Marion, 17,111.

Boot and Shoe Workers, 40,000—Mara, John J., 8,000, Anderson, Frank W., 8,000, Lawson, George W., 8,000, Cory, Tom, 8,000, Goggin, Daniel J., 8,000, Brewery, 45,000—Feller, Karl F., 7,500, Rusch, Thomas, 7,500, Gildea, Arthur P., 7,500, Watts, B. M., 7,500, Dehner, John F., 7,590, Person, Robert R., 7,500, Bricklayers, 120,448—Murphy, John J. 24,090, Conners, William R., 24,090, Murphy, Thomas F., 24,089, O'Donnell, Thomas H., 24,089. Boot and Shoe Workers, 40,000-

Murphy, Th Thomas H., 24,089. Brick and Clay Workers, 23 legal, H. R., 5,856, Tracy, Wm., 23,423— n., 5,856. Flegal, Nathan, 5,856, Santo, Carmine,

5.855 5.855.
Bridge and Structural Iron Workers,
133.125—Lyons, J. H., 16.641, Downes,
J. R., 16.641, Bauers, William F., 16.
641, Boyen, Joseph F., 16,641, McCarthy,
John L., 16,641, Lyons, John H., Jr.,
16,640, McDonald, Thomas E., 16,640,
Rounds, Stanley, 16,640,

16,640. McDonaiu, Rounds Stanley, 16,640. Broadcast Employees and Tec-clans, 3,698—Clifford F. Rothery, 1, Klumpp, 1,233, Harold Technicians, Eugene Ki

Eugene Klampe.
Byers, 1,232.
Building Service Employes, 205,269—
McFetridge, William L., 25,659, Fairchild, George E., 25,659, Sullivan, David,
25,659, Collins, Walter D., 25,659, Hardy,
George, 25,659, Burke, Thomas, 25,658,
Shortman, Thomas, 25,658, Hackman,

Carmen, Railway, 116,002—Bernhardt, A. J., 19,334, Burchfield, C. W., 19,334, Duffin, Joseph L., 19,334, Doll, E. C., 19,334, Winters, J. F., 19,333, Zloty, Dumii, 19,334, Win. 19,333. Steve,

Carpenters, 750,000—Hutcheson, M. A. 46,875, Stevenson. John R., 46,875, Blaler, O. Wm., 46,875, Fischer, Albert E., 46,875, Chapman, Frank, 46,875, Hanson, Charles W., 46,875, Kenney Ted. 46,875, Davis, Kenneth, 46,875, Johnson,

Charles, Jr., 46,875, Rajoppi, Raleigh, 46,875, Schwarzer, Harry, 46,875, Chandler, Henry W., 46,875, Roberts, R. E., 46,875, Camblano, J. F., 46,875, Cooper, Andrew V., 46,875, Reiter, Carl, 46,875, Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers, 35,181—Jones, Felix C., 7,037, Gallo, Toney, 7,036, Schoenberg, William, 7,036, Roe, Reuben, 7,036, Taub, Lawrence, 7,036

7,036.
Chemical Workers, 79,447—Moffett, Edw. R.,11,350, Shafer, Marshall, 11,350, Busby, A. Vincent, 11,350, Lewis, John E., 11,350, McIlwain, Gordon, 11,349, Mitchell, Walter L., 11,349, Donovan, Joseph J., 11,349.
Cigarmakers, 9,192—Aspeltia, Marlo, 2064 Campo, Ernest 3,064 Haines,

Donovan, Joseph J., 11,349. kers, 9,192—Aspeitia, Mario, mpo, Ernest, 3,064, Haines,

Cigarina, 3,064. Campo, Sarah M., 3,064. Cleaning and Dye House Workers, 16,525—Gross, W. S., 4,132, Zitello, John,
4,131, Minaden, M. J., 4,131, Tusher,
4,131, Minaden, M. J., 4,131, Tusher,
4,131, Minaden, M. J., 4,134, Minaden, M. Minaden, M. Minaden, M. M. Minaden, M. Minaden, M. Minaden, M. Min

525—Gross, W. S., 4,132, Zitello, John, 4,131, Minaden, M. J., 4,131, Tusher, Morris, 4,131, Clerks, Post Office, 97,452—George, Leo E., 16,242, Hallbeck, E. C., 16,242, Anderson, Rudolph D., 16,242, Birchard, Percy W., 16,242, Durand, Robert C., 16,242, Clerks, Rallway, 264,225—Harrison, George M., 26,423, Ziegler, Phil E., 26,423, Sylvester, J. H., 26,423, Goble, G. B., 26,423, Morgan, Robert, 26,423, Snedden, L. B., 26,422, Frlee, George O., 26,422, Sullivan, Daniel J., 26,423, Coleman, Walter T., 26,422, Wysong, Charles W., 26,422, Sullivan, Daniel J., 26,422, Colerks, Retail, 259,998—Suffridge, James A., 28,789, Housewright, Vernon A., 28,789, Sackett, Guy A., 28,789, Shea, Frank C., 28,789, Meyers, Samuel J., 28,789, Crossler, Anthony B., 28,789, Lafayette, Paul, 28,788, Hanson, Paul W., 28,788, Amalgamated Clothing Workers, 210,000—Jacob Potofsky, 17,500, Frank Rosenblum, 17,500, Sander Genis, 17,500, Gladys Dickason, 17,500, Sander Genis, 17,500, Richard Rozeit, 17,500, Charles Weinstein, 17,500, Richard Rozeit, 17,500, Charles Weinstein, 17,500, Richard Rozeit, 19,157, John L. Crull, 19,157, Mary Beirne, 19,157, John L. Crull, 19,157, Mary

17.500, Charles Weinstein, 17,500, Richard Brazier, 17,500.
Communications Workers, 249,043—J. A. Beirne, 19,157, John L. Crull, 19,157, Mary Hanscom, 19,157, J. J. Moran, 19,157, A. T. Jones, 19,157, Glenn Watts, 19,157, A. T. Jones, 19,157, Glenn Watts, 19,157, W. G. Smith, 19,157, George E. Gill, 19,157, James Smith, 19,157, Ray Dreyer, 19,157, Louis Knecht, 19,156, D. L. McCowen, 19,156.
Coopers, 3,267—Doyle, James J., 3,267.
Distillery Workers, 25,528—Oneto, George J., 8,510, Autterson, Hobert, 8,509, Fontana, Alfred A., 8,509.
Doll and Toy Workers, 14,176—Damino, Harry O., 4,726, Gordon, Milton, 4,725, Diana, Emanuel, 4,725.
Electrical Workers, 460,237—Freeman, Gordon M., 76,707, Keenan, Joseph D., 6,76,68, Riley, Frank, 76,706, Dove. Horace, 76,706, Ligsett, Joseph W., 76,706 Paulsen, Charles M., 76,706.
Electrical, Radio and Machine, 271, 175—James B. Carev, 20,860, Al Hartnett, 20,860, Harry Block, 20,860, Frederick Kelley, 20,860, James Click, 20,860, Milton Weihrauch, 20,860, Ellis Hockenberry, 20,859, Leonard Hutson, 20,859, George Hutchens, 20,859, E. J. William Snoots, 20,860, James Click. 20,860, Milton Weihrauch, 20,860, Ellis Hockenberry, 20,859, Leonard Hutson, 20,859, George Hutchens, 20,859, E. J. Kraft, 20,859, Alan Palmer, 20,859. E. J. Klevator Constructors, 10,164, Smith, Edward A., 3,388, Magee, Edwin C., 3,388, Feeney, Jr., Frank, 3,388. Engineers, Operating, 200,000, Malo-ney, Wm. E., 22,223, Gramling, Chas. B.,

22,223, Delaney, Joseph J., 22,222, Converse, Frank P., 22,222, Swanson, Victor S., 22,222, Stun, Wm. J., 22,222, Wharton, Hunter P., 22,222, Bronson, Ralph B., 22,222, Weber, Peter, 22,222, Engineers, Technical, 10,159, Stephens Russell M., 3,387, Raimist, J. Lawrence, 3,386, Fratt, Foster J., 3,386.
Engravers Union, Metal, 400—Woelfel Conrad, 400

fel, Conrad, 400. I, Conrad, 400. Engravers Union, Photo, 15,600, Con-ell, Wilfrid T., 3,900, Woll, Matthew, 900, Schmal, Henry F., 3,900, Rehage,

300, Schmal, Henry Arthur, 3,900. Fire Fighters, 71,696—Redmond, John Fire Fighters, 71,696—Redmond, John Richardson, George J., 11,950,

J. Arthur, 3,900.
Fire Fighters, 71,696—Redmond, John P., 11,950, Richardson, George J., 11,950, Barry, Howard P., 11,949, Smith, Michael F., 11,949, Beale, Robert, 11,949, Michael F., 11,949, Beale, Robert, 11,949, MicGuire, James, 11,949.
Fireman and Oilers, 56,690 — Matz, Anthony E., 9,449, Wright, George, 9,449, Tormey, Robert J., 9,448, Kennedy, James, 9,448, Fredenberger, William E., 9,448, Casselman, John, 9,448.
Flight Engineers, 1,385—Kent, William D., 1,385.
Furniture Workers, 34,490 — Morris Pizer, 5,749, Fred Fulford, 5,749, Michael De Cicco, 5,748, Fred Stefan, 5,748, Nell J. McCormick, 5,748, Floyd Buckner, 5,748.
Garment Workers, United, 40,000 — McCurdy, Joseph P., 8,000, Hogan, E. M., 8,000, King, Madge, 8,000, Jordan, Emily, 8,000, Berkson, A. 8000.
Garment Workers, Ladies, 382,735—Dubinsky, David, 34,795, Antonini, Luigi, 14,700, edgerment Workers, Ladies, 382,735—Dubinsky, David, 34,795, Antonini, Luigh, 14,700, edgerment Workers, Ladies, 382,735—Dubinsky, David, 34,795, Antonini, Luigh, 14,700, edgerment Workers, Ladies, 382,735—Dubinsky, David, 34,795, Antonini, Luigh, 14,700, edgerment Workers, Ladies, 382,735—Dubinsky, David, 34,795, Antonini, Luigh, 14,700, edgerment Workers, Ladies, 382,735—Dubinsky, David, 34,795, Antonini, Luigh, 14,700, edgerment Workers, Ladies, 382,735—Dubinsky, David, 34,795, Antonini, Luigh, 14,700, edgerment Workers, Ladies, 382,735—Dubinsky, David, 34,795, Antonini, Luigh, 14,700, edgerment Workers, Ladies, 382,735—Dubinsky, David, 34,795, Antonini, Luigh, 14,700, edgerment Workers, Ladies, 382,735—Dubinsky, David, 34,795, Antonini, Luigh, 14,700, edgerment Workers, Ladies, 382,735—Dubinsky, David, 34,795, Antonini, Luigh, 14,700, edgerment Workers, Ladies, 382,735—Dubinsky, David, 34,795, Antonini, Luigh, 14,700, edgerment Workers, Ladies, 382,735—Dubinsky, David, 34,795, Antonini, Luigh, 14,700, edgerment Workers, Ladies, 382,735—Dubinsky, David, 34,795, Antonini, Luigh, 14,700, edgerment Workers, Ladies, 382,735—Dubinsky, David, 34,795, Antonini, Luigh, 14,

McCurdy, Joseph P., 8,000, Hogan, E. M., 8,000, King, Madge, 8,000, Jordan, Emlly, 8,000, Berkson, A. 8000. Garment Workers, Ladies, 382,735—Dubinsky, David, 34,795, Antonini, Luigi, 34,794, Nagler, Isidore, 34,794, Zimmerman, Charles S., 34,794, Breslaw, Joseph, 34,794, Bialis, Morris, 34,794, Otto, Samuel, 34,794, Stubberg, Louis, 34,794, Hochmann, Julius, 34,794, Siems, Fred, 34,794, Bambace, Angela, 34,794, Glass Pottle Blowers, 46,979—Minton, Lee W., 9,396, Dalton, Raymond H., 9,396, Warren, J. Belton, 9,396, Ray, Wynema, 9,396, Giacobelli, James J., 9,395,

9,395. Glass and Ceramic Workers, 40 Burl, Phares, 6,823, Leland, Beard, Ralph, Reiser, 6,823, Lewis, McCr 6,823, Willard, Pellican, 6,823, Lewis, McCracken, lican, 6,823, Don

6,823, Willard, Pellican, 6,823, Don, Berger, 6,822. Glass Cutters, Window, 1,600—Boucher, Marcel R., 1,600. Glass Workers, Flint, 28,095—Cook, Harry H., 7,024, Manglopane, Bennie, 7,024, McMullen, William, 7,024, Scheff, Charles M., 7,023. Glove Workers, 2,883—Durian, Thomass, 2,833

2.833

as, 2,833.
Government Employes, 47,089—Campbell, James A., 15,697, Kelly, Timothy J., 15,698, Olding, Henrietta E., 15,696.
Government and Civic, 27,316—Anthony J. Federoff, 5,464, Milton Murray, 5,463, John L. Yancey, 5,463, Martin Wagner, 5,463, R. J. Thomas, 5,463.
Granite Cutters, 4,000—Pagnano, Costanzo, 400

Granite Cutters, 4,000—Pagnano, Costanzo, 4,000.
Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers, 29,784; Wallnsky, Ossip, 5,957, Zubkowsky, Norman, 5,957, Lubliner, Philip, 5,957, Friss, Edward, 5,957, Wieselberg, Jack, 5,956.
Hatters, 32,000—Rose, Alex, 6,400, Lewis, Marx, 6,400, Hershkowitz, Samuel, 6,400, Zatrisky, Max, 6,400, Spector, Nathaniel, 6,400.
Hod Carriers, 372,450—Moreschi, Jos. V., 33,850, Morreale, Vincent F., 33,859, Sullivan, Charles J., 33,859, Sheets, Robert B., 33,859, Lalor, Lee, 33,859, Fosco, Peter, 33,859, Garvey, John W., 33,859,

Graziano, Charles, 33,859, Waldron, Patrick, 33,859, Smith, Edgar F., 33,859, Taylor, John, 33,859, Horse Shoers, 246—Miller, George C.,

Hosiery Workers, 15,000—McKeown, Alexander, 3,750, Janaskie, Andrew, 3,-750, Held, Fred G., 3,750, Banachowicz,

Alexander, 3,750, Janaskie, Alaicov, 750, Held Fred G., 3,750, Banachowicz, Major, 3,750.

Hotel and Restaurant Employes, 300,—000—Milier, Ed S., 37,500, Weinberger, Jack, 37,500, Segal, David, 37,500, Rogan, T. C., 37,500, Sarricks, Lawrence H., 37,500, Cooper, John L., 37,500, Peterson, 1da M., 37,500, Roenig, Louis, 37,500, Insurance Agents, 12,544—Russ, George L., 3,136, Shine, Max, 3,136, Heisel, Charles G., 3,136 Pollack, Joseph, 2134.

3,136

Insurance Workers, 8,734—William A. Gillen, 2,184, Simon Heifgott, 2,184, William S. MacDermott, 2,183, Arthur H.

liam S. MacLes. Higginson, 2,183. Jewelry Workers, 20,457—Morris, Joseph, 5,115, Powell, Hyman J., 5,114, Barenbolm, A. Herbert, 5,114, Spodick, renboim, A. Harry, 5,114.

Harry, 5,114.
Lathers, 15,540—McSorley, William J.,
3,885, Mashburn, Lloyd A., 3,885, Hagen,
Harry J., 3,885, Matthews, Walter 3,885.
Laundry Workers, 72,237—Byers, Sam
J., 12,040, James, E. C., 12,040, Naddeo,
Charles, 12,040, Ballinger, Amy, 12,039,
Chasmar, Winfield, 12,039, Gershman, Mischa, 12,039.

Mischa, 12,039.
Leather Workers, 1,634—Richard B.
O'Keefe, 817. Joseph A. Duffy, 817.
Letter Carriers, 100,000—Doherty, Willlam C., 16,667, Cahill, Peter J., 16,667,
Stocker, James C., 16,667, Farrell, Willam F., 16,667, Merritt, J. Byron, 16,666.
Anderson, Henry, 16,666.
Amalgamated Lithographers, 28,022—
John Blackburn, 5,605, Oliver Mertz,
5,605, Arthur W. Brown, 5,604, Francis
P. Slater, 5,604, Martin Grayson, 5,604,
Longshoremen, 8,140—Long,
2,714, Slaughter, E. L., 2,713, Yeager,
Frank, 2,713.

2,714, Frank. rank. 2,713. Machinists,

2,714, Slaughter, E. L., 2,713, Yeager, Frank. 2,713.

Machinists, 626,900—Hayes, A. J.
41,794, Peterson, Eric, 41,794, Walker, Elmer E., 41,794, Coonely, Fred H.,
41,794, White, E. R., 41,794, Dameron, William, 41,793, Snider, John, 41,793, Surrows, D. M., 41,793, Grey, Thomas,
41,793, Melton, Earl, 41,793, Brown, Roy
M., 41,793, McBreen, J. L., 41,793, Speniller, P. L., 41,793, McGlon, J. C., 41,793, Schollie, Geo. P., 41,793, Maintenance of Way Employes,
159,127—Carroll, T. C., 19,891, Shoemake,
4., 19,891, Wilson, J. P., 19,891, Freecia,
8., 19,891, Padgett, H. L., 19,891, Lamert, C. L., 19,891, Bailey, R. L., 19,891, imith C., 19,890.

Marble, Slate and Stone Pollshers,
6,000—McCarthy, William, 3,000, Conway, John J., 3,000.

Marine Engineers Beneficial Assoc.

Marine Engineers Beneficial Assoc.. 8.583.—Daggett, H. L., 2.146, La Barge, A. F., 2.146. Edwards. William Jr, 2.146, Edwards, Robert C., 2.145.

Marine & Shipbuilding, 26,955—Gro-gan. John J., 5,391, Blood, Ross D., 5,391, Pettis, Andrew A., 5,391, Townsley, Joseph N., 5,391, Williams, W. M., Jr.,

Maritime Union. 36.532—Curran. Joseph, 6.089, Stone, Hedley M., 6,089, Duffy, Adrian. 6,089, McDougail, John B., 6,089, Federoff, Steve, 6,088, Ramos, Dave M., 6,088.

Masters, Mates and Pilots, 9,467-At-

kins, C. T., 3,156, Bishop, J. M., 3,156, Lurvey, R. D., 3,155.

Meat Cutters, 262,749—Jimerson, Earl W., 26,275, Gorman, Patrick E., 26,275, Lloyd, T. J., 26,275, Belsky, Joseph, 26,275, Kelly, R. Emmett, 26,275, Muller, Karl, 26,275, Block, Max, 26,275, Hook, Marvin W., 26,275, Poole, Harry, 26,275, Wentz, Ray, 26,274.

Mechanics Educational Society, 48,989—White, George, 8,165, Smith, Matthew, 3,165, Raymond, Jerry, 8,165, Kozma, James, 8,165, De Bella, James, 8,164.

Metal Workers, Sheet, 50,000—Byron, Robert, 8,334, Carlough, Edward, 8,333, Bonadio, Frank, 8,333, Ryan, James, C. D., 8,333, Carlough, Edward, 8,333, Bonadio, Frank, 8,333, Ryan, James, 1, 8,333.

8,333, Bonadio, Frank, 8,335, Kyan, James J., 8,333.
Millers, Grain, 32,655—Ming, S. P., 6,531, Schneider, H. A., 6,531, Frazier, Marion C., 6,531, Weiny, George D., 6,531, Crane, N. D., 6,531.
Molders, 66,955—Sample, Chester A., 11,169, Maddox, Carl, 11,159, Collette, Levi, 11,159, Weise, Frank L., 11,159, Scanlon, George, 11,159, Stein, Alphonse, 11,159.

Scanlon, George, 11,159, Stein, Alphonse, 11,159, Musicians, 249,755—Petrillo, James C., 35,680, Charette, Ed., 35,680, Ringius, Edward, 35,679, Field, Frank B., 35,679, Sidell, Robert, 35,679, Bagley, Charles L., 35,679, Davis, Hal C., 35,679, Newspaper Guild, 21,252—Joseph F. Collis, 4,251, Joseph P. Murphy, 4,251, William J. Farson, 4,250, Arthur Rosenstock, 4,250, Charles A. Perlik, Jr., 4,250, Office Employes, 43,827—Coughlin, Howard, 14,609, Juliano, Nicholas, 14,609.

Oil Workers, 160,240—O. A. Knight, 14,568, T. M. McCormick, 14,568, B. J. Schafer, 14,568, J. Schafer, 14,568, B. J. Schafer, 14,568, J. Schafer, 14,567, Elwood D. Swisher, 14,567, J. T. Curran, 14,567, Elwood D. Swisher, 14,567, Arthur Ernst, 14,567, Raymond M. Davis, 14,567, Arthur Ernst, 14,567, Packinghouse Workers, 117,535—Ralph Helstein, 13,060, G. R. Hathaway, 13,060, A. T. Stephens, 13,060, Russell Lasley, 13,069, Fred Dowling, 13,059, Burton, LaRue, 13,059, Russell Bull, 13,559, George Thomas, 13,059, Charles Hayes, 13,059, Painters, 182,127—Raftery, Lawrence

059, George Hayes, 13,059.

Hayes, 13,059
Painters, 182,127—Raftery, Lawrence M., 26,019, Rohrberg, William H., 26,018, Yablonsky, Peter, 26,018, Owens, Frank, 26,018, Meehan, James, 26,018, Baker, Herbert, 26,018, Skoglund, Julius, 26,018, Paper Makers, 59,738—Phillips, Paul L., 9,957, Addy, Joseph, 9,557, Jones, John R., 9,956, Bailey, John W., 9,956, Brown, Al. E., 9,956, Fisher, Mark, 9,956, Paperworkers, 40,002, Harry D. Sayre, 6,667, Frank Grasso, 6,667, Charles Bridgwater, 6,667, Harry E. Scott, 6,667, Nicholas Vrataric, 6,667, Donald Thoms, 6,667 6,667.

George Q., 11,000. 11,000 - Lynch,

Plasterers, 60,393—Rooney, John E., 10,066, Leonard, Edward J., 10,066, Hauck, John J., 10,066, Brennan, John J., 10,065, Tantillo, Benedict, 10,065, McDevitt, James L., 10,066.

McDevitt, James L., 10,065.
Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry, 200,000—Murray, Gene, 22,223. Meany, George, 22,223. Schoemann, Peter T., 22,222. Hillock. Edward J., 22,222. McIaughlin. Wm. J., 22,222. De Nike, Frank. 22,222. Murray. Thomas J., 22,222. McHenry, Alovsius, 22,222, Goodwin, John E., 22,222.

Polishers, Metal, 15,385-Muchihoffer, Ray, 3,847, O Weisler, Irvin Edward, 3,846. 3,847, Oate Oates, Dennis J., 3,846, ring, 3,846, Scheuerman,

Edward, 3,846.
Forters, Sleeping Car, 10,000—Randolph, A. Philip, 3,334, Webster, Milton P., 3,333, Deliums, C. L., 3,335.
Fost Office and Railway Mail Handlers, 1,200—Carniato, Andrew W., 1,200,—Postal Transport Association, 22,469—Thomas, Wm., 5,618, Reilly, John L., 5,617, Nagle, Paul A., 5,617, Legge, W. J., Jr., 5,617
Fotters, 23,411—Hull, Frank, 5,853, Ansell, Lance, 5,853, Coberly, Ray, 5,853, Dales, C. Frank, 5,852.
Frinters, Plate, 800—Brockwell, Harold D., 800.

Printers, Plate, 800—Brockwell, Harold D., 800.
Printing Pressmen, 87,467—Dunwody, Thomas E., 12,496, Googe, George L., 12,496, Maxted, F. W., 12,495, De Andrade, Anthony J., 12,495, Turner, Walter, 12,495, Torrence, Jack P., 12,495, Rohan, A. J., 12,495.
Pulp and Sulphite Workers, 153,750—Burke, John P., 19,219, Meinz, Elmer P., 19,219, Stewart, Charles E., 19,219, Tonelli, Joseph, 19,219, Segal, Henry, 19,219, Cianciulli, Bernard, 19,219, Wray, Harriet, 19,218, Jackman, Chris, 19,218.
Radio and Television Directors, 800—Burnett, Newman H., 800,
American Radio Assoc., 1,580—Bernard L. Smith, 790, William J. Steinberg, 190.

790.
Railway Employees, Street and Electric, 138,866—Spradling, A. L., 15,430, Berrong, Sam B., 15,430, Mastrian, Michael M., 15,430, White, Louis R., 15,430, Glasso, Vincent, 15,430, Shaughnessy, Frank L., 15,429, McNamara, Daniel J., 15,429, Mischo, O. J., 15,429, White, Louis, 15,429, Atrolmen, 2,923—Macdon-Railway Patrolmen, 2,923—Macdon-Railway Patrolmen, 2,923—Macdon-

iel J., 15,429, Mischo, O. J., 15,429, White. Louis, 15,429.
Railway Patrolmen, 2,923—Macdonald, John V., 2,923.
Retail, Wholesale & Dept. Store, 97.034—Max Greenberg, 10,782, Alvin E. Heaps, 10,782, Jack Paley, 10,782, Alvin Eail, 10,782, Arthur Osnian, 10,782, Alex Kovenetsky, 10,781, David Livingston, 10,781, Julius Sum, 10,781, Thomas Leone, 10,781.
Roofers, 17,808—Aquadro, Charles D., 4,452, Moore, Dean, 4,452, McConaty, John A., 4452, Vetter, Ben D., 4,452, Rubber Workers, 163,277—L. S. Buckmaster, 14,844, Joseph W. Childs, 14,844, Desmond Walker, 14,844, Josh Tools, 14,844, E. E. Hester, 14,843, E. K. Bowers, 14,843, E. E. Hester, 14,843, Norman Allson, 14,843, Antone L. Campos, 14,843, Robert E. Garber, 14,843, John Skiffington, 14,845.
Seafarers, 14,244, 2005

Seafarers, 41,526—Lundeberg, Harry, 8,306, Hall, Paul, 8,305, Gomez, Andrea, 8,305, Fox, John M., 8,305, Banks, Hal.

8,305.
Shoe Workers, 51,245—Mitchell, James J., 7,321. Taylor, Russell J., 7,321. Bringle, James E., 7,321, Pence Emerson T., 7,321, Griffin, John C., 7,321. Goldstein, Meyer L., 7,320, Morin, Harriet S., 7,320. Clayk, James 3,833

riet S. 7,320.

Signalmen, 15,330—Clark, Jesse, 3,833.
Fleids. C. K., 3,833, Howard, S. H.,
3,832, Hogan, John F., 3,832.
Special Delivery Messengers, 2,000—Warfel, George L., 2,000.
Stage Emploves, Theatrical. 46,000—Walsh, Richard, 9,200. Holmden, Harland, 9,200, Green, Thomas V., 9,200.
McNabb, James, 9,200, Mungovan, Michael J., 9,200.
State, County and Municipal Employes, 98,991—Zander, Arnold S., 14,142,

Chapman, Gordon W., 14,142, Morgan Thomas E., 14,142, Ruthenberg, Alvin H., 14,142, McEntee, William J., 14,141, Wurf, Jerry, 14,141, Mitten, Adrian L., 14,141.

Wurf, Jerry, 14,141, Mitten, Adrian L., 41,141.

Steel Workers of America, 979,595—
McDonald, David J., 32,654, Abel, I. W., 32,654, Robb, James, 32,654, Hague, Howard R., 32,654, A. J. Kojetinsky, 32,654, Walsh Martin J. 32,653, Whitehouse, Al, 32,653, Ford, H. Charles, 32,653, McNichols, Joseph T., 32,653, McNicholson, James C., 32,653, McNicholson, James C., 32,653, Chler, Berlin W., 32,653, Atallah, Albert, 32,653, Farr, R. E., 32,653, Burns, Martin, 32,655, Johns, John S., 32,653, Germano, Joseph, 32,653, Shane, Thomas, 32,653, Griffin, James P., 32,653, Murray John F., 32,653, Smith, Charles J., 32,653, Medrick, George, 32,653, Burke, Water J., 32,653, Rusen, Paul, 32,653, Medrick, George, 32,653, Burke, Water J., 32,653, Rusen, Paul, 32,653, Hough, Bert, 32,653, Newell, Carmon B., 32,653, Medrick, George, 32,653, Newell, Carmon B., 32,653, Medick, George, 32,653, Newell, Carmon B., 32,653, Medick, George, 32,653, Newell, Carmon B., 32,653, Medick, George, 3

Stereotypers and Electrotypers, 12,-366—Buckley, Leo J., 6,183, Farrenkopf, Frank, 6,183.

Stone Cutters, 1,900-De Pace, Frank, 1,900.

Stone & Allied, 11,387—Scott, Sam H., 847, Lawson, John C., 2,847, Lowry, ewis R., 2,847, Dickens, Kenneth, R., ewis 2.846.

Stone Mounters, 9,545—Lewis, Joseph 3,182, Roberts, James M., 3,182, Kaiser, Edw. W., 3,181.

3,182, Roberts, James M., 3,182, Kaiser, Edw. W., 3,181.

Switchmen, 10,540, Fleete, William A., 5,270, Collins, Daniel W., 5,270.

Teachers, 40,000, Megel, Carl J., 8,000, Elder, Arthur A., 8,000, Borchardt, Selma M., 8,000, Fewkes, John M., 8,000, Roth, Herrick S., 8,000.

Teamsters, 1,229,798—Beck, Dave, 53,470, Elgish, John F., 53,470, Dayer, 53,470, Florida, 10, 53,470, Lester, Robert, 53,470, Postms, Peter J., 53,470, Bowen, B. I., 53,470, Cleary, Joseph, 53,470, Hicks, William M., 53,470, Steinberg, L., 53,470, Clare, Ralph, 53,470, Thirion, Harold, 53,470, Harkins, Lewis, 53,469, Hoffa, James, 53,469, Mohn, Einar, 53,469, Griffin, Wm., 53,469, Lee, Wm. A., 53,469, Williams, Roy, 53,469, Gibbons, Harold, 53,469, Anderson, Ernie, 53,469, Ran Soucie, Gene, 53,469, Saffo, Peter, 53,469, Triscaro, Babe, 3,469, Triscaro, Babe, Treesger, Wm., 53,469, Triscaro, Babe, Telegraphers

Telegraphers, Railroad, 30,000 — Leighty, G. E., 15,000, Manion, E. J.,

15,000.
Telegraphers. Commercial, 28,840—
Allen, W. L., 28,840.
Textile Workers, 48,730—Valente, Anthony, 9,746, Klenert, Lloyd, 9,746, Jacobs, Joseph, 9,746, Sgambato, Frank, 9,746, Schaufenbil, Francis, 9,746.
Textile Workers, 202,500—Emil Rieve, 18,410, John Chupka, 18,409, R. J. Wm. Belanger, 18,409, William Pollock, 18,409, Boyd E. Payton, 18,409, Sol Stetin, 18,409, Wesley A. Cook, 18,409, Harold Daoust, 18,409, Jack Rubenstein, 18,409, H. S. Williams, 18,409, William Gordon, 18,409,

18,409.
Tobacco Workers, 26,667—O'Hara, John, 8,889. Blane, S. E., 8,889. Petree, R. J., 8,889.
Transport Service Employees, 3,000—Townsend, Willard S., 1,000, Young, Al, 1,000, Weaver, George L-P, 1,000.
Transport Workers Union, 80,000—Quill, Michael J., 10,000, Faber, Gustav,

10,000, Guinan, Mathew, 10,000, Attreed, Eugene V., 10,000, Sheehan, Frank, 10,000, O'Rourke, Paul, 10,000, Horst, James F., 10,000, Lopez, John, 10,000, Typographical, 77,991 — Ransolph, Woodruff, 11,142, Moriarty, J. Arthur, 11,142, Hathaway, Ernest M., 11,142, Reilly, Wallace C., 11,141, Herrmann, Lewis M., 11,141, Brigham, Fred H., 11,141, Peth, Thomas, 11,141, Upholsterers, 50,616—Hoffman, Sal B., 4,356, Rota, Aifred R., 8,436, Remshardt, Tony, 8,436, Bucher, George, 8,436, Albarino, R. Alvin, 8,436, Kohn, William, 8,436.

5.436, Utility Workers, 52,854—Joseph A. Flsher, 7,551, William J. Pachler, 7,551, Harold J. Straub, 7,551, William R. Munger, 7,551, Patrick McGrath, 7,550, James T. Watson, 7,550, Reginald Brown, 7,550.

Brown, 7,550.
Woodworkers, 91,306—A. F. Hartung, 10,146, William Botkin, 10,145, J. E. Dicey, 10,145, Harvey R. Nelson, 10,145, Tim Sullivan, 10,145, Gordon Johnson, 10,145, Arley Anderson, 10,145, J. E. Fadling, 10,145, Howard Gardiner, 10,

145. Yardmasters. 4,000—Schoch, G., 2,000, Meyer, W. Fred, 2,000.

DEPARTMENTS

Building and Construction Trades Department, 1—Gray, Richard J., 1.
Maritime Trades Department, 1—Weisberger, Morris, 1.
Metal Trades Department, 1—Brown-low James A. 1 Metal Trades Department, 1—Browning Mangage A, 1.
Railroad Employes' Department, 1—.
Fox, Michael, 1.
Union Label and Service Trades Department, 1—Leheney, Raymond F., 1.

STATE CENTRAL BODIES

Alabama—Holley, P. G., 1.
Alabama—Robertson, Cecil A., 1.
Alaska—McFarland, R. E., 1.
Arizona—Brown, Keene S., 1.
Arizona—Dragon, Nicholas, 1.
Arkansas—McKimmey, Vernon E., 1.
Arkansas—Ellison, George H., 1.
California—Haggerty, C. J., 1.
California—Dias, Manuel, 1.
Colorado—Van Partfliet, Frank G., 1.
Colorado—Anderson, R. C., 1.
Connecticut—Rourke, Joseph M., 1.
Connecticut—Sviridoff, Mitchell, 1.
Delaware—Derrickson, Gene, 1.
Plorida—Walton, Howard D., 1.
Florida—Walton, Howard D., 1.
Georgia—Montague, W. H., Sr., 1.
Idaho—Beattle, Albert G., 1.
Illinois—McElligott, Maurice F., 1.
Illinois—McElligott, Maurice F., 1.
Indiana—Sells, Dallas, 1.
Iowa—Mills, Ray, 1.
Iowa—Dills, R., 1.
Iowa—Dale, Vernon, 1.
Kansas—Pount, H. J., 1.
Kentucky—Billingsley, Wm. F., 1.
Louisiana—Flory, K. G., 1.
Maine—Jabar, George, 1.

Maryland-District of Columbia—Prelle lement F. 1.
Maryland—Windsor, Culver B., 1.
Massachusetts—Kelley, Kenneth J., 1.
Massachusetts—Camelia, Salvatore, 1.
Michigan—Thorpe, John H., 1.
Michigan—Scholle, August, 1.
Michigan—Scholle, August, 1.
Minnesota—Jacobson, Rodney C., 1.
Minnesota—Jacobson, Rodney C., 1.
Mississippi—Hines, W. L., 1.
Mississippi—Hines, W. L., 1.
Mississippi—Hines, John I., 1.
Missouri—Davis, James A., 1.
Montana—Umber, James S., 1.
Montana—Umber, James S., 1.
Montana—Leary, James J., 1.
Nebraska—Stockler, J. H., 1.
Nevada—Ryan, James G., 1.
New Hampshire—Morlarty, Joseph, 1.
New Hampshire—Morlarty, Joseph, 1.
New Jersey—Marciante, Louis P., 1.
New Jersey—Merbs, Paul, 1.
New Mexico—Roberts, W. S., 1.
New York—Murray, Thomas, 1.
New York—Murray, Thomas, 1.
New York—Murray, Thomas, 1.
North Carolina—Barbee, W. M., 1.
North Carolina—Holder, J. W., 1.
Ohio—Hannah, Phil., 1.
Ohio—Clayman, Jacob, 1.
Oklahoma—Gillen, James A., 1.
Oklahoma—Gillen, James A., 1. Maryland-District of Columbia-Preller, Clement F Ohlahoma—Gillen, James A., 1. Oklahoma—Yarborough, Len, 1. Oregon—Marr, James T., 1. Oklahoma—Gillen, James A., 1.
Oklahoma—Gillen, James A., 1.
Oklahoma—Yarborough, Len, 1.
Oregon—Brown, George, 1.
Pennsylvania—McDonough, Joseph A., 1.
Pennsylvania—Boyer, Harry, 1.
Puerto Ricco—Marcano, Hipolito, 1.
Rhode Island—Brown, Edwin C., 1.
Rhode Island—Brown, Edwin C., 1.
Rhode Island—Britton, Earle R., 1.
South Carolina—Britton, Earle R., 1.
South Carolina—Brox, L. B., 1.
South Carolina—Brox, L. B., 1.
Tennessee—Smith, Stanton E., 1.
Tennessee—Smith, Stanton E., 1.
Texas—Holleman, Jerry R., 1.
Texas—Schmidt, Fred, 1.
Texas—Schmidt, Fred, 1.
Utah—Turner, David S., 1.
Utah—Konkle, Ormond, 1.
Vermont—St. Armour, C. E., 1.
Vermont—Driscoll, Morris, 1.
Virginia—Welsted, I. C., 1.
Virginia—Welsted, I. C., 1.
Virginia—Welsted, I. C., 1.
Washington—Slater, Harold, 1.
Washington—Slater, Harold, 1.
West Virginia—Carper, Julian F., 1.
Washington—Slater, Harold, 1.
West Virginia—Rusen, Faul, 1.
Wisconsin—Haberman, George A., 1.
Wisconsin—Walter, Wilbert, 1.
Wyoming—Tucker, Frank E., 1.
Wyoming—Tucker, Frank E., 1.

LOCAL CENTRAL BODIES

Adrian, Mich.—Baker, Everett, 1.
Akron, Ohio—Radabaugh, L. W., 1.
Albany, N. Y.—Cerutti, Joseph P., 1.
Albuquerque, New Mex.—McCoy J. B., 1.
Alexandria, Arlington and Fairfax Counties, Va.—Koehne, Herbert M., 1.
Alton, Ill.—Blakely, James E., 1.
Anchorage, Alaska—Groothmuis, Harold, Ann Arbor, Mich. (Washtenaw Coun--Predmore, Wayne, 1. Ashland County, Ohio-Hackett, Wade ty-Astoria, Oregon—McClure, M. J., 1.
Astoria, Ga.—Moore, J. O., 1.
Atlanta, Ga.—Moore, J. O., 1.
Atlantic City, N. J.—Moretti, John, 1.
Auburn, N. Y.—Maggio, Canio, 1.
Augusta, Ga.—Rowe, W. A., 1.
Baltimore, Md.—Filbey, Francis S., 1.
Barberton, Ohio—Whitman, Lewis, 1.
Barre, Vt.—Dykeman, Frederick, 1.

Baton Rouge, La.—Conran, Robert I., 1.
Bay City, Mich—Wolfgang, Myra K., 1.
Beaver County, Pa.—Russo, James J., 1.
Bedford, Ind.—Ashley, James, 1.
Belleville, Ill.—Reichling, William P., 1.
Benton Harbor, Mich.—Knox, Taylor

Belleville, III.—Reichling, William P., 1.
Benton Harbor, Mich.—Knox, Taylor
Marshall, Sr., 1.
Bergen County, N. J.—Seward, Arthur, 1.
Binghamton, N. Y.—Quain, Maurice J., 1.
Birmingham, Ala.—Medders, John, 1.
Blair County, Pa.—Lane, Thomas F., 1.
Bloomington, Ind.—Whitehaurst, Earl, 1.
Blue Island, Ill.—Nielubowski, Robert

Boston, Mass.—McCloskey, Stephen E., 1.
Bridgeport, Conn.—Regnery, Frank, 1.
Brockton, Mass.—Brides, Henry, 1.
Bucks County, Pa.—Rodgers, Henry J., 1.
Buffalo, N. Y.—Higgins, John J., 1.
Butler, Pa.—Sabel, Joseph H., 1.
Calumet, Ill.—Moenich, Joseph, 1.
Cambridge, Mass.—Sullivan, Edward T.,

Camden, N. J.—McComb, Joseph J., 1. Canton, Ohio—Pollock, Sam, 1. Carbondale, Pa.—Fitch, Clyde O., 1. Centre County, Pa.—Fisher, Marlin M., 1. Charleston, W. Va., Kanawha Valley— Rebhan, Frank A. 1. Chattanooga, Tenn.—Cuthbert, Brownie

Chehalis and Centralia, Wash.-Bradley,

Cheanis and Centralia, Wash.—Bradley, A. A., I. Chicago, Ill.—Lee, William A., 1. Chicago Heights, Ill.—Johnson, Jeff O., 1. Cincinnati, Ohio—Hurst, John J., 1. Clark, Skamania and West Klicitat Counties, Wash.—Smith, William R., 1. Clearfield County, Pa.—Caldwell, Clifton

Cleveland, Ohio—Finegan, William, 1. Clinton County, Pa.—Beglar, Sam, 1. Colorado Springs, Colo.—Cavender,

Clinton Councillation of Colorado Springs,
George A., 1.
Columbus, Ind.—Taylor, Wesley I., 1.
Columbus, Ohio—Vesy, Albert D., 1.
Columbus, Cohio—Vesy, Calif.—Cooper,
Contra Costa County, Calif.—Cooper,
Pardekooper, Mar-

tin, 1. Dade County, Fla.—Nuckols, Burton P.,

Dade County, Fla.—Nuckols, Burton P.,

1. Dallas, Tex.—Terrell, George, 1.
Danville, Ky.—Bugher, Forrest, 1.
Dayton, Ohio—Breidenbach, John E., 1.
Dayton, Dangher, Forrest, 1.
Decatur, Ala.—McDuffle, W. W., 1.
Delaware County, Pa.—Mullen, Jack, 1.
Denver, Colo—Youngs, James R., 1.
Denver, Colo—Youngs, James R., 1.
Detroit, Mich. (Wayne County)—Gibson,
James G., 1.
Duluth, Minn.—Olson, Robert A., 1.
Douer, N. J.—Butler, Robert S., 1.
Duluth, Minn.—Olson, Robert A., 1.
East Liverpool, Ohio—Duffy, Frank, 1.
East St. Louis, III.—Pirtle, Charles A., 1.
Elizabeth, N. J.—Cushing, George F., 1.
Elizabeth, N. J.—Cushing, George F., 1.
Elizabeth, N. J.—Cushing, George F., 1.
Ezie, Pa.—Ricci, Michael, 1.
Escanaba, Mich.—Allingham, R. Earle, 1.
Evansville, Ind.—Soucie, John G., 1.
Five Counties, Calif.—Gilleran, Frank, 1.
Fort Wayne, Ind.—Kepler, Wayne, 1.
Fresno, Calif.—O'Rear, W. T., 1.
Geneva, N. Y.—Brennan, Henry S., 1.
Gibson County, Ind.—Harpe, Ralph, 1.
Grand Island, Nebr.—Mundy, Leonard, 1.
Grand Rapids, Mich.—Amsterburg, Robert J., 1.
Grundy County, Ill.—King, John, 1.

Grundy County, Ill .-- King, John, 1.

Hagerstown, Md.—Lushbaugh, Lester, 1. Harrisburg, Pa.—Kline, Alan E., 1. Hartford, Conn.—Scott, William, 1. Honolulu, T. H.—Reile, A. S., 1. Hopkinsville, Ky.—Ezelle. Sam, 1. Houston, Texas—Coward, N. E., 1. Hudson County, N. J.—Quinn, Joseph

Indianapolis, Ind.--Roberts, Jacob R., Jackson County, Mich.-French, Charles,

Jackson, Miss.—Ross, Holt, 1. Jackson, Tenn.—McLemore, E. Brooks,

Jamestown, N. Y.—Ritzo, George T., 1. Jasper, Ala.—Barnett, E. J., 1. Jefferson City, Mo.—Howser, Victor, 1. Johnson City, Tenn.—Houk, Charles M.,

1.
Johnstown, Pa.—Arcurie, Frank, 1.
Joliet, Ill. (Will County)—Miller, S. P., 1.
Juneau, Alaska—McFarland, R. E., 1.
Kalamazoo, Mich.—Bailey, Florence, 1.
Kansas City, Kans.—Harrison, Geo. J., 1.
Kansas City, Mo.—Raymond, Hugh L., 1.
Kenosha, Wis.—Whiteside, Paul, 1.
Kenton and Campbell Counties, Ky.—
Koester, William B., 1.
Keokuk, Iowa—Weiny, Vivian, 1.
Kiamath Falls, Oregon—Sweetman, Alma, 1.

Alma, 1.

Ima, 1.

Knoxville, Tenn.—Comer, Fred F., 1.

Lake Charles, La.—Prater, M. L., 1.

Lake County, Colo.—Bell, Charles J., 1.

Lake County, Ind.—Schutz, Fred F., 1.

Lancaster, Ohio—Freeman, Henry, 1.

Lansing, Mich.—Borst, Tom, 1.

Laramie, Wyo.—Walter, W. J., 1.

Lawrence, Mass.—Callahan, John

Lawrence County, Pa.—Davis, Richard

Leavenworth, Kans .- Townsend, George,

Labanon County, Pa.-McCarten, George, Lexington, Ky.—Gregg, Turner W., 1. Livingston, Mont.—Collins, John D., 1. Long Beach, Calif.—Brown, Edward L.,

Longview, Tex.—Johnson, A. R., 1. Lorain City, Ohio—Scheid, Richard, Los Angeles. Calif.—Bassett, W. J.. Louisville, Ky.—Blume, Norbert, 1. Lowell, Mass.—Le Bow, Sidney E., 1. Lynn, Mass.—Donovan, John F., 1. McKeesport, Pa.—Hagarty, Nicholas Nicholas J.,

1. Macomb County, Mich.-Carver, K. Jack,

Macon, Ga.—Pate, J. B., 1.
Madison, Wis.—Huffman, Richard H., 1.
Malden, Mass.—Regan, John J., 1.
Manchester, N. H.—Martel, Louis I., 1.
Marysville, Calif.—Weakley, Ronald T., 1.
Memphis, Tenn.—Gorman, John R., 1.
Meriden, Conn.—Depaolo, Joseph N., 1.
Michigan City, Ind.—Maddocks, William.

Middletown, Ohio—Lukens, Robert M., 1. Milwaukee, Wis.—Friedrick, J. F., 1. Minneapolis, Minn.—Cramond, Walter R.,

Mobile, Ala.—Griffin, Carl E., 1. Modesto, Calif.—Green. C. Al., 1. Monroe, La.—Kreger, Fred. 1. Monterey Peninsula, Calif.—

George, 1. eorge, 1.
Montgomery, Ala.—Williams, Ted. 1.
Moses Lake, Wash.—Gibson, Harold J., 1.
Muncle, Ind.—McMahan, George, 1.
Munising, Mich.—Wilderspin, C., 1.
Muscatine, Iowa—Bayers, Gerald L., 1.
Miskegon County, Mich.—Pierce, Arthur M., 1.

Nassau and Suffolk Counties, N. Y.—IacGregor, Robert W., 1. MacGregor, Robert W., 1. Newark, N. J. (Essex Trades)—Fuchs, Morris, 1.

Newark, Ohio—Muhleman, Forest R., 1. New Bedford, Mass.—Vertente, John Jr.,

New Britain, Conn .- O'Brien, Francis w New Brunswick, N. J.—Hallenbeck, Ed-

New Brunswick, N. J.—Hallendeck, Edwin F., 1.
New Orleans, La.—Soule, Robert L., 1.
Newport, R. I.—Fournier, Albert, 1.
New York, N. Y.—Quinn, James C., 1.
Niagara Falls, N. Y.—Jordan, Harry S., 1.
Norfolk, Va.—Paul, C. H., 1
North Platte, Nebr.—Atwood, Fern, 1.
Northumberland County, Pa.—Miller Edward H. 1.

ward ard H., 1. Oakland, Oakland, Calif.—Ash, Robert S., 1. Oak Ridge, Tenn.—Sylvia, Theodore M.,

Oklahoma City, Okla.—Held, John K., 1. Olean, N. Y.—Myrick, Osborn, 1. Omaha, Nebr.—Silhasek, Joseph, 1. Orange County, Calif.—Hull, Wayne J.,

Oregon City, Oregon-Sweet, Gertrude,

Owego, N. Y.—Rose, Martin, 1. Ottumwa, Iowa—Baum, Earl J., 1. Paducah, Ky.—Kerth, O. L., 1. Pasadena, Calif.—De Silva, Joseph T., Pasco-Kennewick, Wash. — Loises Loiseau.

Pasco-Kennewick, Wash. — Loiseau, Lionel, I. Passaic County, N. J.—Maso, Sal, 1. Pawtucket, R. I.—Carey, Hope V., 1. Peoria, Ill.—Rimington, Anna C., 1. Perth Amboy, N. J.—Soltes, John, 1. Petaluma, Calif.—Thornton, Sylvan, 1. Petersburg-Hopewell, Va.—Butler, John

., 1. Pittsburgh, Pa.—Feigel, John A., 1. Philadelphia, Pa.—Blumberg, Norman, 1. Phoenix, Ariz.—Sebestyen, George S., 1. Polk County, Fla.—Hunley, Noel R., 1. Pomona Valley, Calif., Hyans, Curtis J.,

Pontiac-Oakland, Calif.—Cook, Alex, 1. Port Huron, Mich.—Delaney, Raymond

A., 1.
Portland, Maine—Howe, Horace E., 1.
Portland, Oregon—Anderson, Gust, 1.
Portsmouth, N. H.—Sheehan, Thomas E.,

Poughkeepsie, N. Y .- Sorenson, William,

Providence, R. I.—Di Sano, Salvatore, 1. Quincy, III.—Trine, Oscar, 1. Quincy, Mass.—Wipfler, John, 1. Reading and Berks County, Pa.—Halet-sky, John T., 1. Renkon, Wash.—McDonald, Jack, 1.

ky, John T., 1.

Renton, Wash.—McDonald, Jack, 1.

Richmond, Ind.—Dean, William E., 1.

Richmond, Va.—Boyd, Harold, 1.

Richmond, Va.—Boyd, Harold, 1.

Riverside, Calif.—Williams, Sam K., 1.

Roanoke, Va.—Myers, R. E., 1.

Rochester, N. Y.—Burke, James L., 1.

Sacramento, Calif.—Finks, Harry, 1.

Saginaw, Mich.—McIlvain, G. N., 1.

St. Helens, Oregon.—Hill, Roy C., 1.

St. Joseph, Mo.—Welsh, Warren S., 1.

St. Louis, Mo.—Welsh, Warren S., 1.

St. Paul, Minn.—Schleifer, Frank J., 1.

Salem County, N. J.—Schachter, Leon J., 1.

Salem County, R. J.—Schlachter, J. Salem, Ore.—Egan, L. E., 1.
Salem, Ore.—Egan, L. E., 1.
Salisbury, Md. (Del-Mar-Va. Peninsula)
—Cohen, Harry, 1.
Salt Lake City, Utah—Evans, Don R., 1.
San Antonio, Texas—Tyler, Julia, 1.
San Bernardino, Calif.—Howard, J. W., 1.
San Diego County, Calif.—Quimby, John

Sandusky, Ohio-Kistler, Forrest, 1. San Francisco, Calif.-Johns, George W.,

San Mateo, Calif.-Ballerini, Anthony, 1. San Pedro-Wilmington, Calif.—Seltzer, Richard J., 1.

San Rafael, Calif.—Rotell, Thomas A., 1. Santa Monica, Calif.—Pitts, Thomas L.,

Savannah, Ga.—Cain, John Wesley, 1. Schenectady, N. Y.—Carmichael, Richard

Schenectady, N. Y.—Carmichael, Richard J., 1.
Scaranton, Fa.—Downes, Joseph L., 1.
Seattle, Wash.—Carr, Harry L., 1.
Sedalia, Mo.—Bowles, Otto, 1.
Schreveport, La.—Bussie, Victor, 1.
South Bend, Ind.—Barders, Tex. W., 1.
South Chicago, Ill.—Doyle, Frank E., 1.
Springfield, Ml.—Bonansinga, Sam, 1.
Springfield, Mass.—Suprenant, Roy J., 1.
Springfield, Mo.—Cline, J., Frank, 1.
Stamford, Conn.—Friend, George M., 1.
Syracuse, N. Y.—Ferrante, Nicholas, 1.
Texas City, Texas—Le Unes, G. J., 1.
The Dalles, Oregon—Scanlon, Thomas L.,

Tillamook, Oregon-Howard, William H.,

Toledo, Ohio—Fischer, Frank, 1. Topeka, Kans.—Robinson, H. V., 1. Trenton, N. J.—Dunn, Thomas J., 1. Trumbull County, Ohio—La Polla, Ruth

Tucson, Ariz.—Darland, Fara, 1. Tulsa, Okla.—Vinall, R. P., 1. Urbana-Champaign, Ill.—James Clifford

Utica, N. Y.—De Perno, R. J., 1.
Utica, N. Y.—De Perno, R. J., 1.
Ventura, Calif.—Cowan, Walter, 1.
Vincennes, Ind.—Reed, Walter, 1.
Visalia, Calif. (Tulare Co.)—Hyans, C. J. Washington, D. C.—McGuigan, F. H., 1. Waterbury, Conn.—Collins, Timothy M.,

Watertown, N. Y.-Cunningham. Roger, 1.

John R., 1. Waukesha, Wis.—Davis, John R., 1. Wayne County, Ohio—Dunlap, Cecil, 1. Westchester County, N. Y.—Stauder,

Wichita, Kans.—Malcolm, W. W., 1. Wilkes Barre, Pa.—Matheson, Min Lurye, Willimantic, Conn.-La Pointe, Emmett

Willimand,
F. 1.
Willmar, Minn.—Burns, Don H., 1.
Willmar, Minn.—Burns, Don H., 1.
Willmar, Minn.—Burns, Leo B., 1.
Wood River, Ill.—Harrelson, Frank, 1.
Worcester, Mass.—Saltus, Alfred A., 1.
Yavapai County, Ariz.—Peterson, Paul

York County, Pa.—Hopkins, David J., 1 Youngstown, Ohio—Bishop, Charles G., 1

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Tuscaloosa Co., Ala.-Carey E. Haigler,

Fort Smith, Ark.—George Ellison, 1. Greater Alameda Co., Calif.—James Drury, 1.

Contra Costa, Calif.—Joseph Angelo, 1. Los Angeles, Calif.—Albert T. Lunce-ford, 1. San Diego, Calif.—James H. Curry, 1.

San Diego, Calif.—James H. Curry, 1. San Francisco, Calif.—Arthur Hellender,

Colo.-Fred Denver, Colo.—Fred C. Pieper, 1. Bridgeport, Conn.—Edward J. Lavery, 1. Bristol, Conn.—Lottie Elliott, 1. Hartford, Conn.—Roger McQuiggan, 1. Grtr. Naugatuck, Conn.—Raymond Men-gacci, 1. New Haven, Conn.—William Stapleton,

Stamford, Conn.—E. E. Phelps, 1. Grtr. Waterbury, Conn.—Herman Bel-

sky, 1.
District of Columbia, Washington, C.-Monaghan, 1.

Duval County, Fla.—C. H. Gillman, 1. Atlanta, Ga.—Jesse Lester, 1. Cook County, Ill.—Ellsworth M. Smith,

Four Counties, Ill.—Sam L. Grogg, 1. Lake County, Ill.—Harvey Pearson 1. LaSalle County, Ill.—Robert D. Bollard,

Peoria, III.—Peter J. Watson, 1.
Rockford, III.—Robert Foss, 1.
St. Clair Co., III.—Val Cox, 1.
Springfield, III.—Frank England, 1.
Tri-City, III.—Lloyd McBride, 1.
Will County, III.—Frank Mlakar, 1.
DeKalb County, Ind.—Franz E. Daniel,

Delaware County, Ind.—John Wells, 1. Elkhart County, Ind.—Clement Nitka, 1. Evansville, Ind.—Charles Pearce, 1. Fayette County, Ind.—George P. Jones,

Fort Wayne, Ind.—Roy Newer, 1. Howard County, Ind.—Daniel S. Bedell,

Indianapolis, Ind.—Timothy Smith, 1. Lake County, Ind.—John Truchan, 1. Lawrence Co., Ind.—John Bartee, 1. Madison County, Ind.—Harold J. Goehring, 1.

New Castle, Ind.—Harlan J. Noel, 1. St. Joseph Co., Ind.—Stanley Ladd, 1. Twin Counties, Ind.—Carol M. Hutton, 1. Vigo County, Ind.—James P. Broshears,

Wayne County, Ind.-Richard G. Fritzwayne wayne meier, I.
Black Hawk Co., Iowa—Carl Dahl, 1.
Cedar Rapids, Iowa—Henry J. Henry, 1.
Cerro Gordo, Iowa—Frank Cronin, 1.
Des Moines, Iowa—Harry Booth, 1.
Dubuque County, Iowa—Rudolph Eskovitz, 1.

Ottumwa, Iowa—Ben Henry, 1. Sioux City, Iowa—Edris H. Owens, 1. Webster Co., Iowa—Richard T. Leonard,

Topeka, Kans.—Willard Murphy, 1. Wichita, Kans.—James E. Taylor, 1. Boyd and Greenup Co., Ky.—Henry Siebert, 1.

Louisville, Ky.—Emil Cornett, 1. Paducah Area, Ky.—Paul R. Christopher.

Central Maryland IUC, Md.—Glenn R. Brayton, 1. Greater Boston, Mass.—John J. Horan, 1. Greater Lawrence, Mass.—Ralph D. Ari-

vella, 1.

Greater New Bedford, Mass.-George E. Carignan, 1.
Lynn, Mass.—James Fuller, 1.
Western Massachusetts, Mass.—Herman
Greenberg, 1.
Worcester, Mass.—James B. Lavin, 1.

Bay County, Mich.-Herbert T. McCreedy,

Cadillac Co., Mich. —Al Barbour, 1. Calhoun Co., Mich.—James A. Morgan, Dickinson Co., Mich.-Henry Scouth-

Grand Traverse, Mich.-Charles A. Ro-Detroit and Wayne, Mich .-Greater Mike Novak

Greater Flint, Mich.-Lawrence J. Fin-Gogebic Co., Mich.—N. A. Zonarich 1. Greater Ingham Co., Mich.—Elton

Jackson County, Mich.-Victor G. Reu-Kalamazoo, Mich.-Clarence A. Jackson,

Kent County, Mich.-Florence Peterson,

Lenawee County, Mich.-Jack T. Con-Macomb County, Mich.-Barney Hop-

kins, 1.
Marquette Co., Mich.—Smoile Chatak, 1.
Monroe Co., Mich.—George E. Baker, 1.
Pontiac & Oakland, Mich.—Fred V. Hag-

Port Cities, Mich.—Brendon Sexton Saginaw District, Mich.—John T.

per, 1. St. Clair Co., Mich.—Larry Gettlinger, 1. Sturgis & St. Jos. Co., Mich.—Lyle Carr, Washtenaw Co., Mich.-Roy L. Reuther,

Duluth, Minn.—Stewart M. Hockin, 1. Hennepin Co., Minn.—John C. Bryant, 1. Iron Range, Minn.—Nick Krmpotich, 1. St. Paul, Minn.—Charles Rafferty, 1. Greater Kansas City, Mo.—John R. Ca-Greater 1 pell, Jr., 1.

St. Joseph, Mo.—William Lewis, 1. St. Louis, Mo.—Oscar A. Ehrhardt, 1. Lincoln, Neb.—D. W. Starnes, 1. Lincoln, Neb.—D. W. Starnes, 1. Omaha-Council Bluffs, Neb.—Delmond

Garst. 1. Bergen County, N. J.-Jeremiah Donovan.

Burlington Co., N. J .- Ernest Sternotti,

Central Jersey, N. J.—Charles Kovacs, 1. Essex-W. Hudson Cts., N. J.—Hugh Caldwell, 1. Hudson County, N. J.-Nicholas L. Feo-

la, I. Middlesex Co., N. J.—Ernest J. Toth, 1. Passaic County, N. J.—Christopher J. Passaic C Frawley, 1.

South Jersey, N. J.—Frank E. Meloni, 1. Union County, N. J.—James Trice, 1. Greater Buffalo, N. Y.—James Miller, 1. Dunkirk Area, N. Y.—William J. Hart, 1. Finger Lakes, N. Y.—John J. Maurillo,

Jamestown Area, N. Y .- Samuel Olfano,

New York City, N. Y.—Morris Iushe-witz, 1. Nassau & Suffolk Cts., N. Y.—Emil G. Lindahl, 1,

Niagara County, N. Y .- William S. Hilger, I.
Oswego County, N. Y.—Joseph Lovas, 1.
Rochester, N. Y.—John H. Cooper, I.
Schenectady Area, N. Y.—Sandy Mor-

Greater Syracuse, N. Y.-John Ewanis-

zyk. 1. Troy Area, N. Y.—Joseph C. Killian, 1. Upper Hudson Area, N. Y.—Sy Cohen, 1.

Greater Utica, N. Y .- Joseph P. Molony,

Westchester, N. Y.—Wilbur Riddett, 1. Mecklenburg Co., N. C.—John R. Gra-

ham, 1. Akron. nam, 1.

Akron, Ohio—Leo E. Dugan, 1.

Alliance, Ohio—R. J. McCaulley, 1.

Ashtabula Co., Ohio—Fred Saverice, 1.

Barberton, Ohio—Walter Smethurst, 1.

Butler, Ohio—John G. Vechazone, 1.

Greater Cincinnati, Ohio—Edward B

Hellkamp, 1. B.

Cleveland, Ohio—Elwood S. Detirich, 1. Columbiana, Ohio—Sam Camens, 1. Franklin Co., Ohio—Harry E. Mayfield,

Licking Co., Ohio—Charles L. Cory, 1. Lima Regional, Ohio—Harry Winkeljohn.

John, I.
Lorain Co., Ohio—Eugene Balogh, 1.
Mahoning Co., Ohio—Albert Shipka, 1.
Marion Co., Ohio—John Burke, 1.
Masillon, Ohio—John Green, 1.
Miami, Shelby, Darke Co., Ohio—Arthur Fagan, 1.
Montgomery Co., Ohio—Joseph Kreut-

zer Muskingum Co., Ohio-George Turner,

Portage Co., Ohio—Marie Kemmery, 1. Portsmouth, Ohio—Wm. R. Staiger, 1. Richland, Ohio—James L. Young, 1. Sandusky, Ohio—Jack Kroll, 1. Sandusky - Ottawa, Ohio—Alfred Lopez,

Stark County, Ohio—W. E. Wycoff, 1. Toledo, Ohio—Howard H. Rediger, 1. Tri-County, Ohio—Harold E. Knapp, 1. Trumbull Co., Ohio—Henry A. Dively, 1. Washington Co., Ohio—William V. La-

elle, I.
Oaklahoma, Okla.—L. A. L'Hoste, 1.
Tulsa, Okla.—R. H. Rackleff, 1.
Portland, Oregon—John M. Brast, 1.
Allegheny Valley, Pa.—John Maser, 1.
Armstrong Co., Pa.—Francis McCabe, 1.
Beaver Co., Pa.—Sam Sesti, 1.
Berks County, Pa.—Edward F. Haas, 1.
Blair County, Pa.—A. C. Shamas, 1.
Bucks County, Pa.—A. C. Shamas, 1.
Bucks County, Pa.—Michael A. Petrak, 1.
Chester Co., Pa.—Michael Reach, 1.
Clearfield Centre Co., Pa.—Julia L. Maitta, 1.

Crawford County, Pa .- William R. Ew-

ing, 1. Delaware Co., Pa.—William R. Roberts,

Erie, Pa.—L. H. Jenkins, 1. Harrisburg Region, Pa.—Hugh Carcella, Greater Johnstown, Pa.-Russell Thom-

as, Greensburg Area, Pa.—Dick W. Rhea, 1. Lancaster Co., Pa.—Charles Medrick, 1. Lawrence Co., Pa.—George T. Barberio,

Lebanon Co., Pa.-Charles A. Englebach,

1. Lehigh Co., Pa.—George Nejmeh, 1. Lycoming Co., Pa.—Joseph W. Pesotine,

Mifflin Co., Pa.—Joseph W. Bailey, 1. Monongahela Valley, Pa.—Lasick, Frank,

Montgomery Co., Pa.-Quarry, John S.,

Sr., 1.
Northampton, Pa.—Moran, William, 1.
Northumberland, Montour & Snyder
Co., Pa.—Bittler, Carl, 1.

Philadelphia, Pa.—Kelley, Joseph T., 1. Scranton-Lackawanna, Pa.—Patrick, Genevieve, 1.

Shenango County, Pa.-Nicholson, William C am C., 1. Steel City, Pa.—Federoff, Anthony J., Tarentum District, Pa.—Schultz, C. Cas-

mier F., 1. Venango Co., Pa.—Atwell, Ross L Wilkes-Barre Area, Pa.-Merolla, Domi-

nic, 1.
York Co., Pa.—Harris, Lloyd B., 1.
Greater Charleston, S. C.—Starnes, R.

Greater Charlesson,
E. 1.
Chattanooga, Tenn.—Frazier, W. B., 1.
Knoxville, Tenn.—Derrick, Reece, 1.
Memphis, Tenn.—Crawder, Earl A., 1.
Nashville, Tenn.—Ellis, Victor, 1.
Bexar Co., Texas—Ellinger, W. Don., 1.
Dallas Area, Texas—Hardesty, A. R., 1.
Houston Area, Texas—McCarty, Frank,

Sabine Area, Texas-Goldberg, Arthur Sablie Arcs, J. 1.
Blue Ridge, Va.—Switzer, Silas, 1.
Blue Ridge, Va.—Binford, Wm. M.,
Roanoke, Va.—Keen, Paul S., 1.
Tidewater, Va.—Pendleton, James A.
Grays Harbor, Wash.—Wickre, Julius
Seattle-King Co., Wash.—DeShetler, Silas, 1. vm. M., 1. Julius,

Spokane Co., Wash.—Nimz, Earl, 1. Tacoma, Wash.—Glenn, John M., 1. Cabell Co., W. Virginia,—Garner, George

L., 1. Harrison Co., W. Virginia-DeNucci, George, Kanawha Co., W. Virginia-Stanley.

Miles (Wheeling Region, W. Virginia-Bussa,

Valley, Wis.-Rettinger, Chippewa Crappews George, 1. Dane Co., Wis.—Haywood, Albert, 1. Dane Co., Wis.—Stamey, Leon, 1. Kenosha Co., Wis.—Maxin, Michael, 1. La Crosse Co., Wis.—Davidson, Robert

J., 1.
Milwaukee Co., Wis.—Erchul, Fred A., 1.
Racine Co., Wis.—Norman, Loren, 1.
Rock Co., Wis.—Michel, F. J., 1.
Sheboygan Co., Wis.—Graskamp, Allan,

Waukesha Co., Wis.—Kraus, Eugene, 1. Winnebago Co., Wis.—Lamotte, Leo, 1.

DIRECTLY AFFILIATED LOCAL UNIONS

14712, Philadelphia, Pa., 25-Borman, J., 25. 15293, New York, N. Y., 30-Wolpert, 16303, New York, N. Y., 914—Varrone, Anthony, 914.
18032, New York, N. Y., 449—Wein-Anthony, 32.

18032, New York, N. 2.

18032, New York, N. 2.

18195, Scranton, Pa., 391—Milberger,
Helen G., 391.

18205, New York, N. Y., 409—Lufrano,
18205,

Louis, 409. 18267, (Cleveland, Ohio, 541-Kozak, 541.

18267, Cieverand,
Andrew, 541.
18377, Brockton, Mass., 258—Lavigne,
Francis E., 258.
18456, Kenosha, Wis., 2,468—Colby,
Howard, 2,468.
18527 Chicago, Ill., 210—Disselhorst,
Lewis Earl, 210,
18558, La Crosse, Wis., 1,688—Ferris,

Lewis Earl, 210.
18558, La Crosse, Wis., 1,688—Ferris,
Darrel, 1,688.
18579, Rochester, N. Y., 600—Stockmaster, Erwin, 600.
18671, Cleveland, Ohio, 233—McCourt,

William R., 233. 18887, Philadelphia, Pa., 1,947—Dever, Alex I., 1,947.

18919, Hartford, Conn., 578—Camarco, Rido, 578. 19322, Kenosha, Wis., 1,111—Madison, John H., 1,111. 19340, Milwaukee, Wis., 343—Norbeck, 343 W. J., 343. 19469, Chicopee Falls, Mass., 659— Ricardl, Nello P., 659. 19635, Muskegon, Mich., 695—Hansen, Harry 695. Milwaukee, Ove 19806, Mi air. Wilbur, Wis., 4,868-Le Clair, Wi 19981, Bellefonte, Pa., 955-Dolan. Harold, 955 19985. Kenosha, Wis., 107-Ruffolo, Anthony, Crockett, Calif., 1,216—Cooper, Francis, 1,216. 20037, Charles 20186, Barberton, Ohio, 2,805—Sepelak, George F. 2,805. 20311, (521 votes), 24,768 (77 votes), Dayton, Ohio, 598—Butts, Robert A., 598 20467. Chicago, Ill., 613-Dorfman, 20401, Chicago, In., aul J., 613. 20499, New York, N. Y., 674—Daub-an, Robert, 674. 20538, Auburn, N. Y., 441—Tuleya, man, Re 20538, 20538, Aus. Anna, 441. 20567, Malden, Thomas F., 271. 20572, Toledo, Mass., 271—Bishop, Ohio, 482-Tucker, 20572, 101edo, 20572, 20572, 20582, Springfield, Mass., 140—Maciolek, Michael, 140, 20665, Baltimore, Md., 106—Johns, Edward H., 106, 20711, St. Louis, Mo., 16—Rubin, Maury E., 16, 20890, Geneva, N. Y., 263—Amidon, Theodore, 263. 482. Springfield, Mass., 140—Ma-20890, Geneva, Theodore, 263, 20999, Rochester, N. Y., 168—Harber, Elwood, 168, 21108, Hagerstown, Md., 306—Norris, 21108, Hagerstown, Md., 306—Norris, James, 306. 21479, (230 votes), 21480, (205 votes), Toronto, Ont., Can., 435—Federman, Max, 435. 21481, (59 votes), Toronto, Ont., Can., rack, Al., 59. 21481, (59 Votes), 10 Onto, One, Camp-59—Litvack, Al., 59. 21538, Blackwell, Okla., 869— Camp-bell, O. C., 869. 21625, New York, N. Y., 1,330—Silverman, Herman, 1,330. 21664, Syracuse, N. Y., 235—Galuski, Frank 235. 21377, Chicago, Ill., 20—Klass, Irwin E., 20, 21914, Watertown, Mass., coco, Salvatore A., 4,484. 21920, Newark, N. J., 265—Santos, William Serile, 265. 22006, Hamlin, N. Y., 634—Le Storti, 22006, Hamlin, 1 James, 634. 22095, Cleveland Simon, 92. 22177, Detroit Mich., 2,429-Del Campo, Albert, 2,429. 22254, Philadelphia, Pa., 1,382—Murphy, Eugene, 1,382. 22454, New Orleans, La., 369—Babin, Claude P., 369. 22328, Knoxville, Tenn., 167—Frye, Conley P., 167. 22543, Springfield, Ohio, 86—Jones, 22543, Springhoto, Betty M., 86. 22614, Moudsville, W. Va., 201—Mills, Charles, 201. 22623, Philadelphia, Pa., 1,795—Capi-22625, Ashland, Ohio, 197—Stackhouse, David, 197.

22636, East Chicago, Ind., 1,843— Longa, Adolph J., 1,843. 22631, Milwaukee, Wis., 2,442—Greub, Alfred H., 2,442, 22694, Brockton, Mass., 381—Picone, Joseph A., 381. 22804, Springfield, Mass., 714—Sled-22812, Canton, Mass., 645-Darling, Joseph, 645 23132, Pe Frank, 655. Passaic, N. J., 655-Truatt, 23160, Balboa, C. Z., 48-Price, William ., 48. 23221, Alton, Ill., 25—McCormick, Paul R., 25. 23293, New York, N. Y., 516—Powers, Thomas, 516. 23433, Gowanda, N. Y., 222—Badurek, Joseph, 222. 23478, Canandaigua, N. Y., 268—Man-ganaro, Sam, 268. 23516. Niagara Falls, N. Y., 194-Z3010. Niagats Gozdowiak, Henry 194. 23628, Chicago, Ill., 217. Summerfield, Le Roy L., 217. 23640, Princeton, Ind., 107—De Bord, James L., 107. 23773, Dayton, Ohio, 11—Anderson, James R., 11. 23823, Newark, Ohio, 278—Johnson, Derrell, 278. 23843, St. Paul, Minn., 15-Groner, L. E., 15. 23866, Cleveland, Ohio, 170-Porlic, Thomas J., 170. 23908, Montreal Que., Can., 579-Vincelette, Victor, 579.
23942, Lowell, Mass., 40—Ahearn,
Thomas P., 40. 23981, Albany, N. Y., 235—Gullo, Frank, 235. 23983, Syracuse, N. Y., 3,423—Steven-23983, Syracuse, N. Y., 3,423—Stevenson, Wilfred, 3,423.
23985, Hagerstown, Md., 12—Butler, Elbert W., 12.
24031, Worcester, Mass., 246—Dugan, bert 24031, W 246. Leo G., 2 24058, Lawrence, Mass., 45-Havey, z4Ubs, Lawrence, Mass., 45—Havey, John J., 45. 24111, Milwaukee, Wis., 14—Taylor, Ray W., 14. 24115, Philadelphia, Pa., 83—Czaplicki, John—83. 24215. 24215, Winter Haven, Fla., 52 J. C., 626. 24387, Cleveland, Ohio, 419—Paukner, Otto J., 419. 24410, Leadville, Colo., 1,120—Larch, Jess A., 1,120. 24428, Evansville, Ind., 461—Hartig, Winter Haven, Fla., 626-Pate, Theodore L., 461. 24472, Torrington, Conn., Hohnke, Eric, 223 24659, Rochester, N. Y., 583—Webb, Daniel R., 583, 24760, Bridgeport, Conn., 701—Burns, James F., 701. 24779, Buffalo, N. Y., 86—Wismar, Arthur H., 86. 24787, Waukegan, III., 129 Charles E., 126, 29832, Olean, N. Y., 199 — Brown, Charles, 199.
24866, Washington, D. C., 22—Stanley,
Mrs. Lee, 22.
Vork, N. Y., 1,383—McDon-24906, Washington, D. C., 22—Statuty, Irs. Lee, 22. 24910, New York, N. Y., 1,383—McDon-ugh, Patrick A., 1,383. 24928, Ponce, P. R., 50—Grant, Pedro ough, A., 50. 24935, Gary, Ind., 20-Kuckson, Ed-mund C., 20.

LOCAL INDUSTRIAL UNIONS

72, Amalgamated Office Workers, Detroit, Mich., 485-Averill, D. Elizabeth,

83, Un. Dairy Wkrs., Detroit, Mich., 4,812—Stoner, Ralph F., 4,812.

255, Un. Theater Emps., Clarksburg, W. Va., 6—McPeak, Carl A., 6. 520, Printing & Paper Trades, Phila-delphia, Pa., 701—McCaffrey, James, delphia, Pa.,

677, Un. Publication Workers, Brook-lyn, New York, 91—Blumstein, Samuel,

lyn, New 91.
91.
92.
938, Un. Bakery Wkrs., McKeesport, 798, Un. Sugar Wkrs., Sugarland, 917, Un. Sugar Wkrs., Sugarland, Texas, 547—Walker, Knox W., 547.
934, Un. Pencil Wkrs., New York, N. Y., 559—Beardwood, James F., 589.
934, Un. Foremen & Supervisors, La Crosse, Wis., 59—Flannery, Robert G.

59.

1162, Un. Motion Picture Employees,
Lamarque, Texas, 5—Allen, Carlin, 5.
1242, Un. Slag Wkrs., Pittsburgh, Pa.,
159—Craig, George, 159.
1279, Un. Scrap & Salvage & Waste
Material Wkrs., Pittsburgh, Pa., 103—

Material Wkrs., Pittsb Sanguigni, Samuel, 103.

Sanguigni, Samuel, 103.

1308, Local Industrial Union, Flint, Mich., 95—Finnin, Lawrence, 95.

1420, Un. Sugar Wkrs., Mathews, La., 207—Parr, George, 207.

1422, Un. Sugar Wkrs., Labadieville, La., 282—Pelet, Henry, 282.

1474, Un. Sugar Wkrs., Raceland, La., 102—Barranco, Charles, 102.

1475, Un. Sugar Wkrs., Montegut, La., 30—Riffe, John V., 30.

1525, Un. Construction Wkrs., South Bend, Ind., 30—Louis, James G., 30.

1645, Roosevelt College Office Employees, Chicago, Ill., 70—White, Leland A., 70. n, Flint,

A., 70.
1660, Un. Sugar Refinery Wkrs., So.
Boston, Mass., 571—Hutton, Richard, 571.
1670, CWA-CIO Office Wkrs., Washington, D. C., 22—Schaar, Walter, 22.
1686, Un. Clerical Wkrs., South Bend,
Ind., 22—Colwell, George, 22.
1693, Un. Office Employees, Cincinnati,
Ohio, 15—Shy, Arthur, 15.
1694 Un. Rank Employees, New York

Ohlo, 15—Shy, Arthur, 1b.
1694, Un. Bank Employees, New York,
N. Y., 38—Titone, John, 38.
1695, Un. Clerical Wkrs., Washington,
D. C., 95—Moran, Thomas P., 95.
1699, Un. Office Employees, Portland,
Ore., 24—Dusten, Chester, 24.
1700, Un. Office Wkrs., Columbus, Ohio,
38—Rooney, John R., 38.
1705, Local Industrial Union, Whitewater, Wis., 73—Murray, Tom, 73.
1719, Un. Office & Clerical Workers.

vater, Wis., 13—Aurray, Tom, 78.
1719, Un. Office & Clerical Workers.
Flint, Mich., 50—Frazer, Douglas A., 50.
1727, Un. Office Wkrs., Akron, Ohio,
54—Burla, Beulah M., 54.
1729, Office Workers. Los Angeles.
Calif., 47—Yuster, Sylvia A., 47.
1733, Community & Social Agency Employees, Oakland, Calif., 53—Despol, John,
53.

Federation Engineers, Chemists & ians, Philadelphia, Pa., 23—Gar-1736. Technicians, Philarison, Oral L., 23.

1738, Un. Office Employees, Milwaukee, Wis., 32—Graham, Sylvester, 32. 1746, Un. Clerical Wkrs., Washington, D. C., 22—Rubin, Eve., 22. 1752, Consolidated Services & Car Driv-ers, St. Louis, Mo., 91—Ryan, Arlanda, 91.

1771, Warehousemen and Drivers, Lincoln, Neb., 66—Oliver, Robert, 66, 1772, Un. Office and Clerical Wkrs., Long Island City, N. Y., 113—Rosenkrantz, John, 113.

Long Island City, N. Y., 113—Rosen-krantz, John, 113.
1777, Duluth Fur Wkrs., Duluth, Minn., 26—Cuniff, John, 26.
1779, Un. Office Wkrs., Richmond, Va., 67—DuCuennois, T. D., 67.
1782, Office Employees, Grand Rapids, Mich., 15—Sherwood, Lillian, 15.
1783, CWA Office Employees, Dallas, Texas, 11—Starnes, R. W., 11.
1793, Un. Publishing Emp., New York, N. Y., 49—Mann, Michael, 49, 1794, Un. Office and Clerical Wkrs., Cleveland, Ohio, 31—Eiben, Louis, 31.
1805, Amalgamated Office Workers, Indianapolis, Ind., 28—Widman, William J., 28.

dianapolis, inu., se J., 28. 1806, Un. Clerical Wkrs., Waterbury, Conn., 21—Belcinski, Mary, 21. 1811, Un. Bay Area Office Wkrs., San Francisco, Calif., 12—Clark, Robert, 12. 1812, Virgin Islands Labor Union, St. Thomas, V. I., U. S. A., 30—King, Austin Chomas, V. I., 40—King, Aust

1813, Federation of Shorthand Reporters, New York, N. Y., 45—Davidson, Jean,

1814, CIO Sabine Area, Port Arthur, Texas, 157, Dutton, Mrs. R. Z., 157. 1821, Alaska Fishermen's Un., Seattle 11, Wash., Smith, William J., 11.

... The report of the Credentials Committee made in behalf of the Joint Labor Unity Committee was adopted unanimously . .

CHAIRMAN REUTHER: At this time it is my privilege to recognize the youngest member of the Unity Subcomwittee, the brother with whom I have had the privilege of being associated in the leadership of CIO. He made a great contribution in the work of the subcommittee in working out the many knotty problems.

You know, it seems that the Irish do pretty well inside the American labor movement, and this is another Irishman. I am very privileged at this time to call upon the President of the IUE, my good friend Jim Carey, for the purpose of reporting on the Call to the Convention. Then, following that, the Rules by which the Convention will be conducted—Brother Carey.

CONVENTION CALL

. . . Delegate Carey read the Convention Call as follows: Greetings:

Greetings:

On February 9, 1955, the Joint AFL-CIO Unity Committee signed an agreement for the merger of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations. In doing so, the Committee expressed the belief that the adoption of the agreement will bring about honorable, organic labor unity. It will contribute to the strength and effectiveness of the trade union movement and to the economic well-being of working men and women throughout the land. It will realize a long-cherished goal. This agreement was subsequently approved by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive

Board of the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

A proposed constitution for the merged federation, which shall be known as the "American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations," has been prepared and will be recommended for convention approval by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and by the Executive Board of the Congress of Industrial Organizations. Separate conventions of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations have been called to meet in New York City, N. Y., on December 1, 1955, at which time the merger agreement and the proposed constitution will be submitted for approval. constitution proposed for approval.

The preamble of this proposed constitution sets forth the basic purposes of the merged federation:

"The establishment of this Federa-The establishment of this redera-tion through the merger of the Ameri-can Federation of Labor and the Con-gress of Industrial Organizations is an expression of the hopes and aspiraof the working people

America.

"We seek the fulfillment of these we seek the furniment of these hopes and aspirations through demo-cratic processes within the framework of our constitutional government and consistent with our institutions and

traditions.
"At the collective bargaining table in the community, in the exercise of the rights and responsibilities of citizenship, we shall responsibly serve the interests of all the American

"We pledge ourselves to the more effective organization of working men effective organization of working men and women; to the securing to them of full recognition and enjoyment of the rights to which they are justly entitled; to the achievement of ever higher standards of living and working conditions; to the attainment of security for all the people; to the enjoyment of the leisure which their skills make possible; and to the strengthening and extension of our way of life and the fundamental freedoms which are the bases of our democratic society. society.

"We shall combat resolutely the forces which seek to undermine the democratic institutions of our nation and to enslave the human soul. We shall strive always to win full respect for the dignity of the human indi-

vidual whom our unions serve.
"Grateful for the fine traditions of
our past, confident of meeting the
challenge of the future, we proclaim
this constitution."

The merger agreement and the pro posed constitution authorize the Joint AFL-CIO Unity Committee to call the First Constitutional Convention of the

First Constitutional Convention of the merged organization.

Therefore you are hereby notified, subject to approval of the merger agreement and the proposed constitution by the separate conventions of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, that the First Constitutional Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations will be held at the 71st Regimental

Armory, 34th Street and Park Avenue, New York City, commencing at 10 a. m. Monday, December 5, 1955, to adopt such policies and take such actions as may be necessary or appropriate to carry on the functions and to effectuate the object and principles of the organiza-

For the Joint AFL-CIO Unity Committee

WALTER P. REUTHER

President Congress of Industrial Organizations

GEORGE MEANY President

American Federation of Labor

JAMES B. CAREY Secretary-Treasurer Congress of Industrial Organizations

WILLIAM SCHNITZLER Secretary-Treasurer American Federation of Labor

CONSTITUTION

Article XIX of the proposed consti-tution of the AFL-CIO, as approved and recommended by the Executive Council of the AFL and the Executive Board of the CIO, provides that the constitution and merger agreement be-tween the AFL and CIO "shall become tween the AFL and CIO "shall become effective upon approval by the separate conventions of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations and shall govern the affairs of the Federation beginning with the first convention of the Federation."

DELEGATES TO THE CONVENTION

Article XIX, Section 3, of the proposed constitution provides as follows:

"The Joint AFL-CIO Unity Committee shall act as the credentials committee for the initial convention and shall be empowered to accredit as delegates to such convention all of the delegates to such convention all of the delegates who have been duly accrede tied to the conventions of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations which approved this constitution. Where the total number of such delegates of any affiliated organization is less than the number of delegates to which such organization is entitled under Article IV, Section 4, the Joint AFL-CIO Unity Committee shall be empowered to accredit additional delegates from such organization up to such number." Article IV, Section 4, of the proposed constitution provides as follows: "Sec. 4. Each national or international union and organizing committee shall be entitled to the number of delegates indicated in the following scale:

scale:

Plus one additional delegate for each 75,000 over 175,000 members.

Each directly affiliated local union Each directly affiliated local union and each national trade department shall be entitled to one delegate. Each industrial union council and each state or local central body shall be entitled to one delegate. Directly affiliated local unions, with the approval of the Presi-dent, may combine with other such unions within a reasonable distance to elect a single delegate to represent unions elect a sing

unions within a delegate to represent such unions."

NOTE: Since the Joint AFL-CIO Unity Committee is empowered to accredit to this convention all delegates who have been duly accredited to the separate AFL and CiO conventions to be held on December 1, 1955, it will not be necessary for affiliated organizations to separately select such delegates as delegates to the merged convention. Certain national and international unions, however, are entitled under Article IV, Section 4, of the constitution of the merged organizations to send more delegates to this convention than they are entitled to send to the separate December 1 conventions. Such organizations may select a sufficient number of additional delegates to bring their delegations up to the size-indicated in Article IV, Section 4, of the constitution of the merged organization. The names of such additional delegates should be forwarded to the constitution of the merged organiza-tion. The names of such additional delegates should be forwarded to the Secretary-Treasurer of the Federation to which such organization is affili-ated, The Secretary-Treasurer of the respective Federations will submit these names to the Joint AFL-ClO Unity Committee as the Credentials Committee for the Convention. Note that the number of delegates sent by any affiliated organization does not affect the voting strength of the delegation as a whole.

VOTING STRENGTH OF DELEGATES

Article XIX, Section 4, of the pro-sed constitution provides that:

representing national "Delegations representing national and international unions, organizing committees and directly affiliated local unions shall each be entitled to a total number of votes based upon the membership represented by such delegation at the conventions of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations approving this constitution. State and local central bodies and national departments shall each be represented by one delegate. Delegations each be represented by one delegat and shall each be entitled to one vote.

ORGANIZATION OF CONVENTION

Article XIX, Section 5, of the pro-

constitution provides that: e Joint AFL-CIO Unity Commit-The tee shall report to the convention, designate temporary officers for the convention, appoint all convention compensations. mittees, and take such other action with respect to the conduct of the convention as may become necessary by virtue of the fact that it is an initial convention.

Mr. Chairman, I move that the Convention Call be inscribed in the official records of this First Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CiO.

. . . The motion was seconded and unanimously carried,

RULES AND ORDER OF BUSINESS

CHAIRMAN REUTHER: Carey will now report on the Rules and Order of Business.

REPORT OF JOINT AFL-CIO UNITY COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ORDER OF BUSINESS

Delegate Carey submitted the following report on behalf of the Unity Committee:

Pursuant to Section 5 of Article XIX of the Constitution of the AFL-CIO, the Joint AFL-CIO Unity Committee recommends that the following rules and order of business be adopted by the direct constitutional convention of the AFL-CIO:

Rule 1. The Convention shall be called to order daily at 9:30 a.m. and adjourn at 12:30 p.m.; reconvene at 2 p.m. and adjourn at 5:30 p.m.

Rule 2. If a delegate while speaking be called to order, he shall at the re-quest of the chair take his seat until the question of order is decided.

Rule 3. No delegate shall speak mor than once on the same question until all who desire to speak on that ques-tion shall have been heard, nor more than twice on the same question except by consent of the majority. Speeches shall be limited to 10 minutes except by consent of the majority.

Rule 4. Should two or more delegates rise at the same time to speak, the chair shall decide who is entitled to the floor.

Rule 5. When a motion to table is made the motion shall not be put until the introducer of the original motion is given an opportunity to speak on the

Rule 6. No delegate shall interrupt another in his remarks, except to raise a point of order.

Rule 7. A motion shall not be open for discussion until it has been seconded and stated from the chair.

A motion to lay on the table Rule 8. A motion to lay on the table shall not be debatable except as limited by Robert's Rules of Order. When such a motion is made and amendments are pending to the original motion before the convention, the motion to table shall apply to the amendment or amendments, and it shall require a new motion to table the original motion. tion

Rule 9. A motion to reconsider shall not be entertained; unless made by a delegate who voted with the majority on the original question, and shall require a majority vote.

Rule 10. No motion or resolution shall be voted upon until the mover or introducer has had an opportunity to speak upon it if he or she so desires. Rule 11. A roll call on any question before the convention shall be called

upon the request of 30% of the delegates present.

Rule 12. When a roll call has been taken and all delegates present have had an opportunity to record their votes, the ballot shall be declared closed.

Rule 13. When a roll call has been ordered no adjournment shall take place until the result has been announced.

Rule 14. The convention shall be governed by Robert's Rules of Order on all matters not herein provided for.

Rule 15. The regular order of business for the first convention of the AFL-CIO shall be as follows:

- 1. Report on credentials submitted by the Joint AFL-CIO Unity Com-
- Approval of rules and order of business submitted by Joint AFL-CIO Unity Committee.
- Report of Joint AFL-CIO Unity Committee and submission of resolution ratifying and confirming the achievement of labor unity.
- 4. Election of officers.
- 5. Report of Resolutions Committee.
- 6. Adjournment.

DELEGATE CAREY: Mr. Chairman, on behalf of the Joint Unity Committee, I move the adoption of the rules of this convention.

CHAIRMAN REUTHER: You have heard the reading of the Rules and Order of Business, and the motion is to adopt. Is there support?
... The motion was supported.

CHAIRMAN REUTHER: Are there any questions? If not, all those in favor of adopting the Rules and Order of Business signify by saying aye; those opposed.

The ayes have it, and it is so ordered, and the rules are adopted. They will govern the proceedings of this convention.

In now have the privilege of calling upon another member of the Unity Subcommittee, a brother who made a great major contribution to the work of our committee, participated in the many long hours and many days in working out a thousand and one details related to this problem. I am very proud to call upon my good friend, the President of the United Steelworkers Union. Brother Dave McDonald, who will report on labor unity for the Unity Committee. Brother McDonald.

REPORT OF THE JOINT AFL-CIO UNITY COMMITTEE TO THE FIRST CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

DELEGATE McDONALD: Mr. Chairman and delegates, you cannot imagine the feeling of pride that I have in be-

ing privileged to make this report of the Joint AFL-CIO Unity Committee. I was there in '35 when we separated, and I am more than delighted to have played a small role in bringing about organic unity.

played a small role in bring to reganic unity.
This report reads:
On behalf of more than 15 million organized working men and women in America, the Joint AFL-CIO Unity Committee is pleased to report to this First Constitutional Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations that honorable organic unity between the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations is a reality.

On December 1, 1955, the conventions of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations is a reality.

ions is a reality.

On December 1, 1955, the convention of the American Federation of Labor and on December 2, 1955, the convention of the Congress of Industrial Organizations individually passed identical resolutions approving the Agreement for the Merger of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, the Implementation Agreement, and the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations. In so doing, they ratified the final steps toward labor unity. The opening of this convention of the AFL-Clo this morning made effective the unity resolutions previously passed by the American Federation of Labor and by the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

ganizations. This report is made to you in accordance with the provisions of Section 5, Article XIX. of the Constitution of the AFL-CIO. It sets forth, in briefest outline, the steps by which unity was achieved.

briefest outline, the steps of unity was achieved.
Fundamentally, labor unity is the product of the spirit, the will, the sense of determination of these two organizations and their members. It is the product of their firm conviction that disunity was an obstacle to further progress for labor and the nation. It is a dynamic monument to the vision, the statesmanship, the trust of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, of the Executive Board of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, of the affiliates of the two federations, their leaders and members. Together they have written a noble chapter in the history of labor in America.

in America.

The road to unity was long and often difficult. The obstacles were many and formidable. But good faith and a widespread yearning for a single, united labor movement overcame these obstacles.

stacles.

The first milestone along the road to unity was the negotiation and ratification. In 1953 and 1954, of the AFL-CIO No-Raiding Agreement. This agreement substantially reduced disputes between signatory affiliates of the two federations. It constituted a first and essential prerequisite toward further progress toward unity. Initially accepted by this Joint AFL-CIO Unity Committee, the agreement was thereafter approved by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Board of the Congress of Industrial Organizations and subsequently by the respective conventions of these two federations. More recently that has been extended for a further term

as provided for in the Merger Agree-

ment.

The second, tremendously important product of the spirit of unity was the approval by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Board of the Congress of Industrial Organizations of the Agreement for Merger, which had been reached by this Joint Unity Committee on February 9, 1955. At the time this Agreement was reached, President Meany of the American Federation of Labor and President Reuther of the Congress of Industrial Organizations jointly stated: jointly stated:

"The agreement reached today by the AFL and CiO Unity Committee sets the course for the attainment of a merger of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations into a united trade union move-

ment.

"This agreement—if accepted by the executive bodies of our two organizations, as we hope and expect—will mark the end of the division in the free trade union movement of our country that has existed for almost 20 years.

"It is our belief that a united labor movement will be able to devote the talent and strength of our trade unions to greater service to the people of the United States.

"At this time in our history, when this country and all the free world are beset by the challenge of Soviet Communist totalitarianism, a united labor movement will best be able to mobilize the working men and women of this country toward the defense of our free partitutions and toward the developinstitutions, and toward the ment of full employment an security for all the people. the develop-and greater greater

"We pledge that, as unity develops, labor in America will place itself at the service of the American public; and will, by its responsibility and sense of dedication to our democratic ideals, help build a better nation and a stronger

dedication to our democratic ideals, help build a better nation and a stronger free world.

"We feel confident that merger of the two union groups, which we represent, will be a boom to our nation and its people in this tense period. We are happy that, in our way, we have been able to help bring about unity of the American labor movement at a time when unity of all the American people is most urgently needed in the face of the Communist threat to world peace and civilization."

The members of this Committee con-

The members of this Committee con-

The members of this Committee confirm and reiterate these views.

The next step toward unity was the drafting and approval by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Board of the Congress of Industrial Organizations of the Constitution under which this Federation will function, and of the Implementation Agreement.

The final step that brought this AFL.

plementation Agreement.
The final step that brought this AFL-CIO into being was the action taken by the separate conventions of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations in approving the Resolution on the Achievement of Labor Unity.
The basic documents representing each of these steps toward unity are attached to this Report:

The AFL-CIO No-Raiding Agree-

ment
B. The Memorandum of Understanding Supplementing the No-Raiding

Instrument of Extension Amendment of the No-Raiding Agree-

D. The Agreement for Merg E. The AFL-CIO Constitution Merger

F. Implementation Agreement
G. Resolution on the Achievement
of Labor Unity.

And so today we meet as a single body of labor, united not only in form but in a singleness of purpose and spirit. United, we are a more effective instru-mentality for the national good. We have the magnificent opportunity through unity to build to new heights our democratic, responsible, united labor movement. Our AFL-CIO is based upon a full recognition and acceptance of the inherent dignity of the human personality; we are dedicated to the building of a better future for the people of our nation and for a stronger free world.

When this convention is concluded we When this convention is concluded we of the Joint AFL-CIO Unity Committee will have completed the immediate task entrusted to us. We have, throughout, been deeply conscious of the grave and historic responsibility entrusted to us. We have sought to discharge that responsibility honorably and conscientiously. We believe that the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations together have provided a foundation upon which provided a foundation upon can be built a strong, democratic and responsible united labor movement. can be built a

The achievement of this objective is in your hands. We know that the leader in your hands. We know that the leader-ship of the AFL-CIO will rest in capable and effective men. We have complete confidence in the devotion and loyalty of the membership to the principles of free and democratic trade unionism or the membership to the brinciples of free and democratic trade unionism enumerated in the constitution that has been adopted. We of the AFL-CIO. in-voking divine guidance and mindful of the traditions of our past, look with assurance to meeting the challenge of the future

The Joint AFL-CIO Unity Committee concludes its report by proposing the following resolution confirming and ratifying the achievement of labor

"BE IT RESOLVED. That constitutional convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations confirms and ratifies the action of the separate conventions of the American Federation of Labor and of the Congress of Industrial Organizations in ratifying, approving and adopting the Resolution on the Achievement of Labor Unity, the Agreement for the Merger of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, the Implementation Agreement and the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations."

Respectfully submitted of Industrial Organizations confirms and

Respectfully submitted.
WALTER P. REUTHER
JAMES B. CAREY
GEORGE MEANY
WILLIAM SCHNITZLER For the Joint AFL-CIO Unity Committee Mr. Chairman, I move approval of this report and adoption of the resolu-tion which, upon adoption, will unite us and make us one.

CHAIRMAN REUTHER: Thank you, Brother McDonald. You now have be-fore you the resolution confirming and ratifying labor unity. Is there sup-

It has been supported. Are there questions?

any

any questions?
All those in favor of adopting the resolution confirming and ratifying labor unity will please stand.
All those in opposition to the resolution confirming and ratifying labor unity will please stand.
The Chair is proud to declare that

the resolution has been adopted by the unanimous action of this great Conven-

I am now privileged to yield the Chair once again to the President of the Brick Layers Union, Harry Bates.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS

BATES: ess before CHAIRMAN regular CHAIKMAN BATES: The regular order of business before the Convention at this time is the election of the President of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations. Nominations are in order and the Chair recognizes Delegations and the Chair recognizes Delegations are in order and the Chair recognizes Delegations. gate Schoemann of the Plumbers and Pipe Fitters Union. DELEGATE SCHOEMANN: Mr. Chair-

man, President Meany, President Reu-ther, distinguished guests, brothers and sisters, ladies and gentlemen:

sisters, ladies and gentlemen:
It has always been a custom and tradition not only of the American Federation of Labor but at conventions of the Congress of Industrial Organizations and at conventions of international and national unions that a delegate from the union of which the proposed nominee is a member would be a few and of that nominee before posed nominee is a member would place the name of that nominee before convention.

the convention.

This has been a custom respected and rigidly adhered to within the framework of the old American Federation of Labor. This is the first convention of the new AFL-CIO Federation. A new home for labor is in the progress of construction. The foundation for this new home of labor is being constructed by this first convention. The foundation of this new home of labor is built on the need and desire for unity, peace and concord among the great international and national unions comprising the American labor movement. labor movement.

can labor movement.

There are many mansions and many diverse and conflicting houses that will be housed within this new home of labor. We will build the structure on this foundation by virtue of the mutual respect and tolerance that each member of this new house of labor will have for the problems and interests of each affiliated union.

So, that within this new house of labor movement of America will each work side by side to create such a strong structure that no man can destroy it. Because we all know that in every home there must be unity and harmony if peace is to prevail.

As a first step in rearing the structure for this new house of labor where we are today building the foundation and in the interests of building this foundation in the spirit of unity and harmony, as the General President of the United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry of the United States and Canada, I now yield and relinquish the floor to Brother Walter Reuther, the President of the Congress of Industrial Organizations and give to him the first honor and the first place on the floor of this convention to lay the first brick in this new house of labor so that, in turn, we all may follow and build a permanent and enduring structure. enduring structure.

DELEGATE REUTHER: Thank you, my very good friend, Pete Schoemann.
This is indeed one of the happiest moments of my life when I rise before this convention to place in nomination the name of a great man to lead in the building of this greater labor movement. ment

ment.

I am going to say a lot of wonderful things about this man because I believe them deep down in my heart. There is only one thing that I want to say that I am unsure of. I have been advised by Pete Schoemann that my candidate is a good plumber, but I have no personal knowledge of that. All of the other things that I shall attribute to him are things of which I have first-hand and personal knowledge.

He is a great trade unionist. He is

hand and personal knowledge.

He is a great trade unionist. He is a great American and a great leader. He is a man out of the ranks of labor and he knows the problems and the needs of the average American working family. He understands their hopes and their aspirations and their dreams. His capacity as a leader was recognized early, and he rose steadily through his own union, through the State Federation of the State of New York, and then finally he was chosen as the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor and then advanced to its highest office, the Presidency.

Through years of dedicated service he has won the loyalty and the respect and friendship of millions of workers throughout our great country. He is a man with great courage and deep conviction, a man of intelligence, a man of courage and integrity. He loves justice, but he hates injustice and all forms of tyranny. His has been the strong and clear voice speaking out against racial intolerance and discrimination in our national life. His has been the voice warning labor that it must clear its house of corruption and those who would compromise the ethical and moral values which have symbolized clear its house of corruption and those who would compromise the ethical and moral values which have symbolized the greatness of our free labor movement. He has made an outstanding contribution not only in America, but in the world labor movement. He has served as a Vice President of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, and in that capacity has made a great contribution mobilizing forces of the free world in the struggle against the evil, ugly and immoral forces of communist tyranny. His was among the earliest voices in the ranks of labor urging unity, making it understood that no one should have a vested

interest in division and disunity. He understood from the very beginning that the whole labor movement tran-scends in importance the interests of any section of the labor movement. scends in importance use movement, any section of the labor movement, even though it may be your own section. He believed within the family of a united labor movement there could be worked out a proper, harmonious and constructive relationship between and constructive relationship between both craft and industrial unions, both being recognized as equal and neces-sary, both having a great deal more in common than they have it conflict.

During the many meetings of the Unity Committee his was a voice of wise counsel, patience and understanding. And therefore, it was logical that, when we got to that place in our discussions that we talked about who should lead this new labor movement, his name was obviously, universally and with great enthusiasm chosen.

He is a man of good will, a man of good faith; a man of deep religious convictions. He has faith in his God, faith in his fellow man and faith in the cause of organized labor.

I am confident that he will guide this movement of ours with a steady hand, but with a sensitive heart, with understanding, for he, too, knows that power without morally morally morally morally many than the standard of th standing, for he, too, knows that power without morality, power untempered by humility breeds great dangers. And he will wield the power that he will have as the president of the largest free trade union in the world. He will wield that in the interest of people, in the interest of advancing basic democracy and human values that we say free people cherish.

free people cherish.

I am confident that we can all leave here on the concluding day of this convention, sure in our hearts that our union is in good hands, in the able hands of the man who will lead us to great achievements, who will write this, the most glorious chapter in the history of the control of

great achievements, who will write this, the most glorious chapter in the history of organized labor.

It is a great personal privilege and high honor to have the opportunity of placing in nomination for the Presidency of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations that great American, that great trade unionist, a man I consider a great and wonderful personal friend, George Meany

CHAIRMAN BATES: The name of George Meany has been placed in nom-ination. The Chair will recognize Pete Schoemann for the purpose of second-ing the nomination because of his kindness in yielding the privilege of nomin-ating Brother Meany to Brother Reuther.

DELEGATE SCHOEMANN: Mr. Chair-DELEGATE SCHOEMANN: Mr. Chairman, brothers and sisters: I stand humbly before you today in seconding the nomination of the keystone of this great organization, and I am not going to take many moments of your valuable time other than to say that I believe that he will become the keystone, the bulwark of strength that is going to become necessary in the turbulent days that lie before us.

As I stand here in seconding this nom-ination of one of the great members of the United Association, one who has worked hard to bring our organization to its present stature, it is with a great

of and honor that I deal nleasure second this nomination.

CHAIRMAN BATES: Brother Meany's nomination has been seconded by Peter Schoemann.

It has been a custom in the conventions of the American Federation of Labor for a great number of years to present the President of the New York State Federation of Labor to second the nomination of Brother Meany, and now at this time I call on Tom Murray, President of the New York State Federation of Labor.

DELEGATE MURRAY: Mr. Chairman, DELEGATE MURRAY: Mr. Chairman, I want to express my personal appreciation and that of the New York State Federation of Labor for the privilege and honor accorded me on this most historic occasion to second the nomination of George Meany, a former President of the New York State Federation of Labor who, during his tenure of office, was largely instrumental in placing upon the statute books of New York State the beneficial legislation the working people of the State tion the working people of the State are now enjoying.

As Secretary-Treasurer and President of the American Federation of Labor, he went on to distinguish himself as the world's greatest labor statesman.

It is my greatest labor statesman.

It is my great honor, in behalf of the membership of the New York State Federation of Labor, to second the nomination of George Meany, the world's symbol of free unionism, for the Presidency of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations. I thank you.

CHAIRMAN BATES: Is there other nomination? If there are no other nominations, I will call upon George Harrison

DELEGATE HARRISON, Brotherhood Railway Clerks: Mr. Chairman, I of Railway Clerks: Mr. Chairman, I move that the nominations be closed and that the temporary Chairman be instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of the delegates to this Convention for the election of George Meany to the high and honorable office of President.

CHAIRMAN BATES: You have heard the motion. All in favor of the motion vote aye. All opposed, no.

It is carried unanimously

DELEGATE SCHNITZLER: man Bates, I hereby cast the unanimous ballot of this Convention for George Meany for the position of President of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations for the ensuing term.

CHAIRMAN BATES: And I declare George Meany duly elected as Presi-dent of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations for the ensuing term,

President Meany, I deem it a great honor and privilege to present to you this gavel. I know that you will conduct the affairs of this great organization with credit and honor to yourself and to the interests of the 15,00,000 members of the organization, and to the country as a whole. I wish you every success in your future endeavors.

PRESIDENT GEORGE MEANY

Thank you, Harry.

Chairman Bates, President Reuther, representatives of the organizations which have joined here today, the Executive Board of the CIO, Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and delegates in attendance at this most important Convention:

portant Convention:

I feel that this is the most important trade union development of our time. Whether we deserve the attention or not, I am quite sure the eyes of workers all over the world are on this meeting this morning. Millions of workers, millions of ordinary people behind the Iron Curtain of depotism and degradation are looking towards us this morning with eyes of hope. Many millions more who live in the shadow of that curtain of inequity are, I am sure, praying for the success of this organization which we are bringing into being today.

I can readily understand the feeling

we are bringing into being today.

I can readily understand the feeling of elation which I sense present here today among the delegates and surely among the officers over the end of these years of division and of the inauguration of this new united movement. I, too, share that feeling of elation that we have come this far along the road to unity for all labor in America. But when I think of the opportunities that lie ahead and of the tremendous responsibilities that go with those opportunities I give way to some sober thought as to our obligation to meet the test, not only of grasping these sober thought as to our obligation to meet the test, not only of grasping these opportunities for moving forward, but also of removing the obstacles and solving the problems that will lie in our path of meeting the test of great responsibility that goes with an organization of 15,000,000 citizens in a nation of 160,000,000 people.

I think in approaching this task we

ganization of 15,000,000 citizens in a nation of 160,000,000 people. I think in approaching this task we should take a serious and good look at ourselves to make sure that we know just what are our obligations and to make sure that we have the type of organization that can meet these obstacles and grasp these opportunities to better the day both in the life and work of the great mass of the workers of this nation. We must think life and work of the great mass of the workers of this nation. We must think in terms of the true meaning of a trade union movement, a movement that has for its sole, definite and single purpose the advancement of the welfare and interest of the great mass of workers who are part of this movement.

That must be the motivating influ-That must be the motivating influence and manner in which we move forward. Let all of our actions be keyed into that simple, plain principle that a trade union has no other reason for existence than the job of carrying out and carrying forward and advancing the interests and welfare of its members

members.

In building and advancing the cause of our Union let us not think in terms of personal prestige, of having a big union for the sake of having a big union. Let us not think in terms of a great big financial structure and of great power. Let us think in terms of the simple philosophy of those who founded this movement to advance the cause of workers.

As we go forward together in this

movement, let us stop thinking in terms of prior labels. Let us make up our minds that from this moment on there is just one label on all the organizations and all of the membership great organization, and that label is AFL-ClO and nothing else. Let us apply this philosophy in terms of good faith, determination to live together, to work together, and to think together for one united organization.

We have brought into being this morning a trade union instrumentality to carry on the work we have all been engaged in and to do it a little better, we feel, than we were able to do as a divided movement. We have a Constitudivided movement. We have a Constitu-tion that we worked on for many, many long weeks. We make no claim as to its perfection, but we do feel that it is an instrument under which we can live and that it carries with it the principles we have always had in this movement, in this country, of com-plete and absolute autonomy for each and every organization to run its own affairs. It contains the voluntary principle upon which our movement was founded in the early days. early days.

early days.

It was once said many years ago that government is best which governs least. It is in that spirit we wrote this Constitution. After all, we are practical enough to realize that the words in the Constitution would not have very much meaning if we did not enter into the work of this organization in a spirit of mutual respect, in a spirit of cooperation and in a spirit dedicated to the principle that unions are created for the benefit of the workare created for the benefit of the work-

are created for the benefit of the ers who toll for wages,
We must grow, this trade union movement, with the nation, but we must grow in a right way. Let us not sent the unorganized. Let us not want grow the unorganized. ganize the unorganized. Let us not waste our time and our efforts trying to reorganize those who are already

organized those who are already organized try to bring the blessings and benefits which we know are inherent in a trade union movement to the milions of those who are still unorganions.

lions of those who are still unorganized.

As we face the future this morning where there is a great spirit, as I said before, of elation and happiness, we should give some sober thought to the kind of world we live in, to the problems we have at home and the problems we have abroad, to the problems we face in the new industrial age which is coming upon us, to the problems that have been ever present in the conduct of the relations of our country with the other nations of the world.

Let us understand that despite the

Let us understand that despite the many advances, despite the great achievements of the organized labor achievements of the organized labor movement over the years, we still have those who believe we would be better off without unions; those who believe in the archaic traditions of the 1880's and 1880's; those who believe that America is built from the top down, that if you keep the great corporations fat and wealthy enough will trickle down to keep those at the lower level of our economic structure happy and contented. We still have this opposition, and this opposition has made its mark in the last seven or eight years. We would be less than truthful if we did not admit to ourselves that the legislative trend insofar as liberal and

legislative trend insofar as liberal and

remedial legislation is concerned, legisla-tion in which we have a vital interest, that legislative trend in the last eight years has been backward and not for-ward. And it is up to us, using every weapon we have at our command under the Constitution of this country, using every method that is legal to advance the cause of the workers, to reverse that

trend.

when the way in building up the standard of life and of work with the people of this great nation, but we can't say that we have come all the way. We can't afford to look back for any other reason except to draw from the experiences of the past in order to apply their lessons to move forward in the future. We have no right to look back with a feeling of satisfaction, because there is still need be deep. of satisfaction, because there is still much to be done. We still need better schools and more schools for the children of America. We hear from time to time the great orators of our political parties, especially during the season of the year when the schools are graduating their children, about America's greatest possession, the future of America, the children of America. And we are still in the disgraceful position where we cannot say that we have adequate facilities to train and educate those children. And we have to wipe out the idea that this is the job of each and every little community, no matter what its economic or financial posiwipe out the idea that this is the Job of each and every little community, no matter what its economic or financial position might be. If the children of America are the nation's wealth of the future, if they are our proudest possession, then they are the concern of the entire nation, and the nation itself should take a hand through Federal Ald to Education to see that we have good schools.

see that we have good schools.

Then we have housing which is still a problem. Yes, we have made some forward strides, but we still have a long way to go. We still have thousands and thousands of people who are living in slums, who have not as yet received the full benefits of which we like to boast, the great and high standard of life that we have here in our American Continent

ontinent.

We need better roads. We need to improve our social security system. We need to bring about a system of medical care that will take care of the health of the nation as a whole. These problems must be met.

Then we have the problem that strikes right home, the problem of preserving the right of workers to Improve their conditions through the instrumentality of a trade union, the problem of seeing to it that the Labor-Management Act on our statute books is made fair to both labor and management, and not an instrument by which management, if it will, can destroy or hamper the development of We have to amend that Act and we have to wipe off the statute books of 18 States the so-called right-to-work laws which are laws destructive of the rights of the rights of the results of the rights of the results of the rights of the rights of the results of the rights of the results of the rights of the results of the rights of the right and right rights of the rights of the rights of the right rig

which are laws destructive of the rights of union workers.

Then we must think soberly of our position as a nation and of the things we like to feel are really in the tradition of America. We speak of our freedom, we speak of the Founding Fathers, we speak of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. I think we have some right to be proud of those things,

to be proud of our tradition and our heritage; but I think we have no right to complacently sit by as long as those rights are denied to any portion of the population of this great country.

We have had striking evidence in the We have had striking evidence in the last few days, if we needed any such evidence, that the Constitution of the United States and the Bill of Rights and the civil liberties that we all like to boast of do not prevail in certain parts of our country for people whose skin is a little different in color than that of ourselves. We have men who call themselves statesmen who are julies. that of ourselves. We have men who call themselves statesmen, who are public servants elected by the people, and still who, in the interest of white supremacy, defy a decision of the United States Supreme Court in regard to desegregation. Yes, they are amending the Constitution to suit themselves insofar as its application is concerned, and what they are saying in effect is that this Constitution does not prevail in the Southland.

In the Southland.

I say to these people, a good many of whom call themselves Christians, that when they go to church on Sunday they should remember that the words "and thy neighbor as thyself" are still an integral part of the Ten Commandments, and they should apply that in dealing with their fellowmen. Then we have to give some sober thought today to our duties as citizens, taking our place in the community life of the nation, making our contribution to good government, making our contribution as citizens to the policies of our Government in dealing with other na-

bution as citizens to the policies of our Government in dealing with other nations of the world.

In my book, labor not only has a right to raise its voice in regard to the policies under which our Federal Government is administered, but we have a duty as citizens to take part in shaping the policies of our Government; and as workers we have a special interest in the foreign policy of our Government. We have a special interest in seeing to it that our Government makes its full contribution to the preservation of human freedom the preservation of human freedom everywhere on this earth where it is possible to make a contribution.

everywhere on this earth where it is possible to make a contribution.

A free trade union requires an atmosphere of freedom, and we have long ago learned in this shrinking world of ours that the enslavement of workers anywhere, the denial of the right of workers to have free trade unions anywhere, is a threat to free labor everywhere, which includes the United States of America. And we know where the major threat comes to world freedom. We don't have to be diplomatic in analyzing this question. We don't have to deceive ourselves. We can call the shots as we see them. We have no commercial, political or financial reason to see peace where there is no peace. We have been meeting this cold war situation for many years, beginning with the Truman Plan in 1946, the Marshall Plan, NATO, Point 4, and, I think up until this spring meeting it quite successfully.

Then of course we run into the new "smilling face" technique of those who would destroy us and destroy every right that we hold dear. At the conclusion of the Summit Conference in July we were told that it was a great success, the spirit of Geneva had less-

ened tensions and everything was going to be fine. We were told that by the heads of our Government, I say to you here today when we were told that, the American people were hoodwinked. It was not a success; I wish to God it were.

The American people were fooled, if you please, and told that tensions were lessened, and everything was going to be all right. We were told that we should now shake the hands of those who would deny us our freedom, those who would destroy us. We were told that tensions would be lessened.

Well. I can say personally I have

that tensions would be lessened.

Well, I can say personally I have searched with painstaking care for these lessened tensions. What do I find in that search? I find the same old line, a new threat in the blockade of Berlin, attempting to throw those peopie into the Godless ideology of Communism by saying that East Berlin is no longer under the Four-Power rule, that it is under the rule of their so-called satellite state, the so-called East German democratic government.

As a contribution to these lessened As a contribution to these resented tensions we see Egypt armed by a Communist satellite for attack. Then we see the tour of slander, where the top people representing the Soviet top people representing the Soviet Union are using India as a sounding board for their attacks upon the free

board for their attacks upon the free nations of the world.

Then we see the Foreign Ministers conference five weeks ago, which was supposed to carry out and implement the agreements reached at Geneva in July. There we see a complete repudiation of everything that was done at the July high level conference.

Then we see the stepped up war preparations of Moscow's partner in the Fer Fast

he Far East.

Let me give you an idea of the people to whom we are told to extend the hand of fellowship to an idea of their philosophy, the hand of Moscow's Far East branch, Mao-Tse-Tung. In a manual distributed to his people a few months ago he had this to say: "Our war is sacred, just and progressive and aims at peace. We aim at peace not only in one country but also throughout the world, and we not only aim at temporary peace but at a permanent peace. In order to achieve this objective, we must wage a life and death struggle until our aim is achieved." That is the philosophy of Moscow's Far East parters who are now stepping up preparathe Far East.

until our aim is achieved." That is the philosophy of Moscow's Far East partners who are now stepping up preparations for war on their neighbors.

Then we see the increased pressure on the Adenauer government. We have seen in the last week or so the H-bomb blast in the Gobi Desert. Then just to show they are just the same at home in applying their ideology we had a new purge where some of the top men, assistants to Berla, were put up against the wall and destroyed.

This, then, is the spirit of Geneva. This, then, is the spirit of Geneva in July, the child of American faith and Soviet fraud. We have to think of this because we know that the kind of instrumentality we are creating here today cannot and will not exist unless it exists in an atmosphere of freedom and under a system of government such as we have. The businessman, perhaps, can afford to fall for this Communist propagands, and of course politicians from time to time see peace and progress in

these negotiations where there is no peace

and no progress.

Labor has never been neutral in its Labor has never been neutral in its relations with dictatorship or tyranny. We were never non-Nazi when Hitler was riding high. We were not non-Fascists in the days of Mussolini: we were anti-Fascists. And we are also not non-Falangists in regard to Franco Spain; we are anti-Falangists. We can't afford the luxury in these trying days of being non-communist or neutral; we are not; and we must and shall be anti-communist. anti-communist.

In meeting all these problems at home and abroad we must be mindful home and abroad we must be mindful of our duty to the nation as a whole, because as it was well said here a few minutes ago, what is good for the nation is good for us. We must show the American people that this movement, this organization, is dedicated to the good of our nation, to the good of all the citizens of our nation. Who can deny that higher wages and better working conditions are not good for America? Who can deny that the purchasing power built up largely through the instrumentality of free trade unions is not the most yital faclargely through the instrumentality of free trade unions is not the most vital factor in this dynamic economy of ours? Who can deny that trade unions are dedicated to the welfare of the nation as a whole? Yes, we are going to use every means at our disposal to carry forth our program both at home and abroad. We are going to continue to support the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions in its fight to keep labor free and in due time to strike the chains from those who are enslaved behind the Iron Curtain. enslaved behind the Iron Curtain.

We are going to use our economic weapon in dealing with the employers, if that is necessary in order to get a fair share of the wealth we jointly proa fair share of the wealth we jointly produce with management. And we are going to meet those who would destroy our movement and who would turn back the clock—we are going to meet them on the political front, if you please.

I am somewhat amused by this hee

I am somewhat amused by this hue and cry about labor political activity, about the labor bosses controlling votes. I am sure they know that we don't control votes. No one—no one can tell the American worker how he has to vote, and that includes you,

don't control votes. No one—no one can tell the American worker how he has to vote, and that includes you, me, and everybody else.

I sometimes wonder about these people who are making these statements about labor's political power. I am wondering if their consciences are starting to bother them. What is our political philosophy? Our political philosophy is to inform our own people on losophy is to inform our own people the issues they have before them, and particular to the issues that affect welfare of our own people. that affect the

welfare of our own people.

Are the members of the United States Senate opposed to an intelligent electorate? I thought when they ran for office—and I have heard many of them—I thought they all said they wanted the public to always be informed; they wanted them to know about these issues. Well, that is what we want. We want our people to be informed on all the issues facing the electorate, and we want in particular for them to be informed on the issues that affect their lives and their daily work.

work.

They are worried now about a labor party. Well, I don't see any sentiment for a labor party, and I don't see any

sentiment for labor to take over one of the existing parties. That is a new one now, that we are going to take over one of the existing parties. Well, I know this, that we have a right and a duty to meet those who are opposed to us wherever they present the chal-

lenge.

lenge.

In the early days we met the starvation method. We met the company thug, the company spy, the company injunction and the company judge. We met the American Plan, so-called, designed to destroy our movement. And now where is the challenge? The challenge is in the legislative halls, and our answer is political education, and political activity. Because if we are going to carry on our work they have proved beyond question they can hamstring us and render us impotent by adverse legislation. And if we are going to carry on our work, as we must, we must meet that challenge in the legislative halls, and that means political education. means political education.

means political education.

As I said before, in carrying on our work we must do so in a way that will commend us to our neighbor. After all, the American worker is just a part, one part, one segment of this great, big family we call the United States of America; a big segment, if you please, but still a segment.

We must carry on our work in a way that will bring commendation from those with whom we come in contact. We must conduct our affairs in consonance with the high principles upon which our movement is founded and which we are attempting to carry forward. I feel this we can do.

For myself, I appreciate beyond ques-

ward. I feel this we can do.

For myself, I appreciate beyond question, beyond doubt, beyond means to express to you, the confidence you have shown, that my colleagues of the AFL and CIO have shown in entrusting to me this very responsible task. I will give myself to it as best I can, I am not given to predictions. I tell you now I will never surrender principle for expediency. I tell you now that, in so far as it is my place to influence decisions, those decisions will be made without regard to where the union formerly was and without regard to how big or how little a union is.

Let us remember that on this very,

how big or how little a union is.

Let us remember that on this very, very happy occasion we have merely taken the first step. We have created a tool, an instrumentality, something we can use to carry forward for the people we represent; and if we carry forward in good faith in our relations with one another and true to the principles and traditions upon which our movement was founded, I am sure we can succeed.

Let us face the future, confident beyond question that the cause we espouse, confident beyond expression that the things we do this—and I am sure that we will—then with God's help we shall not fail. I thank you.

then with

then with God's help we shall not fail. I thank you.
PRESIDENT MEANY: Now, just a few moments more and we can wind up this morning's session. At this time, in accordance with the Merger Agreement, we will proceed to elect the vice presidents for the AFL-CIO.
The Chair now recognizes one of the veterans of our movement who has made a tremendous contribution for many years and who, too, has made his contribution to this merger. The Chair

recognizes Brother Matthew Woll, who will place in nomination the AFL can-didates for Vice Presidents of this new merged federation. Brother Woll.

NOMINATION AND ELECTION OF VICE PRESIDENTS

DELEGATE WOLL: Mr. Chairman and delegates: I consider it a great pleasure and an honor in behalf of the former American Federation of Labor to present the following as nominees allotted to the AFL under the new Constitution to the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations.

Matthew Woll
George M. Harrison
Harry C. Bates
W. C. Birthright
W. C. Doherty
David Dubinsky
Charles J. MacGowan
Herman Winter
William L. McFetridge
James C. Petrillo
Dave Beck
Maurice A. Hutcheson Dave Beck
Maurice A. Hutcheson
A. J. Hayes
Joseph D. Keenan
A. Philip Randolph
Richard E. Walsh A. L. Spradling

PRESIDENT MEANY: At this time the Chair recognizes another veteran of our movement, one who has had a very fine career and one with whom I have had the pleasure of being associated for many years—the president of the CIO Textile Workers, Brother Emil Rieve, who will nominate the CIO representatives on the Executive Council.

DELEGATE RIEVE: Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates: It gives me great pleasure on behalf of the former CIO to nominate the following as members of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and Congress

of Industrial Organizations:
Walter P. Reuther
James B. Carey Rieve Joseph Curran L. S. Buckmaster O. A. Knight O. A. Knight Joseph A. Beirne David J. McDonald Jacob S. Potofsky Willard S. Townsend

PRESIDENT MEANY: You have heard the 27 nominations for Vice Presidents. Are there further nomina-

If there are no further nominations, the Chair will entertain a motion to close nominations.

DELEGATE CAREY: I move that nominations be closed. . . . The motion was seconded.

PRESIDENT MEANY: You have heard the motion that nominations be closed on those named. Those in favor of the motion will signify by saying aye; contrary minded

The ayes have it, and it is so ordered. I will ask the Acting Secretary to cast the unanimous ballot for those nominated.

ACTING SECRETARY SCHNITZLER: hereby cast this unanimous ballot of this Convention for the 27 Vice Presidents who have just been nominated and elected for the ensuing term.

PRESIDENT MEANY: And I declare

them elected.
At this time nominations are in order for the office of Secretary-Treasurer.

NOMINATION OF SECRETARY-TREASURER

At this time nominations are in order At this time nominations are in order for the office of Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations. The Chair recognizes that veteran of many years, who still somehow or other manages to look like a boy, President of the IUE, who will make a nominafor this office, Brother James B. Carey.

VICE-PRESIDENT
Meany and delegates:
Brother Chairman, Delegates:
Tt is an irony—a happy i VICE-PRESIDENT CAREY: President

It is an irony—a happy irony—that peace should be born in an armory. It is significant, moreover, that an armory should witness the end of what often has been called 20 years of war—labor's civil war.

labor's civil war.

We have assembled in this armory to declare not only peace, but unity, solidarity and fraternity as well.

We have assembled here to bring into being the mightiest democratic labor movement in the entire free world—the greatest joining together of free men and women in the 1,000-year history of trade unionism.

It is profoundly appropriate, therefore, that we pay tribute to those whose vision, dedication and determination shaped this historic unity, this new beginning.

We

have built a new house of labor lner, stronger, larger house of and the architects deserve our finer, gratitude.

labor—and the architects deserve our ratitude.

But because they designed well and because they built well, they deserve more than our gratitude—they deserve our future confidence.

Our confidence in their designs and in their construction was well-merited, as this convention here today attests.

No less, then, can be our confidence in the designs they shape and the construction they envision for our future.

We are today nominating and electing the trustees, the guardians and the builders of our new house of labor. I come before you to nominate one who was assuredly one of the chief architects and builders of that new house, a man whose vision and labors contributed immeasurably to the great new structure we are dedicating here today. It is appropriate that I, who have

It is appropriate that I, who have been privileged to serve for years as Secretary-Treasurer of the ClO, should have the added privilege and honor of nominating the first Secretary-Treas-urer of the united American labor

movement.

Our first Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor and Con-gress of Industrial Organizations will a man who knows the American labor movement intimately—from its grass roots to its highest pinnacles of responsibility and leadership. The first Secretary-Treasurer of the

The first Secretary-Treasurer of the AFL-ClO will be a man who came from the rank-and-file, served as business agent of his local and then as an international representative of his union. His talents and conscientiousness soon elevated him to higher positions of trust and honor—first as vice-president of his International Union and then as president

International Union and then as president.

As Secretary-Treasurer of the AFL since 1953 he has more than justified the faith and confidence that both his colleagues and the rank and file had placed in him. A leader of outstanding integrity, vigor and imagination, he has performed brilliantly his multiple tasks as Secretary-Treasurer of the AFL.

The great confidence reposed in him in the past gives substance to the confidence we place in him today—for the future.

future.

I am deeply pleased and honored to nominate as the first Secretary-Treas-urer of the American Federation of of urer of the American receration of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organ-izations one of the chief architects of labor unity, one of the prime builders of our new house of labor: William F. Schnitzler.

recognizes Brother Louis Marciante, President of the New Jersey State Federation of Labor.

DELEGATE MARCIANTE: President Meany, distinguished delegates: Meany, distinguished delegates: As President of the New Jersey Federation of Labor for almost a quarter of a century I have had the rare pleasure of watching the growth and development of this man who has just been placed in nomination for this great office in this great united labor movement.

great united labor movement.

It seems as though this is going to be an all Jersey affair. Jim Carey is a New Jerseyite, Bill Schnitzler is a New Jerseyite, and I am proud to say that I come from across the river.

I knew Bill as a bright eyed young business agent almost a quarter of a century ago. I knew him before then as a delegate to the Essex Trades Council. I knew him as a member of his local union, and I have watched his various promotions in the labor movement.

I don't care to indulge in the usual platitudes of nominating a candidate, but I do want to say this about him: I inspected the size of his hat this morning and it is the same size hat he had 25 years ago. He is still the same Bill Schnitzler who can represent labor's viewpoint intelligently and in the fashion that the American trade union movement demands. ment demands.

It is a great pleasure for me to second the nomination of my friend and brother Jerseyman, William F. Schnitzler.

MEANY: PRESIDENT PRESIDENT MEAST.

Brother Schnitzler's name presented, and the nomination has been seconded. Are there further nominations?

If there are no further nominations, the motion is to close the nominations. I instruct Brother Jim Carey to cast the unanimous ballot of this Convention for Brother Schnitzler as Secretary-

Treasurer of the AFL-CIO for the ensuing term.

VICE-PRESIDENT CAREY: It is a great pleasure to present in behalf of this Con-vention the unanimous ballot for the election of William F. Schnitzler as Secretary-Treasurer of the AFL-ClO for the ensuing term.

PRESIDENT MEANY: I declare him

I want to say to you that this gives me as much pleasure as anything that has happened here this morning, to pre-sent to you a very capable gentleman, a great true trade unionist, who will be Secretary-Treasurer of this organi-zation for the ensuing term, Bill Schnitz-

SECRETARY-TREASURER SCHNITZ-LER: Mr. President and delegates to this historic convention, I am moved beyond words to properly express my appreciation for the honor that has been bestowed on me to serve you in this fine executive office. I would be remiss if I didn't say to you that since the time we last met in our convention it has been the help and convention the part of th our convention it has been the help and counsel, the advice and guidance I have gotten from President Meany that has made it possible to carry out the many duties of the office that I held.

Then, too, I would be remiss if I didn't say that there was great help and con-

Then, too, I would be remiss if I didn't say that there was great help and cooperation received from the members of
the Executive Council whenever they
were called upon, the executive officers
of the affiliated international unions, the
officers of the State Federations of Labor and from our affiliated local unions,
at all times in carrying out the duties
and responsibilities of this office. And
we have always had the help of the staff
in our headquarters building.

in our headquarters building.

I felt this morning that perhaps we had not said enough or examined enough the work that was done by the Unity Committee that represented both federations and that made this convention possible—the members of this Subcommittee of this Unity Committee, Brothers Reuther and Carey, Brothers Meany, Bates, and our Committee, the entire Unity Committee that gave of itself or much during these next months. self so much during these past months, men who had dedicated themselves to bringing about the merger of these organizations.

ganizations.

During this entire time I have seen how they have given so unselfishly of themselves. They had one great role that they had to accomplish, and that was the unifying of these great federa-

tions.

was the thirtying of these great federal retors.

From this morning on we venture into a new era. This convention will be writing new goals, will be drawing new horizons, and charting courses to achieve that which we have established for ourselves. And for me personally, I hope that each one of you are inbued in the same manner and spirit, that as we enter this new era we enter it with the greatest comforts, that the leadership that will be given by the same men who made the merger possible will lead us to newer and greater heights than ever before.

From the bottom of my heart, I want to say thanks in the humblest way possible, and look forward to the help and the cooperation from each and every

one of you as we carry out our responsibilities that lie immediately ahead of us. With the good Lord willing, we will be together again and again, reviewing our successes and charting new goals for the memberships that we are honored and privileged to represent. Thank

PRESIDENT MEANY: Thank you very much. I would now like to present the new Vice Presidents who were not on the platform when we introduced the others. They are here now—Brother Townsend, Brother Spradling, Brother Walsh and Brother Philip Randolph. Here are the four you didn't meet.

four you didn't meet.

In accordance with the instructions of the Unity Committee which was charged with the arrangements for this convention, there will be one over-all committee, and of necessity it will be a large committee which will conduct all the committee business of this convention. I would like to ask Secretary-Treasurer Schnitzler to read the names of the members of this committee.

SECRETARY SCHNITZLER: I now present the names of the Committee.

COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Secretary Schnitzler submitted the following names of the Committee:

Co-Chairmen—Matthew Woil, Photo Engravers and David McDonaid, Steel Workers; Co-Secretaries—R. G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation and Joseph Curran, Maritime Union; James B. Carey, Electrical, Radio & Machine; George M. Harrison, Railway Clerks; Emil Rieve, Textile Workers Union; H. C. Bates, Bricklayers; Wm. C. Birthright, Barbers; Hyman Blumberg, Amalgamated Clothing Workers; Wm. C. Donerty, Letter Carriers; David Dubinsky, Ladles' Garment Workers; Joseph A. Beirne, Communications Workers; Charles J. MacGowan, Boilermakers; Charles J. MacGowan, Boilermakers; Herman Winter, Bakery & Confectionery; B. J. Schaefer, Oil, Chemical & Atomic; Wm. L. McFetridge, Building Service; James C. Petrillo, Musicians; L. S. Buckmaster, Rubber Workers; Al J. Hayes, Machinists; Emil Mazey, United Automobile Workers; Charles C. Petrillo, Musicians; L. S. Buckmaster, Rubber Workers; Charles C. Petrillo, Musicians; L. S. Buckmaster, Rubber Workers; Doseph D. Keenan, Electrical Workers; Raiph Helstein, Packinghouse Workers; Richard F. Walsh, Theatrical Stage Employes; A. Philip Randolph, Sleeping Car Porters; A. F. Hartung, Woodworkers; A. L. Spradling, Street & Electric Railway; William E. Maloney, Operating Engineers; Karl F. Feller, Brewery Workers; James Suffridge, Retail Clerks; Peter Fosco, Hod Carriers; Joseph A. Fisher, Utility Workers; John Lyons, Bridge & Structural Iron; Alex Rose, Hatters; John J. Grogan, Marine & Shipbuilding; Thomas E. Dunwody, Printing Pressmen; Woodruff Randolph, Typographical; Joseph Collis, Newspaper Guild; Sam Ming, Grain Millers; Patrick Gorman, Meat Cutter & Butcher Workmen; Lee Minton, Glass Bottle Blowers; Burl Phares, Glass & Ceramic Workers; C. J. Haggerty, California State Federation; Peter Schoemann, Plumbing & Pipe

Fitting; Max Greenberg, Retail, Wholesale and Department Store; Paul Philips, Paper Makers; T. C. Carroll, Maintenance of Way; Ed Miller, Hotel & Restaurant; L. M. Raftery, Painters. PRESIDENT MEANY: The committee just read is the Resolutions Committee It will meet immediately upon adjournment in Room E for a very short session.

sion.

Chair Secretary recognizes Schnitzler for an announcement.

SUIT RAFFLE

Conducted by Amalgamated Clothing Workers

SECRETARY SCHNITZLER: SECRETARY SCHWITZLER: All delegates and members of the press are invited to register for a free suit offered by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers as part of their union label campaign at the ACWA union label display.

The drawing for the suit will be held on the Convention floor on Thursday

and the winner announced at time.

There is only one condition: You must have a union label in your suit, coat, or in some other item of apparel.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Now, delegates, I would like to call your attention to the fact that at 2:30 this afternoon the President of the United States will address this Convention by direct telephone wire from his home at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. This is the first direct address being made by the President to any group of people since his illness on last September 24th.

I appreciate the attention and the patience of the delegates here this morning. We are now going to adjourn this session under the rules, and I ask you to reconvene here at 2:15 sharp. The President will go on the air at exactly 2:39, and I would like everyone in his seat at that time.

This session stands adjourned. . . At 1:10 o'clock p.m. the Convention recessed until 2:15 o'clock p.m.

FIRST DAY—MONDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

The Convention was called to order by President Meany at 2:25 o'clock p. m. PRESIDENT MEANY: Ladies and gentlemen, the President of the United

THE HONORABLE DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

President of the United States

(By telephone from Gettysburg) Mr. Meany, Mr. Schnitzier, Members of the Executive Council, Delegates to this Convention and ladies and gentlemen of the AFL-CIO all over everywhere in America: You of organized labor and those who have gone before you in the union movement have helped you in the union movement have helped make a unique contribution to the general welfare of the Republic—the development of the American philosophy of labor. This philosophy, if adopted globally, could bring about a world, prosperous at peace, sharing the fruits of earth with justice to all men. It would raise to freedom and prosperity hundreds of millions of men and women and their children who toll in slavery behind the Curtain.

hundreds of millions of men and wo-men and their children who toil in slavery behind the Curtain. The first line of this philosophy is that the ultimate values of mankind are spiritual. These values include liberty, human dignity, opportunity and equal

The first line of this principal of the ultimate values of mankind are spiritual. These values include liberty, human dignity, opportunity and equal rights and justice.

Workers want recognition as human beings and as individuals before everything else. They want a job that gives them a feeling of satisfaction and self-expression, good wages, respectable working conditions, reasonable hours, protection of status and security. These constitute the necessary foundations on which you build to reach your higher aims.

Moreover, we cannot be satisfied with welfare in the aggregate. If any group or section of citizens is denied its fair play in the common prosperity, all others among us are thereby endangered.

gered.

The second principle of the American philosophy is this: The economic interest of employer and employee is a mutual prosperty. Their economic future is inseparable. Together they must advance in mutual respect, in mutual understanding, toward mutual prosperity. Of course, there will be contests over the sharing of benefits of production and so we have the right to strike and to argue all night when necesary in collective bargaining sessions. But

strike and to argue all night when neces-sary in collective bargaining sessions. But in a deeper sense this surface struggle is subordinate to the overwhelming com-mon interest in greater production and a hetter life for all to share. The American worker strives for bet-terment not by destroying his employer and his employer's business, but by understanding his employer's problems of competition, prices, markets. And the American employer can never forget that since mass production assumes a that, since mass production assumes a mass market. good wages and progres-sive employment practices for his em-

ployee are good business.

The closing struggle doctrine of Marx was the invention of a lonely refrigee scribbling in a dark recess of the British Museum. He abhorred and detested the great middle class. He did not foresee

that, in America, labor, respected and prosperous, would constitute—with the farmer and the businessman—his hated middle class. But our second principle, the mutual interest of employer and employee—is the natural outgrowth of employee—is the natural outgrowth of teamwork for progress, characteristic of the American economy where the bar-

the American economy where the par-riers of class do not exist.

The third principle is this: Labor rela-tions will be managed best when worked out in honest negotiation between employers and unions, without Govern-ment's unwarranted interference.

This requires maturity in the private handling of labor matters within the framework of law, for the protection of the public interest and the rights of both labor and management. The splendid record of labor peace and unparalelled prosperity during the last three years demonstrates our industrial maturity. turity.

Some of the most difficult and unprece-Some of the most difficult and unprecedented negotiations in the history of collective bargaining took place during this period, against the backdrop of non-interference by Government except only to protect the public interest, in the rare cases of genuine national emergency. This third principle, relying as it does on collective bargaining, assumes that labor organizations and management will both observe the highest that labor organizations and ment will both observe the standards of integrity, responsibility and concern for the national welfare.

You are more than union members bound together by a common goal of better wages, better working conditions, and protection of your security. You are

American citizens.

The roads you travel, the schools your the roads you travel, the schools your children attend, the taxes you pay, the standards of integrity in government, the conduct of the public business, is your business as Americans. And while all of you, as to the public business, had a common goal—a stronger and better a common goal—a stronger and better America—your views as to the best means of reaching that goal vary as they in any other group of American

So in your new national organization, as well as in your many constituent organizations, you have a great opportunity of making your meetings the world's most effective exhibit of democratic processes. In those meetings the rights world's most effective exhibit of democratic processes. In those meetings the rights of minorities holding different social, economic and political views must be scrupulously protected in their views accurately reflected. In this way, as American citizens, you will help the public correct the faulty, fortify the good, build stoutly for the future, and reinforce the most cherished freedoms of each individual citizen. of each individual citizen.

This country has long understood that by helping other peoples to a better understanding and practice of representative government, we strengthen both them and ourselves. The same truth applies to the economic field. We strengthen other free people and ourselves when we help them to understand the workings of a free economy, to im-prove their own standards of living, and to join with us in world trade that serves to strengthen and unite us all.

In the world struggle some of the finest weapons for all Americans are these three simple tenets of free labor. these three simple tenets of free labor. They are again, man is created in the Divine Image and has spiritual aspirations that transcend the material; second, the real interest of employers and employees are mutual; third, unions and employers can and should work out their own destinies. As we appreciate and practice that message without cease we will wage a triumphant crusade for prosperity, freedom and peace among men.

sade for prosperity, freedom and peace among men.

To close, it is fitting that we let our hearts be filled with the earnest prayer that with the help of a kind providence the world may be led out of bitterness and materialism and forge into a new era of harmony and spiritual growth era of harmony and spiritual g and self-realization for all men.

Thank you very much

PRESIDENT MEANY: I am sure that I express the sentiments of all in this hall this afternoon when I say to the President that we sincerely appreciate this very fine message delivered to us by telephone line from Gettysburg, where the President is still in the proof recuperation from his illness.

illness.

In the final analysis we are all Americans, and as Americans we appreciate the service and the demands that are made upon the time of whoever is selected to lead this nation. In your behalf, I extend to President Eisenhower our sincere thanks for this greeting and our heartfelt wishes for a complete recovery so that he may be able to carry on the duties of this most trying job in these very trying times. very trying times. The Chair re

The Chair recognizes Secretary-Treasurer Schnitzler to announce the names of convention officers.

AFL-CIO CONVENTION OFFICERS

Secretary Schnitzler read the follow-ing named officers: James C. Quinn, Assistant Secretary; Morris Iushevitz, Assistant Secretary; Robert Davidson, Sergeant-at-Arms; John J. DeLury, Sergeant-at-Arms; William Kohn, Sergeant-at-Arms; George Denucci, Sergeant-at-Arms; Thomas Villiam Roini, Sergeant-at-Arms; George Denucci, Sergeant-at-Arms; Thomas Moran, Sergeant-at-Arms; Moe Rosen, Sergeant-at-Arms; James Lacey, Mes-senger; James Leary, Messenger; Paul Ornburn, Messenger.

ESCORT COMMITTEES

PRESIDENT MEANY: On tomorrow's program we have scheduled, along with our regular work, three outstanding speakers. At 10:30 tomorrow morning we will be addressed by the Governor of the State of New York, the Honorable

At 11:30 tomorrow morning we will have an address from the Secretary of Labor, James P. Mitchell, and tomorrow afternoon at 3:00 o'clock Dr. Israel Goldstein will address us.

To provide facilities for these speakers and escort them to the hall I would like to announce the following escort committees.

Secretary Schnitzler read the follow-ing committees:

Escort Committee for Governor Averell Harriman

Thomas A. Murray, President, New York State Federation of Labor; James C. Petrillo, President, American Federa-tion of Musicians; Alex Rose, President, United Hatters, Cap & Millinery Work-ers; Joseph Curran, President, National Maritime Union of America; Louis Hol-lander, President, New York State Coun-cil.

Escort Committee for Secretary of Labor-James P. Mitchell

W. C. Birthright, President, Journey-men Barbers; H. C. Bates, President, Bricklayers international Union; Dave Beck, President, International Brother-hood of Teamsters; Emil Rieve, Presi-dent, Textile Workers Union; L. S. Buckmaster, President, United Rubber Workers.

Escort Committee for Dr. Israel Goldstein

Ossip Walinsky, President, International Leather Goods, Plastics and Novelty Workers; Patrick E. Gorman, President, Amalgamated Meat Cutters; T. C. Carroll, President, Maintenance of Way Employes; Harry Block, Vice President, International Union of Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers; Harry Sayre, President, United Paperworkers of America. America.

PRESIDENT MEANY: The committees will kindly take note and see that they are in the hall at the appointed

Miss May Gompers Presented

PRESIDENT MEANY: Before going into our business session this afternoon I would like to take the opportunity of presenting to you someone who brings back memories of the past—a very delightful young lady sitting here who bears a very marked resemblance to her distinguished grandfather—Miss May Gompers, the youngest granddaughter of Samuel Gompers.

uel Gompers.

... Miss May Gompers stood and ac-knowledged the applause of the dele-

PRESIDENT MEANY: At this time the Chair recognizes the co-Chairman of the Resolutions Committee, Brother David McDonald.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

COMMITTEE CO-CHAIRMAN MCDONALD: Mr. Chairman and delegates: We had a short meeting of the Resolutions Committee following the morning adjournment, Naturally we didn't have an opportunity to review the some 50 resolutions which will come before this body, but we have decided upon a certain procedure. We did pick out about half a dozen resolutions for presentation this afternoon, and what we shall do from this moment on is the following: Mr. Matthew Woll, co-Chairman of the Resolutions Committee has a statement which CO-CHAIRMAN

he and I have agreed upon and states our general procedure an general philosophy. Then ne and I have agreed upon and which states our general procedure and our general philosophy. Then following Mr. Woll the co-Secretaries, Mr. Soderstrom and Mr. Curran, will alternate in reading the resolutions, We shall pick out the resolutions from day to day for presentation, resolutions, perhaps, which will coincide properly with the appearance of the guest speakers. which

I now ask Mr. Matthew Woll, co-Chairman of the Resolutions Committee, to present our formal statement.

COMMITTEE CO-CHAIRMAN WOLL:
The Resolutions Committee is preparing
for submission to the delegates to this
historic Convention approximately 50 resolutions which we believe will cover substantially all of the major issues confronting the American labor movement
today. You have before you Resolutions
Report No. 1 containing the first 6 resolutions to be submitted. Before we
present these resolutions for your consideration, however, I wish to say a few
words about the procedure which the
Resolutions Committee is following.
Prior to the convening of this Conven-COMMITTEE CO-CHAIRMAN WOLL:

Resolutions Committee is following.
Prior to the convening of this Convention, the joint AFL-CIO Unity Committee appointed a small Subcommittee, with equal representation from the AFL and CIO, to review the major policies previously adopted by the separate organizations. Naturally, this Committee particularly studied the resolutions and policies adopted at the 1954 Conventions, of the two organizations. The Committee discovered that on virtually all major issues, the two organizations had adopted policies the two organizations had adopted policies which were in all respects either identical

which were in an respects entire deflaction or very similar.

The Subcommittee of the joint AFL-CIO Unity Committee made a special analysis of the policies adopted by the analysis of the policies adopted by the two organizations. This analysis has been made available to the Resolutions Com-mittee of this Convention. The resolutions which have been approved by the Resolu-tions Committee for submission to this Convention reflect to the maximum pos-sible extent the viewpoints previously adopted by the AFL and CIO.

The Resolutions Committee is aware at a large number of resolutions have been introduced by delegates who partici-pated in the recent separate conventions of the AFL and CIO. Because of differof the AFL and CIO. Because of differences between the two organizations in dealing with these resolutions, it did not seem feasible for each of these resolutions to be considered at this first Convention of the AFL-CIO. The Resolutions Committee wishes to point out, however, that the subjects covered in most of the resolutions submitted by delegates to the separate conventions are covered in the resolutions which the Resolutions Committee will submit to you at this convention. Moreover, all resolutions introduced in the separate conventions have been referred for consideration and action to the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO and a separate statement concerning their disposition will be made after they have been considered.

disposition will be had at the considered.

I now call upon the co-Secretary of the Committee, Mr. Soderstrom, to report upon the resolutions indicated.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Delegate Soderstrom, one of the co-Secretaries of the Resolutions Committee will now make his report,

CIVIL DEFENSE

. . . Committee co-Secretary Soderstrom read the resolution on Civil Defense as follows

foilows:
Organized labor has supported civil defense from its very beginning in 1940. In the planning and programming of civil defense procedure, representatives of organized labor have been consulted. Representatives of organized labor have been called upon to help plan the protection of civilians and the restoration of industries and service facilities that may be destroyed. service facilities that may be destroyed

and the restoration of industries and service facilities that may be destroyed or interrupted.

Since 1951 organized labor has expressed its official support of civil defense through a Labor Advisory Committee to the Federal Civil Defense Administration which is a committee broadly representative of organized labor. Meetings have been held from time to time with the Civil Defense Administrator for the purpose of expressing the position of organized labor on the problems of civil defense and its effect on the membership of organized labor.

Organized labor.

Organized labor has long taken the position that civil defense is a Federal Government responsibility in exactly the same way as military defense. Organized labor believes that the Federal Government must take the leadership in civil defense if we are to avoid chaos in the event of war. Changes in the Civil Defense Public Law 920 are necessary in order to bring this

necessary in order to bring this

The development of nuclear The development of nuclear weapons since 1950 makes this change absolutely necessary. The area of destruction possible with nuclear weapons is such that recognized geographic lines or political subdivisions cannot be recognized or defenses set up on such outmoded procedures. Organized workers who weak in plants and live in setting. moded procedures. Organized workers who work in plants and live in critical target areas cannot be regulated on the basis of state, county or city lines. Leadership in developing civil defense programs for such industrial areas must of necessity come from plans developed by Federal Government authorities based on a knowledge of an enemy's ability to penetrate into such areas. areas

areas.

Organized labor has offered its resources and manpower to assist in the development of an adequate civil defense program. Organized labor insists that the civil defense program which it regards now as a nationwide survival program must be based on the American concept of equal partnership and equal responsibility for all who share equal danger; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, The reality of the situation and the grim dangers we face make it mandatory that the first convention of the united labor movement under the banner of the AFL-ClO calls upon the Congress of the United States to pass a new Civil Defense Act which will provide that:

The primary responsibility for civil defense rests with the federal government in the same manner as provided in the U. S. Constitution for the Common Defense of the Nation. 1. The

 The Federal Government be re-sponsible for giving direction, service and financial assistance to the states, counties and com-munities for developing civil de-fense plans in line with the fedfense plans in line eral responsibility.

The Congress through the proper committees authorize and ap-propriate sufficient funds for these

purposes.

Congress authorize the Civil De-fense Administrator to set up minimum standards of civil defense preparation and facilities to maintain them, such standards to be maintained subject to Civil De-fense inspection in order to quali-fy for federal aid in any respect.

5. Congress be directed to provide Congress be directed to provide proper protection, wages, and terms of employment, and work-men's compensation for civil de-fense workers who may be re-quired to work or train in civil defense procedures prior to or any c on an comattack munity

munity.

Civil defense regional boundaries
be revised to meet the reality of
the nation's critical target area
and fall-out potential as a result
of the use of nuclear weapons.

7. Direction of the civil defense programs will not be abandoned or delegated to the armed forces in the event of martial law or enemy attack.

We believe that a civil defense program if approached and developed in this manner would solve the apathy that seems to prevail at this time on matters pertaining to civil defense.

COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY SODER-STROM: I move the adoption of the Committee's report.

... The motion was seconded and carried unanimously ...

PRESIDENT MEANY: Delegate Curran, also co-Secretary of the Resolutions Committee, will make a report.

COOPERATIVES

. . . Committee co-Secretary Curran read the resolution on Cooperatives, as fol-

the resolution on Cooperatives, as follows:
For many years the American trade union movement has befriended and supported all genuine cooperative organizations in the United States. In many parts of the nation our own members have, in fact, provided the leadership which has resulted in the successful growth of these democratic and useful enterprises.

Often, when neither a private profit undertaking nor a public agency has been able to meet an urgent need, groups of people have themselves established own cooperative in order to fill

the gap.

One of the most useful types of co-operatives is the credit union through which a group pools its own savings and then lends funds to its own mem-bers at a low interest rate. In recent years credit unions have grown spec-tacularly and hundreds of AFL-CIO

unions have established them, unions have established them, thereby saving millions of dollars which otherwise would have been paid out to small loan companies which charge extortionately high interest rates. Besides, the credit unions earn a substantial return for their members in the form of interest paid on their savings. Encouraging gains are also being made in the field of cooperative health services despite the vicious attacks made on them by reactionary elements led by the American Medical Association. In cities like Philadelphia, St. Louis and New York, labor-operated

tion. In cities like Philadelphia, St. Louis and New York, labor-operated health centers have expanded both in membership and services and provide the highest quality of medical care. In a number of other communities, AFL-CIO affiliates support and assist co-CIO affiliates support and assist co-operative health plans which are meeting the highest standards at the lowest possible cost to the families participating in them. Everywhere we continue to be in the forefront of a vigorous campaign to protect the right of con-

campaign to protect the right of con-sumers to organize cooperative health centers of their own.

Taking a useful place alongside credit unions and cooperative health services there is a growing number of cooperative housing and insurance enterprises and other consumer co-operatives, all of them helping to bring closer together those who produce and closer together those who produce and serve on the one hand and those who consume on the other; as a result, highest quality goods and services are being provided at lower costs to hundreds of thousands of our members.

The growth of the cooperative movement, furthermore, not only increases the purchasing power of wages and salaries, but also is a powerful force in the battle against monopolistic ele-

the battle against monopolistic elements in our economy. In addition, cooperative enterprises are an excellent means through which organized labor can unite with other groups in a joint effort to advance the public welfare. Finally, since the cooperatives have traditionally supported the objectives of organized labor, their own collective bargaining practices have almost always led to the highest type of employer-employee relations; now, therefore, be it

be

RESOLVED, The AFL-CIO reaffirms its support for all genuine cooperatives and urges its affiliates to continue to give them all possible aid so that their growth will be assured and their bene-fits can be more broadly shared and

COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY CUR-AN: I move the adoption of this resolution. . . . The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

INTRODUCTION OF VISITORS

PRESIDENT MEANY: At this time I would like to take note of the presence of a visitor I am sure you are interested in meeting, the head of one of the largest railroad brotherhood organizations who is visiting with us today on the platform, and I would like to have him take a bow—the President of the Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, Brother H. E. Gilbert. H. E. Gilbert.

I note the presence on the platform of two of our Canadian brothers, and I understand they are going through the process of merger to be completed next spring. I would like to have you meet them while they are here with us. Brother Donald MacDonald, Secretary, Canadian Congress of Labor and President Claude Jodoin of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canade.

Sitting very quietly in the back here we have a vistor from whom we will

sitting very quietly in the back here we have a vistor from whom we will hear in a day or two, a very, very important personage in the international abor field, the President of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and Secretary of the International Transport Federation, Brother Omer Recu

Omer Becu.

Co-Secretary Soderstrom will now continue with the Committee's report.

REPORT OF RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE (continued)

Committee co-Secretary Soderstrom submitted the following resolution:

MIGRANT FARM WORKERS AND FOREIGN CONTRACT LABOR

The AFL-CIO is greatly concerned with the continued national neglect of the plight of the hundreds of thousands of migrant men, women and children who harvest our nation's foods and fibers. Action to stamp out the poverty and ignorance, crime and disease, and international discord and ill will that the holds of the power of the power of the property and property and second and the property are property and the property and the property are property and the property and t being bred in our fields of plenty

are being bred in our fields of pienty is long overdue.

The evil consequences of the failure of Congress and the state legislatures to face up to the ever-worsening plight of our migrant farm workers affect—and therefore directly concern—all our people. While food prices and profits for food processors have been rising steadily, the wages paid to workers who harvest this food have been forced steadily downward.

steadily downward.
Since the end of World War II the since the end or world war II the plight of our domestic farm workers has been worsened by the hiring by U. S. farm employers of ever-increasing numbers of foreign laborers. Because of loose certifications of an alleged "need" for foreign workers which clearly does not always exist, too often these foreign workers.

"need" for foreign workers which clearly does not always exist, too ften these foreign workers have driven our won U. S. farm workers into the ranks of the unemployed while taking their jobs at lower wage levels and under conditions to which native workers rightfully will not submit.

We recognize that, under certain conditions, domestic agriculture may require the services of foreign contract labor. We appreciate the tremendous debt we owe to workers from Mexico, the British West Indies and Canada for the part they played during the war in enabling our nation to provide the food and fibers needed for victory. However, as convincing evidence of the falsity of the exaggerated claims by farm employers of the extent of their present needs for foreign labor, we point out that instead of the improvement in wages and working conditions of agricultural labor which should be expected if a real shortage existed, the expected if a real shortage existed, the

wage trend has been static or downward in recent years in those areas where most foreign labor has been

employed.

employed.

The AFL-CIO see in this a serious threat to the welfare of the vast majority of our nation's farmers, particularly the family farmers who must market their crops in the same competitive market as the big farm employers using cheap foreign labor. Moreover, exploitation of Mexican braceros in the Southwest has been in the past, and remains, a real blot upon the reputation of the U. S., not only in Mexico, but throughout all of Latin America; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, 1. This Convention heart ily endorses the efforts made by the AFL and the CIO to deal with this problem during the past year and directs the new federation to continue and expand

such efforts. such efforts.

2. We urge the enactment of laws designed to meet the special needs of migratory farm workers by Congress and State Legislatures and call particularly upon Congress to take the iong-overdue action of enacting legislation to regulate labor contractors, establish regulations for safe transportation, provide better housing and health facilities, and insure education opportunities to migrant children.

3. We urge Congress to end the discontractions of the discontraction of the discontractio

opportunities to migrant children.

3. We urge Congress to end the discrimination which now exists against our own citizen farm workers under the Mexican Contract Labor Program by enactment of legislation requiring employers to offer terms and conditions of employment to U. S. workers at least comparable to the higher standards they must now offer Mexican braceros in order to be eligible to obtain Mexican labor.

ards they have braceros in order to be eligible to obtain Mexican labor.

4. We recommend increased appropriations for the Farm Placement Service of the Department of Labor in order that it may expand its efforts to order that it may expand its efforts to provide year-round employment for domestic migratory farm workers. In meeting the needs of employers for farm labor, the Labor Department should give emphasis to the placement of U. S. workers, including Puerto Ricans, in preference to bringing in workers from other countries.

workers from other countries,

5. When foreign labor must be brought in, however, we favor the principle of an International Agreement such as that which governs the Mexican Contract Labor Program. We urge repeal of the "go-it-alone" Amendment to the Mexican Contract Labor Law which the Administration pushed through the 83rd Congress. We urge that Congress take immediate action to establish a uniform law govern-

urge that Congress take immediate action to establish a uniform law governing all foreign agricultural labor, regardless of its country of origin, by extending the bilateral principles of the Mexican Contract Labor Law.

6. We commend the U. S. and Mexican Border Patrols for their recent actions to reduce illegal border crossings. We point out, however, that illegal "wetback" traffic still continues on a large scale, and call upon Congress to vote an additional increase in funds for the Border Patrol so that all "wetback" labor may be eliminated.

AFL-CIO

37

7. The Joint U. S.-Mexican Trade Union Committee, set up under the auspices of the Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers, is to be commended for the work it has done in this area, as well as in other matters affecting the labor movements of the U. S. and Mexico. We thank the free labor movement of Mexico for its cooperation and pledge the full support of the AFL-CIO in the effort of the Joint Committee to improve the working and living conditions of Mexican

ing and living conditions of Mexican migrant workers.

8. The U. S. Department of Labor, which is charged with the responsibility for enforcing the international agreement with Mexico and the terms of the individual contracts of Mexican of the individual contracts of Mexican workers, has been denied adequate appropriations to do this job. We urge an immediate increase in appropriations for the Department of Labor compliance staff so that there will be at least one full-time compliance officer for every 2,000 braceros brought into

for every 2,000 braceros brought into this country.

9. We renew our request for legislation penalizing persons who hire or transport illegal workers, as has been recommended by the Attorney General of the United States.

10. We demand that legal foreign farm labor be guaranteed full rights and social benefits equal to those enjoyed by U. S. labor, including protection against any kind of discrimination, and the exercise of their right to union affiliation and representation. affiliation and representation

amiliation and representation.

11. We again call attention to the fact that United States farm workers are excluded from virtually all labor and social legislation, including the Wage-Hour Act, the National Labor Relations Act, State Safety and Workmen's Compensation laws, etc. Congress and state legislatures should act to end this inequity.

COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY SODER STROM: I move the adoption of the resolution. . . . The motion was seconded and car-

ried unanimously.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Before proceeding with the Resolutions Committee report I would like to announce that there will be a meeting of the Executive Council in Room C on the lower floor of this Armory immediately after adjournment. A little later in the afternoon I will announce a meeting of the Resolutions Committee which will have to be held this afternoon.

this afternoon.

Committee co-Secretary Curran now continues with the report of the Resolutions Committee co-Secretary Curran continued with the report of the Committee

as follows:

STATEHOOD FOR ALASKA AND HAWAII AND HOME RULE FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

The platforms of both political parties in 1952 urged immediate state-hood for both Alaska and Hawaii and endorsed home rule for the District of Columbia

Despite the unequivocal language in

these platforms favoring statehood for both Alaska and Hawaii and home rule for the District of Columbia, elements in both political parties have continued to play politics with these important issues. We unequivocally condemn this sordid political maneuvering; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, Manifest justice supports the demands for statehood of both Alaska and Hawail, and we urge that it be granted without further delay. We declare our support for District home rule and national suffrage as an act of simple justice to the citizens of the nation's Capital.

COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY CUR-RAN: I move the adoption of this resolution.

... The motion was seconded and unanimously carried

PUBLIC RELATIONS

Organized labor is aware of the need for attaining and maintaining good public relations. The enemies of labor have sought relations. The enemies of labor have sought to isolate our free, democratic trade unions from the rest of the community, in order better to attack our objectives and our activities. These hostile forces have sought to cloak and minimize the constructive achievements of our labor movement in the hope that the public will develop an erroneous and hostile concept of the functions, purposes and accomplishments of trade unions.

Both the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organiza-tions and their affiliated unions have made notable progress in improving labor's pub-lic relations in recent years.

Our Public Relations activities have been

compounded of many factors. First of all, the actions and policies of our labor move-ment have demonstrated its true nature as

ment have demonstrated its true nature as an organization devoted to the public good and concerned with the welfare of our nation and all of its citizens.

The bona fide labor press, with its large and growing circulation and the continually improving quality of the various union publications, has kept our members alert and informed of the issues of the day in every section of the country.

The AFL and the CIO and their affilliated unions, through the use of radio, have presented their viewpoint directly to the people.

people.

people.
In addition, the AFL and the CIO, by sponsoring liberal commentators like Edward P. Morgan and John W. Vandercook, have brought a fair and unblased presentation of the news to millions of American listeners—news undictated and uninfluenced by the sponsors. Through the public service announcements on these programs, the constructive viewpoints of the two federations were brought to millions of American homes; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, 1. The AFL-CIO authorizes and instructs its officers to inaugurate an effective and forward-looking public relations program, making use of all available media, including radio and television. The objective of this program shall be to give the American public a true concept of labor's activities and its role in our domestic

society.

2. The AFL-CIO commends the progress of the bona fide labor press and calls on

all our affiliated unions and membership to give full support to the labor press, including the newly-created AFL-CIO

News.

3. The AFL-ClO commends the merger efforts of the International Labor Press of America and the ClO Editors and Publicity Directors Conference as a method of bringing together the ideas of union publications and union public relations directors into a common organization best adapted to serving the interests of our organization. ganization.

4. The AFL-CIO specifically authorizes the Executive Officers to conclude appro-priate arrangements for the continued sponsorship of radio news broadcasts.

COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY CUR-RAN: I move adoption of the Committee's report

The motion was seconded and carried

PRESIDENT MEANY: I would ask that you give your attention to the work of the Convention for just a few moments more. You have been very patient of the Convention for just a few moments more. You have been very patient and we are going to have an early adjournment because of the necessity of allowing the Resolutions Committee to get into some of the work for the rest of the week. Just a few minutes more and we will be able to adjourn for the day. I would ask your attention now to the final report of this afternoon of the Kesolutions Committee.

The Chair recognizes Committee co-Secretary Curran.

retary Curran.

. . . Committee co-Secretary Curran continued the report of the Committee as follows:

. . . Committee co-Secretary Curran read the resolution as follows:

PUBLIC SAFETY

Wholly aside from its concern in preven-tion of work accidents, organized labor has a deep interest in reducing the total na-tional accident rate which visits immeas-urable suffering and grief upon the Ameri-can people each year. The financial and physical burden of this tragic toil falls mainly on wage workers and their families. The record shows that during the calen-

mainly on wage workers and their families. The record shows that during the calendar year 1954 a total of 90,000 men, women and children were slaughtered in all accidents while an estimated 9,050,000 were injured to an extent that incapacitated them. While these figures reflect a reduction of 5 per cent in the toll of the prior year, the record is far from satisfactory.

Here are the figures .

Type of Accident	Killed	Injured
Public Motor Vehicle.	33,000	1.150,000
Work Motor Vehicle.	2,800	100,000
Other Work Accidents	11 200	1,750,000
Home Accidents	27,500	4.100,000
Other Accidents	15,500	1,950,000

90,000 9.050.000

This carnage occurred in the public areas. work locations, houses, schools, and on the highways of our country where the people have the right to be safe in their peace and dignity. All but a comparatively few of these accidents were preventable; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, 1. Organized labor must extend its efforts, through cooperation with all public and private agencies, to reduce the toll taken of the American people each year by fatal and crippling accidents.

2. We urge all affiliates to work diligently in their respective states and local com-munities by all available means to elimly in inate all avoidable accidents.

COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY CUR-RAN: I move adoption of this resolution. . . The motion for adoption of the resolution was seconded and carried unanimously.

COMMUNICATIONS

The following communications were received: December 5, 1955

Charleston.

George Meany, Pres., AFL-ClO, Care Founding Convention. 71st Regiment Armory, 34th St. and Park Ave.
Confident that AFL-ClO will organize new millions of American workers, help wipe out racial and religious bias from all phases of American life, constantly improve standard of living and raise cultural and spiritual level of our country.

With new strength, labor, under a united banner, will take giant steps politically, economically and socially toward achievement of these goals in a world free of war.

More than ever, labor needs an alert, fighting press arm. As part of the labor press, Labor's Daily, formed to serve the entire labor movement, stands ready to continue its three year old championship of unity LABOR'S DAILY

Philippine Trade Unions Council

The history-making merger of the powerful American Federation of Labor and the great Congress of Industrial Organizations gives indubitable proof that no obstacle is too great to overcome when men of goodwill, working almost to the point of selflessness, agree to fight for the common weal.

The common weal.

For years sinister forces have attempted to use to their advantage the separate standings of these two mighty democratic institutions. While they did not succeed, they nevertheless did continue to use the situation to sow disunity among the free workers of the world.

world. This convention seals finally and, it is to be hoped, for always, the determination of American labor not only to unite for its welfare but also to serve notice to wreckers of free trade unionism that the AFL-ClO stands for nothing short of freedom under a regime of universal brotherhood, liberty, and justice under God.

The Philippine Trade Unions Council congratulates and wishes the AFL-ClO Godspeed.

Godspeed.

JOSE J. HERNANDEZ, General Secretary.

December 2, 1955

Wellington, N. Z.,

Wellington, N. Z.,
The Chairman. American Federation
of Labour and CIO Unity Conference, 71st
Regiment Armory, New York.
New Zealand Federation of Labour extendis fraternal greetings to delegates attending merger conference of The American Federation of Labour and CIO and
every good wish for the success of the
combined organisation in their fight in

support of Free Democratic Trade Unionism in all countries of the world.
WALSH, President,

New Zealand Federation of Labour.

December 2, 1955

New Orleans, La.,

Convention Chairman, AFL-CIO Convention, 71st Regiment Armory, New vention,

York.
We the officials and membership of
the National Maritime Union, New Orleans, Louisiana, want to take this opportunity to give you, (the combined Clo
and A. F. of L. Convention Delegates) our
wholehearted support CIO speed in your undertaking.
PHIL SANFORD,

NMU Agent.

December 2, 1955

Washington, D. C.,

Washington, D. C., George Meany, President AFL-CIO Hotel New Yorker:

The American Veterans Committee and its thousands of members sends its greetings to the great new organization the AFL-CIO. We know that this is the beginning of a new period of labor greatness and accomplishment for your members and for the nation.

and accomplishment for your means and for the nation. MICKEY LEVINE, Nat'l Chairman, American Veterans Committee, 1830 Jefferson Pl., Northwest, Washington 6, D. C.

December 5, 1955

Perth Amboy, N. J.,

George Meany, President AFL-CIO, 71st Regiment Armory.

Dear Brother Meany: The New Jersey State Federation of Teachers hails the establishment of the great united Ameri-can labor movement. The White House Conference on Education developed real meaning only because of the united efforts of the labor representatives. We look forward to your help in organizing more teachers as members of the AFT. Congratulations.

HOWARD E. RICHARDSON, President.

December 5, 1955

New York, N. Y. 5.

Mr. George Meany, Mr. Walter Reuther, 71st Regiment Armory, 34th St. and Park

Ave.
The two great arms of the American labor movement, now joined in convention to consummate their historic merger, are to be congratulated for a development that promises well for labor, management, the public and the general cause of brotherhood and good human relations in our country. We of the National Conference of Christians and Laws are indebted for the convergition of the National Conference of Christians and Jews are indebted for the cooperation of both the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. in ading our program for promoting better understanding and cooperation among Catholics, Jews and Protestants. May God's blessing be upon your work.

EVERETT R. CLINCHY, President.

December 5, 1955

New York, N. Y.,

President George Meany and President Walter Reuther, AFL-CIO Merger Conven-tion, 71st Regiment Armory, Park Ave.,

tion, 71st Regiment Armory, Park Ave., 34th St.

The Negro Labor Committee sends you fraternal greetings and best wishes for a most successful merger convention. For twenty years the Negro Labor Committee

has been the advocate of unity and has diligently practiced it. From our birth we have served all sections of labor regardless of affiliation or race or craft or creed except communism. We have survived every attempt to capture or destroy us. Your final merger will be appreciated around the world by all workers and progressives who have faith in the survival of democracy and those who brought unity about will live forever in the memory of man. Again success. Fraternally. FRANK R.

R. CROSSWAITH, Chairman, The Negro Labor Committee. December 5, 1955

New York, N. Y.

AFL-ClO Convention, 71st Regiment Armory, Park Avenue and 34th Street:
The Baptist Ministers Conference of
New York City and vicinity congratulates
you upon your merger.
WILLIAM P. HANZ, Secretary.
National Maritime Union of America,
affillated with the Congress of Industri-

al Organizations.

December 2, 1955

AFL-CIO
Tlat Regiment Armory
Park Avenue and 34th Street
New York, N. Y.
Dear Sirs and Brothers:
On behalf of the officials and membership of the National Maritime Union of America, I wish to extend to you fraternal greetings to all delegates assembled in Convention, December 5.
Best wishes for a successful convention which will prove beneficial to your organization and to the labor movement in general.

in general.

Sincerely and Fraternally, JOHN B. McDOUGALL, National Secretary. December 5, 1955

New York, N. Y.

AFL-CIO Convention

AFL-CIO Convention

1st Regiment Armory, Park Ave. and
34th St., New York, N. Y.

To the Delegates:
Greetings and best wishes for a successful merger, at convention from the
employees of Rogers Peet Co.
Shop Chairman, ANTHONY DE MAIO.

December 4, 1955

Shop Chairman, ANTHONY DE MAIO.

December 4, 1955
Brooklyn, N. Y.
George Meany, Presi lent,
William Schnitzler, Sec'y Treasurer,
AFL-CIO, Tist Regiment Armory, Park
Ave. and 34th St., N. Y.
It is with great joy and satisfaction
that we send this message of congratulations and good wishes to you and
through you to your associate officers,
delegates and the sixteen million members they represent. We also extend our
profound thanks and appreciation for
the moral and financial support our national, free, Non-Sectarian Sanatorium
received for the past forty-eight years,
and we have implicit faith that now
with a united labor movement we will
receive support in even a greater measure than heretofore.
George Rubin, Chairman;
Joseph Belsky, Secretary;
R. Schwartz, National Supervisor.
National Trade Union Committee
for the support of
Ex-Patients Sanatorium
for Tuberculosis and
Chronic Disease of
Denver, Colorado.

December 3, 1955

Detroit, Mich. George Meany, President AFL-CIO, 71st Armory, 34th St. and Park Ave., N. Y. May reconciliation reign greetings and best wishes from the Executive Committee of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. META RISEMAN, National President

of the WILPS, Dryden, Mich.

December 4, 1955

Brooklyn, N. Y. President George Meany, 71st Regiment Armory, 34th St. and Park Ave., N. Y.

The League for Industrial Democracy extends heartiest congratulations to this historic convention a landmark in the progress of American labor and of democprogress of American issor and of democracy and freedom here and throughout the world.

NATHANIEL MINKOFF, WILLIAM H. KILPATRICK, JOSEPH SCHLOS-BERG, HARRY W. LAIDLER.

December 4, 1955

New York

George Meany, President and William Schnitzler, Secretary-Treasurer, AFL-CIO, 71st Regiment Armory, N. Y. In behalf of a half million organized workers in New York we greet the new federation of labor upon a spacesful

federation of labor upon a successful merger.

This free democratic trade union movement of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Or-

of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations stands out as a beacon of light.

This merger is not only an expression of the hopes and aspirations of the working people of America but also for the workers and free thinking peoples all over the world. We salute you.

United Hebrew Trades,
MORRIS GOLDOWSKY, Chairman, and WILLIAM WOLPERT, Executive Secretary.

ecutive Secretary.

December 2, 1955

New York
AFL-CIO Unity Convention, 71st Regiment Armory, 34th and Park Ave., N. Y.
On behalf of the officers, the constituent organizations and the more than seventy thousand members of the Labor Zionist Movement in America, we send our warmest greetings to the Unity Convention of the AFL-CIO. We welcome enthusiastically the consolidation of the American labor movement into a mighty force for the benefit of the laboring men and women, the progress of our country as a whole and the furtherance of the struggle for democracy, brotherhood and freedom throughout the world.

brotherhood and freedom throughout the world.

It has constantly been a source of deep gratification to us that over the years organized labor in America has always been united in its support of the Jewish national homeland in Israel and in solidarity with Israel's labor movement, the Histadrut. In this time of acute tension in the Near East and grave peril for Israel, we are confident that American labor will exert its mighty influence on the side of democracy and peace in that troubled part of the world and for the benefit and further upbuilding of Israel whose socially advanced and largely cooperative society may serve as a beacon-light to society may serve as a beacon-light to

the oppressed in the Near East and throughout the world.

Labor Zionist Assembly,
BARUCH ZUCK ERMAN, Chairman,
JACOB KATZMAN, Secretary,
LOUIS SEGAL, Chairman, Publie Affairs,

December 4, 1955 New York

George Meany, President, AFL-CIO, 71st Regiment Armory, E. 34th St. and Park Ave., N. Y.

Ave., N. Y.

Congratulations, Brother Meany, on your election as President of the great unified labor movement, AFL-ClO. We hope that this new powerful union will help lead the way to organize the unorganized. The 30,000 cab drivers of New York City is the last open shop industry in this great labor town. We hope that the year 1956 can be the year of decision in bringing forth the complete unionization of the taxicab industry in New York City. We wish you the best of success and long years of honest and sincere leadership. With warm fraternal greetings from the officers and members of Local 826, Teamsters Union, AFL.

WILLIAM H. NUCHOW, President.

December 3, 1955

San Francisco, Calif.

San Francisco, Calif.

Lee Lalor, Hotel Biltmore, N. Y.
Mr. George Meany, President, AFLCIO Convention, New York City, N. Y.
Local 261, Construction and General
Laborers Union, San Francisco, Calif.,
extend fraternal greeting and pledges
heartfelt support to the unification of
American labor's two houses. It is our
hope that the Joining of the AFL and
the CIO will strengthen the ranks of
labor for winning a fuller share of the
fruits of our toll and give courage to
the struggles of our people for advancement of democratic institutions. It
is our further hope that the merger will
solidify the forces in our movement
which stand for clean unionism, free of
discrimination, racketeering or communism. To this goal Local 261 pledges
its total and unstinted cooperation.
Construction and General
Laborers Union, Local 261,
San Francisco, Calif.
New York, December 5, 1955

San Francisco, Calif.

New York, December 5, 1955

AFL-CIO Convention, 71st Armory, N. Y.

We send heartiest greetings on the
occasion of this historic event in the
life of the labor movement and our
country which unites the AFL and CIO
in one great labor organization. We
are sure that this will prove to be a
great force for the benefit of the free
labor movement here the world over
and for all forces of democracy.

Farband Labor Zionist Order,
MEYER L. BROWN, President,
LOUIS SEGAL, Secretary.

December 5, 1955

Miami, Fla.

Honorable George Meaney,
Head AFL-CIO, Itst Regiment Armory
You, Walter Reuther and all those
fine men who worked with you in bringing about the merger of the American
Federation of Labor and the Congress of
Industrial Organizations have accomplished one of the greatest acts of
statesmanship and achieved one of the

greatest victories which has been known in our heroic history for a bet-ter and happier life for the people of this land. As a friend and citizen accept the warmest commendations of my head and heart, and my heartiest good wishes to AFL-CIO and all that it means to mankind,

CLAUDE PEPPER

December 5, 1955 SS Santalines, Lantanaradio, Florida.

Mr. George Meany, President AFL-CIO, 71st Regiment Armory, 34th Street and Park Avenue, New York, N. Y. Best wishes in your present venture. CREW SS SANTALINES.

December 5, 1955

George Meany, Walter Reuther,

AFL-CIO Convention, 71st Regiment Armory, 34th Street and Park Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Please, convey to Unity Convention my deep personal regret at inability to be with you on this historic occasion. American Labor can go forward with confidence in its own future and ever strengthen its support for world-wide democratic progress. ILO sends its warmest good wishes to you and all present. present.

DAVID A. MORSE, Director, General International Labor Organization.

December 5, 1955

Washington, D. C.

AFL-CIO Convention, the Armory, N. Y.

AFL-CIO Convention, the Armory, N. Y. Congratulations on AFL-CIO merger from one who felt from the time when the unfortunate split took place that it could only weaken labor. As former President of the California Federation of Labor and the San Francisco Labor Council, I recognized that labor had to work together to achieve its basic aims. I am more than happy that these are now on the verge of accomplishment. Warmest fraternal greetings to Brothers Walter more than happy that these are now on the verge of accomplishment. Warmest fraternal greetings to Brothers Walter Reuther and George Meany and all those clear-thinking men who helped complete the merger. Best wishes for a long his-tory and successful future which cannot help but have a nositive effect on help but have a positive effect on American life and legislation. Congressman JACK SHELLEY.

December 5, 1955

Helena, Mont.

AFL-CIO Convention, Hotel Statler, New York.

New York.

Sincerest best wishes to all at your 1955 consolidation convention-meeting dedicated to happiness for young and old and designed to perpetuate our American way of life.

Your continuous services to the residents of your home state and your deep concern for the nation and its communities merits everlasting praise.

We are in an era of building, the best kind of building—the building of great kind of building—the building of great humanitarian work for the benefit of our nation and with the definite objective of building human happiness.

Congratulations and keep up the good work.

work. Fraternally yours, FRANK MURRAY, Clerk of Montana Supreme Court. December 3, 1955

Harrisburg, Pa.

Harrisburg, Pa.

George Meany, President American Federation of Labor, Hotel Statler, N. Y.

Please accept my congratulations on the ratification by the American Federation of Labor of the merger by two great labor organizations into the AFL-CIO. Your decisive leadership has resulted in a long step forward in the annals of American labor. May I extend best wishes to you for a successful week of deliberations and for the many years of labor harmony ahead.

GEORGE M. LEADER,

Governor of Pennsylvania.

December 2, 1955

Congress of the United States, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

Washington, D. C. Mr. George Meany and Mr. Walter P. Reuther, American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations, 71st Regiment Armory, 34th Street and Park Avenue, New York, N. Y. Gentlemen:

You both deserve the most hearty con-gratulations and the sincerest praise for your untiring efforts in consummating he historic merger of the A. F. of L. and

the historic merger of the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O.

The high principles upon which your organization is based reflect the desires, aspirations and needs of many millions of working Americans. The realization of your objectives will do much to improve and better our American democratic heritage.

My congratulations and yery best

My congratulations and very best wishes to the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations and to all your member-

Sincerely yours, IRWIN D. DAVIDSON, M.C.

Board of Social and Economic Relations, The Methodist Church, 740 Rush Street, Chicago 11, Illinois, November 30, 1955

To the Uniting Convention of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, New York, N. Y., December, 1955:

On this momentous occasion the Methodist Church through its official agency on economic life, the Board of Social and Economic Relations, sends greetings to all those assembled for this convention and to the two greet movements unitand to the two great movements unit-

and to the two great movements uniting.

The Methodist Church greets you out of a long tradition of intimate relationship with the workers and their trade unions. We were one of the first churches to proclaim and to support officially the workers' right to organize for collective bargaining, to just wages, to fair working conditions, to periods of leisure, and to an equitable division of the product of industry. Many of our distinguished leaders have participated actively in the causes for which organized labor has struggled.

At this time of world crisis with its unusual opportunities for sound and courageous leadership we must all remind ourselves of the need for clear vision, sound judgment, and moral integrity in the formulation and administration of the policies of organizations

exercising great power and influence over the lives of people, the destiny of this continent, and the entire world. All of us in such positions need to place first importance on the general welfare. Our fervent hope is that increasingly in harmony and courage we may all plan and work for the best life possible for people everywhere, to establish peace in the world, and to strengthen the moral and spiritual foundations upon which the United States and Canada are founded and continue to live and grow.

Be assured of our support of working people and their trade unions. May the blessing of God Almighty be upon you, your deliberations, and your decisions

colsions
LOYD C. WICKE, Bishop of the Pittsburgh area and Chairman of the
Board of Social and Economic Relations of the Methodist Church.
DUDLEY WARD, Executive Secretary of the Board of Social and Economic Relations of the Methodist

Church.

December 1, 1955

American Federation of Labor

AFL Building Washington, D. C

Very Honored Brothers: We have sent the f

Wery Honored Brothers:
We have sent the following telegram to the Unity Committee for the Merger Convention to be held in New York:
"Congress of American Federation of Labor and CIO, New York.
"The German Salaried Workers' Union (DAG) conveys to the Unity Committee of the two large North American trade union federations its best wishes for the Merger Congress starting December 5th in New York. After this important step the interests of the workers of the United States will certainly be even better represented than in the past. The DAG wishes fullest success.

German Salaried Workers' Union,

Executive Board, Executive Board, Although we did not know an exact idress, we sincerely hope that the televish am found its way to the convention's address, gram f

With fraternal greetings, Deutsche Angestellten-Gewerkschaft,

Executive Board, (WILHARM), General Secretary.

INVITATION TO VISIT ISRAEL HEALTH EXHIBITION

SECRETARY SCHNITZLER: The National Committee for Labor Israel extends an invitation to all delegates and guests of the Convention to see the exhibit of Kupat Holim which is touring this country from Israel. It can be seen at 214 West 57th Street (just off Broadway) any day except Saturday, between 10 in the morning and 10 in the evening.

between 10 in the morning and 10 in the evening.
Kupat Holim is the voluntary cooperative health program in which over
90 per cent of the wage earners and
working people of Israel are enrolled.
They operate 14 major hospitals and
scores of health centers. It is the health
branch of "Histadrut".

Let me repeat the address—214 West
57th Street, just off Broadway, between
the hours of 10 in the morning and 10
in the evening, except Saturday.

INVITATION TO VISIT THE SIDNEY HILLMAN HEALTH

Dr. Morris Brand, the Medical Director of the Sidney Hillman Health Center invites all delegates and their guests ter invites all delegates and their guests attending the Convention to visit the Health Center at 16 East 16th Street, between the hours of 10 in the morning and 4 in the afternoon, any day during the Convention.

I repeat the address—16 East 16th

Street, the Sidney Hillman Health Cen-

PRESIDENT MEANY: Now I have a motion that the rules be suspended and the session adjourned until 9:30 A. M. tomorrow.

Hearing no objection, I declare the

motion carried.
... At 3:30 o'clock, P. M. the convention recessed until 9:30 o'clock, vention recessed until 9:30 o'c A. M., Tuesday, December 6, 1955.

First Constitutional Convention

of the

American Federation of Labor Congress of Industrial Organizations 1955 Proceedings

New York, New York, December 6, 1955



Report of

SECOND DAY—TUESDAY MORNING SESSION

The convention was called to order by President Meany at 9:45 o'clock.

PRESIDENT MEANY: The invocation this morning will be given by the Very Reverend Doctor James A. Pike, Dean of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, City of New York—Doctor Pike.

INVOCATION

Very Reverend Doctor James A. Pike, Cathedral of St. John the Divine

Let us pray. Almighty God, we yield Thee high praise and hearty thanks for the larger measure of unity, feliowship and effectiveness which has been wrought among the ranks of those who are the life blood of American industry, that our common cause and concern may better be served. Inspire in all who labor and in those who serve a desire for unity and common allegiance to the causes of justice among men and an equitable distribution of those good things which Thou hast enabled us to bring to fruit. Enlarge our concerns beyond our own immediate ones. And, O, Thou who has reated man in Thine own image, grant us grace fearlessly to work against evil wherever found and to make no

peace with oppression, and that we may reverently use our freedom and to employ it for the, maintenance of men and nations.

men and nations.

O. Heavenly Father, Who declarest
Thy glory and showest forth Thy
handiwork in the heavens and the
earth, deliver us in our several callings from the service of Mammon, that
we may do the work which Thou
givest us to do in truth, in beauty and
in righteousness, with singleness of
heart as Thy servants and for the
benefit of our fellow men, for the sake
of One who came among us as One
to serve us—Thy Son, our Lord Jesus
Christ—Amen. Christ-Amen.

Kohler Chorus Entertains

PRESIDENT MEANY: At this time we are going to be entertained for a few moments by the Kohler Chorus, a group representing the workers who have been on strike for many, many months at the Kohler plant in Wisconsin. I would like to call on Secretary Mazey, of the Automobile Workers, to present this group—Secretary Mazey.

SECRETARY MAZEY, United Auto-

mobile Workers: Mr. President, for more than twenty months over 3,000 Kohler workers have been on strike against America's most anti-union company, the Kohler Company, Sheboygan, Wisconsin. The company has refused to grant the union the basic elementary rights that have been won by millions of workers all over our country. Our Union has not attempted to pioneer during this strike—we are merely trying to catch up with the pioneer during this strike—we are merely trying to catch up with the conditions that workers have achieved other plants through labor organiza-

Twenty-one years ago the American Federation of Labor conducted a strike in this plant. The company broke the in this plant. strike by k killing strikers shooting forty-seven others in the back.

This has been a long struggle, one that I am sure we are going to win, because we have had the support of unions of the American Federation of Labor and the CIO. And I am confident with a confidence of the company of Labor and the CIO. And I am confident that with an effective consumers' boycott, with the successful conclusion of the National Labor Relations Board Unfair Labor Practices case now in progress we will be able to win economic and social justice for the Kohler workers.

Workers.
During this strike the Kohler workers have organized a chorus made up of Kohler strikers, their wives and daughters and members of the community—AFL and independent unions, and they are here with us this morning to sing a few songs. The first song they will sing is "We Shali Not Be Moved," followed by "Sixteen Ton." The third number will be "Your Land and My Land," and they will conclude with the presentation to us of the singing of "Solidarity."

The chorus is under the direction of a striker, a member of the Strike Committee, one of the 90 discharged officers of the strike, Brother Elmer Oskey. We will now hear from the Kohler Chorus. During strike the

Chorus.

The Kohler Chorus then sang the selections indicated by Secretary Mazey.

PRESIDENT MEANY: May I, on behalf of this Convention express our thanks to this very fine choral group, and also express to them our wishes for a successful conclusion of this strike which has become a symbol in the midwestern part of our country of a bitter fight between a giant corporation and its workers. This to us could also be symbolic, and we should determine at this Convention that come what may these strikers shall not lose. come wi

The Chair now recognizes co-Secretary Soderstrom of the Resolutions tee to continue the report of that Com-

mittee.

REPORT OF RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE (Continued)

. . . Committee co-Secretary Soderstrom submitted the following resolution:

HOUSING

No material need of the average American family is more neglected

than housing. Despite our great resources and abundance of manpower and skill, our nation has been unable to produce enough housing to meet the pressing needs of millions of families.

Most low-income families and many Most low-income families and many middle-income families are forced to live in overcrowded, dilapidated slums located in blighted neighborhoods. Housing conditions of Negro and other minority families, who have been virtually barred from the market for new housing, are especially bad.

One-third of the nation is still illhoused. More than 10,000,000 dwellings are so dilapidated that they should be torn down and some 5,000,000 more require major overhaul to make them fit

quire major overhaul to make them fit places in which to live. Each year more homes are added to these categories are torn down or adequately over-

hauled

hauled.

The housing industry and the present governmental housing programs have failed to meet this challenging situation. In fact, new housing construction, even though at near record levels, barely keeps pace with the formation of new families and other basic continuous prodes. Despite billions of dellars of of new families and other basic continu-ing needs. Despite billions of dollars of aids extended to the housing industry by the government each year through mortgage insurance, direct lending, slum clearance, land cost write-downs and clearance, land cost write-downs and other devices, no significant progress has been made toward increasing the supply of good housing. Unless the rate supply of good nousing. Unless the law of housing construction is raised to at least 2 million units a year, millions of families will continue to be denied the opportunity to obtain decent homes. We will not achieve this goal unless a substantial proportion of the homes built are within the means of low and produced income families.

noderate income families.
In recent years the need for a comprehensive program to achieve the goal prehensive program to achieve the goal of good housing for every family has been increasingly recognized and accepted. Our nation cannot evade its responsibility for eradicating slums and slum conditions. Every American has the right to a genuine opportunity to obtain good housing in a good neighborhood.

The National Housing Conference for The National Housing Conference to more than 20 years has made an outstanding contribution to the welfare of the American people by its efforts to win the support of national organizawin the support of national organiza-tions, local citizen groups and govern-mental officials for effective measures to assure decent housing to every fam-ily. By its outstanding efforts in the fight for better housing the National Housing Conference merits the contin-ued support of the AFL-CIO and its affiliates

Riliates.

We believe the very foundations of our private enterprise system and our democratic way of life require that our people be properly housed. We believe this can be achieved in a manner fully consistent with our economic system; in fact, an adequate housing program will greatly enhance the basic strength of our economy; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, 1. Construction of two million new dwelling units a year should be the immediate objective of national policy and should form the basis of government programs.

2. In order to achieve the goal of

AFL-CIO

45

two million new housing units a year, a major portion of the new homes constructed should be constructed and marketed at costs within the reach of low and moderate income families with incomes below \$5.000 a year, most of whom are now priced out of the private hous-

ing market.

3. To meet the needs of our lowest income families, a large-scale low-rent public housing program is needed. Such housing is built and financed by private enterprise under a proven formula combining federal financial assistance enterprise under a proven combining federal financial assistance with local community initiative. Public housing unquestionably offers the only effective means for making good housing available to low-income families at costs they can afford. An adequate supply of low-rent public housing the propagation of the community of the is an absolute prerequisite for

ing is an absolute prerequisite for effective slum clearance and urban redevelopment since no other sound method is available for rehousing the major portion of the slum dwellers.

The 1949 Housing Act provided for 135,000 new public housing units a year with Presidential discretion to increase the program to 200,000. The long delay in carrying out the program, the steady deterioration and expansion of the slums and the new urencles created by redeterioration and expansion of the slums and the new urgencies created by redevelopment and other public improvement programs which have displaced large numbers of low-income families all require rapid completion of the 810,000 unit goal set in 1949. Therefore, an annual rate of at least 200,000 new units a year should be established and achieved without further delay.

4. In recent years the living standards of millions of wage earning families have risen, but despite these income gains, most workers' families are unable to pay more than \$50 to \$80 a month toward housing expenses (including maintenance and utilities, taxes and all other costs). With rising incomes, the deep desire of workers' famcluding maintenance and utilities, taxes and all other costs). With rising incomes, the deep desire of workers' families for private home ownership has been reinforced, but it can be realized only if its cost can be reduced to a level moderate income families can aftered. Therefore a sound housing proford. Therefore, a sound housing pro-gram must include as a major plank the gram must include as a major plank the means for meeting this growing demand for home ownership among moderate income families involving a total monthly housing cost which does not exceed 20 percent of family income. To achieve this end, we propose a program of low interest long-amortization loans for coperative non-noft rental and selections. operative, non-profit rental and sales housing for middle-income families, meeting adequate standards of construction, space and availability of commu-nity facilities and services. This program should include the following specific features:

(a) Mortgages should be made available to finance individual purchase, rental, or cooperative ownership of housing for moderate income families on a 40-year term with nominal down payments and at a rate of interest equal to the cost of money to the government plus 4 percent to cover administrative costs. (At present rates, this would total approximately 3 percent.)

(b) These liberal credit aids should be made available only for homes which are priced within the reach of the moderate income family and are well con-(a) Mortgages should be made avail-

structed and large enough for sound family living. To protect against abuse, family living. To protect against abuse, the home must be finished and include all the features reasonably essential to good and proper living such as sewerage, basic landscaping, finished kitchens and basements or utility rooms, and other essential facilities.

(c) Cooperative housing should be especially encouraged. The credit aids set forth above as well as special technical assistance should be made available to cooperatives which offer a particularly effective means of bringing monthly costs within the reach of moderate income families. family living.

come families.

(d) To assure success of this moderate income housing program, funds must be available. Experience has demonstrated that private banks, insurance companies and other mortgage lenders are relucand other mortgage lenders are reluc-tant to pioneer with new programs but embrace them once they have been proved practical through actual trial. This was true of the original FHA program itself.

Therefore, we propose that the Fed-al Government establish a National ortgage Corporation to make funds ral Mortgage Mortgage Corporation to make funds available directly to initiate these programs through loans not to exceed four billion dollars a year. Since these loans will be secured by tangible and valuable real estate, they would result in no ultimate cost to the Government.

5. To provide moderate priced rental 5. To provide moderate priced rental housing, much needed in virtually every city, we propose liberal aids to builders and operators who will construct suitable housing at rentals which are within the financial means of the moderate income family. Such housing should be placed under strict rent ceilings so that the liberal credit aids provided will actually benefit the tenant and not result in excessive profits. in excessive profits.

The basic principles involved in providing urban housing for low and middle-income families should be ap-

middle-income families should be applied to appropriate programs for farm housing and we stand ready to support proposals along such lines.

7. To enable families of moderate income to purchase homes on a sound basis, the Federal Government should establish a fund to insure against foreclosure in the event of illness, temporary unemployment or other emergenrary unemployment, or other emergen-cles. The cost of such insurance should be added to the mortgage payment but should be set at a very reasonable figure so as not to make it prohibitive.

8. To protect the prevailing labor standards of building trades workers. payment of the prevailing wage should be required to all employees engaged in construction of housing under any program involving Federal financial as-

sistance

9. To halt the menacing spread of ur-ban blight, we call for expansion of the urban redevelopment program with the urban redevelopment program with emphasis placed primarily upon slum clearance and genuine city rebuilding. Reliance should be placed upon less effective measures, such as "rehabilitation" and "conservation" only where clearly feasible and economical. All such programs in which the government is involved must be carried on with full consideration for the consumer: neither redevelopment nor rehabilitation must be allowed to result in price increases ut the housing beyond the the families who need good which put

housing the most.

10. Because of reduced incomes and special needs, many of our older citizens are confronted with especially acute housing problems. Unfortunately, the needs of elderly couples and single individuals have been virtually ignored in existing housing programs. We recommend a special Federal program of housing for the elderly which would include:

(a) Authorization for annual construction of 50,000 units of public housing especially suited for the elderly.

(b) Federal assistance for construction of old age rest homes for elderly persons or country needs on the suite of the suite of

persons or couples needing or desiring institutional care.

institutional care.

11. One of the most pressing phases of the housing problem concerns minority families whose housing opportunities are restricted by the withholding of available land and by other forms of discrimination. We believe all housing built with the aid of Federal funds or credit or any other form of financial assistance should be made available to minority families on an equal basis with all other families. The Federal Government has a positive responsibility to all other has a positive responsioning ment has a positive responsioning to observe to it that an opportunity to observe the control of the c

color, creed or national origin.

12. To provide proper leadership and to assure adequate emphasis on housing and other urban problems in the con duct of our national affairs, we support the proposal that a Secretary of Hous-ing and Urban Affairs be added to the President's Cabinet with jurisdiction President's Cabinet with jurisdiction over all Federal programs affecting

housing and urban affairs.

COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY SODER-STROM: I move the adoption of the Committee's report.
... The motion was seconded and

carried

carried unanimously.
... Committee co-Secretary Soderstrom presented the resolution on Community Services, as follows:

COMMUNITY SERVICES

The AFL-CIO is dedicated to the proposition that what is good for the community is good for labor.

community is good for labor.

It is in this spirit that members of the AFL-CIO function first and foremost as citizens of their communities. Further to encourage the active participation and total integration of union members and their families in community affairs, the AFL-CIO, by constitutional provision, has established a permanent national committee on community services.

The objectives of the AFL-CIO in the area of community organization for health, welfare and recreation shall be as follows:

as follows:

1. Encourage equitable labor repre-sentation on agency boards and com-

mittees. 2. Stimulate labor participation in formulating agency policies and programs

3. Develop techniques and methods

to interpret for union members agency programs and practices. 4. Assist union members, their fam-

ilies and other citizens in time of need.
5. Plan for union participation in civil defense and disaster relief programs and operations.

grams and operations.
6. Help in the development of health and welfare services, such as blood banks and multiple screening.
7. Coordinate fund-raising drives, through voluntary federation wherever possible, for voluntary health and welfare services.

Cooperate with other agencies in dealing with and in solving social and health problems.

9. Participate in all genuine efforts

designed to improve social work stand ards and practices; now, therefore, be it RESOLVED. The AFL-CIO urges:

1. All national and international af-filiates to establish community services departments with full-time staff ever possible.

2. All state and city central bodies establish community services comttees with full-time staff wherever possible.

3. All local unions to establish com-munity services committees, 4. All affiliates to extend full co-operation to the National Committee in the development of its policies and programs.

COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY SODER-STROM: I move the adoption of the Committee's report.

PRESIDENT MEANY: You have heard the report of the Committee on the very important subject of Community Services. The Chair recognizes Delegate Beirne, who will speak on the motion for the adoption of this report.

DELEGATE BEIRNE, Communications Workers: Mr. President, I would like to say but a few words in respect to the resolution before the Convention. This is a field wherein we can make a great contribution and do a bigger job in advancing the aims and the ideals of our organization. We have talked and we honestly believe that communism, for example, makes its biggest inroads in the thinking of people when it can talk to people whose stomachs are empty, whose houses are poor, who live in a country where disease and pestilence prevail.

I know that we have made great strides for the members of our unions in lifting up their standards of living but we should not fool ourselves that no place in America is there poverty, is there want, or is there disease. Right

no place in America is there poverty, is there want, or is there disease. Right here in New York City and in any large city in these United States we can find people, we can find families, we can find children who are in need. It becomes almost silly for us to think in terms of fighting this larger problem of communism while we neglect our own people in our own neighborhoods, in our own back yards, in our own nation.

Through community services work we have the opportunity to make a great contribution to furthering the needs, to advancing the standards of

AFL-CIO

those people who are our neighbors but who may not be members of our unions. We have an obligation to do this, and we should do it.

he resolution we ask for every within this great Federation to sh a Community Services Comthe union within this greatestablish a Community Services Committee. In the Constitution of our organization we have given constitutional standing to our community services work. The Constitution and this resolution do not do the job. We need people from every union, from every local, to so integrate themselves in community affairs that we will make a truism of our slogan that "what is good for our slogan that "what is good for

This field is one that for years has been dominated. This is a field where labor has been rejected, where only re-cently we are accepted as a junior labor has been rejected, where only recently we are accepted as a junior partner. Yet in this very last year labor throughout the United States opened up its heart, opened up its pocketbook and gave one-third of the dollars which were contributed to the Community Chest campaign. Because we have not integrated ourselves well we are considered junior partners even though we are the largest single contributors to the welfare of people in these United States.

We can only change that ourselves in

We can only change that ourselves in We can only change that ourselves in our organization as we take to heart this resolution, appoint people, influence people to get into their communities and to honestly and conscientiously make it the best community in America, and as they integrate themselves to concentrate on the health needs, the welfare needs, the housing needs of their neighbors of their friends in that

to concentrate on the health needs, the welfare needs, the housing needs of their neighbors, of their friends in that community of theirs.

It is through this medium that our unions will be accepted, that our members will be accepted as first class citipers will be accepted as first class citizens in these United States of ours; and it is in this method that we can make one of our great contributions to the overall welfare of the nation, and particularly to the welfare of those who are in need are in need.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Is there any further discussion on the subject of community services and labor's place in the administration, sponsorship and op-

ration of these services?

The motion is to adopt the Committee's report. Those who favor the motion signify by saying aye; contrary

minded no.

it is carried, and so ordered.
... Committee co-Secretary Soderstrom continued the report of the Committee as follows:

STATE ANTI-UNION LAWS

During the past two or three years anti-union forces in this country have more and more concentrated their remore and more concentrated their resources on lobbying anti-union laws through the legislatures of the various states. Typically these state laws make unlawful any and every sort of union security provision. Often these laws also impose other restrictions on unions and workers, such as prohibitions or on the check-off of union dues. Invariably these laws, whatever their content, are mislabeled as "Right to

47

Work" laws; although they guarantee work to no one and in fact weaken the job security of workers.

These state anti-union laws have their genesis in Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act—one of the most viclous provisions of that evil law. Although that law is supposed to lay down a national labor policy uniformly applicable in all states to industries which affect interstate commerce Section 14(b) affect interstate commerce, Section 14(b) explicitly encourages states to pass anti-labor laws which go beyond the restrictions of Taft-Hartley. It does this by providing that state laws which are more restrictive of union security than the provisions of Taft-Hartley shall override Taft-Hartley, even as to interstate businesses. On the other hand, state laws which restrict union security less than does Taft-Hartley are superseded, as to interstate businesses, by Taft-Hartley. affect interstate commerce, Section 14(b) Taft-Hartley.

As a result of this Taft-Hartley provision, of the anti-labor legislative atmosphere engendered by Taft-Hartley, and of the unscrupulous campaigns of employer lobbyists, numerous state legislators have adopted anti-unions have adopted anti-union-laws during the last nine security years.

years.

Prior to 1946 elections, only one state, Florida, had outlawed the union shop. In 1947, the year Taft-Hartley was passed, 13 states adopted such laws. In 1949, two of these states, New Hampshire and Delaware, repealed their anti-union laws, and no additional states passed anti-union laws for several years.

However, since 1952 there has been a new rash of state-anti-union laws. In 1953 Alabama passed such a law: in

new rash or state-anti-union iaws. In 1953 Alabama passed such a law; in 1954, Mississippi, South Carolina and Louislana; and in 1955, Utah During the same period unsuccessful attempts were made by reactionary employer interests to obtain the passage of these law; in interests to obtain the passage of these laws in numerous other States. Always these campaigns are accompanied by the most hypocritical propaganda and the most sordid pressures. We commend the courageous action of the governor of Kansas in vetoing a "right-to-work" bill passed by the State legislature in 1955. In his veto message the governor said:

"This type of bill is not a solution to any labor-management problem in the State of Kansas. The name 'right-to-work' is a misnomer. House bill 30 has only one real purpose—to ultihas only one real purpose—to ulti-mately destroy both the right of labor to organize and the principle of collec-tive bargaining. It will accomplish this purpose by prohibiting mainte-nance of membership in labor unions under state law."

At the present time, 18 states have anti-union-security laws in effect. They are: Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Iowa, Louisiana, Mississippi, Nebraska, Nevada, North Carolina. North Dakota, South Carolina. South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Utah and Virginia. Each of these laws makes it unlawful for labor and management to include any sort of provision for union security in a collective bargaining agreement. Many of these state laws, as noted, also contain other broad restraints on union activities.

In addition the laws in several other states—Colorado, Kansas, Maryland, Massachusetts and Wisconsin—Impose various lesser restrictions on union security agreements.

Further, in many states, local judges freely use the cripping labor injunction against unions. Sometimes these injunctions are supposedly based on these new state statutes, while at other times they rest simply on "judge made" law. Often they take the form of temporary restraining orders issued without notice to the union or any freely the cripping labor injunctemporary restraining orders issued without notice to the union or any trial on the merits. Union-busting employers find in these state court injunctions a ready weapon to curb picketing and to break strikes.

Such state laws and judicial decrees are justified by their supporters by slogans like "right to work" or "States' rights". "States' rights" and "right to work" as thus used mean only one simple thing; the destruction of unions and the blocking of union organization, so that an employer will have unfetered discretion to hire and fire and so that an employer will have unfet-tered discretion to hire and fire and can pay his workers less for the same work than organized workers are getting in other states; now therefore, be it

RESOLVED, The AFL-CIO and its affiliated unions will fight for the repeal of all state anti-labor laws, and for their replacement by legislation fairly protecting the basic rights of labor.

We will resolutely resist all attempts by reactionary employers to use state legislatures and courts to hamper unionization and to weaken unions. We will press for the repeal of Sec-tion 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act.

COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY SODER-STROM: I move adoption of the Committee's report.
... The motion was seconded.

PRESIDENT MEANY: You have heard the report of the Committee on State Anti-Union Laws. The motion is to adopt. At this time I would like to hold this question in abeyance because the time has arrived for one of our distinguished speakers and we can, of course, take this up and discuss it later in the morning sassion. session.

Will the Escort Committee kindly bring

the Governor to the platform?
. . . At this time Governor Averell
Harriman was escorted to the speaker's rostrum

PRESIDENT MEANY: At this time I am privileged to present to you a gentleman who has a long record as a conscientious public servant.—wartime Ambassador to the Soviet Union, Secretary of Commerce during the days of the plan of action to rescue Europe from the economic doldrums when the Marshall Plan was being formulated. Special Ambassador to Europe in charge of the Economic Cooperation Administration in the dark days when Western Europe had to be saved from Communism. A man with a mature political understanding, an uncompromising fighter for freedom, a courageous, sane liberal, a great Governor of the State of New York, the Honorable Averell Harriman. Averell Harriman.

HONORABLE AVERELL HARRIMAN Governor of New York

Mr. President Secretary-Treasurer, officers, delegates to this convention, and all my friends: Well it's happened and it's a great day for American labor and a great day for our country. What is more you have done it in the right place, right nere in New York State. It's right, not just because New York has more union members, some two and a quarter militon; it is because the American labor movement was born, has grown, and flourished here. flourished here.

Our State was the home of the beloved Samuel Gompers, And it's been the home of a man who was born on the East of a man who was born on the East Side of Manhattan, raised in the Bronx, and now the whole town claims him. That is George Meany. To use an old Irish expression, George, "May the wind be

expression, George, "May the wind be always at your back."

There is another man here today who is an honorary citizen of New York for this week. Any time he wants to take out his final papers it will be O.K. with us, and that is Walter Reuther.

and that is watter keutner.

Coming to you today my mind turns back to many of my old friends and coleagues, men with whom I worked so long, and whom I would were here with us today. I speak of Bill Green and of Philip Murray. And yet I am sure that they are with us this morning in spirit. They did so much to make this day sible. In our hearts they will live DOS-

sible. In our hearts they will live on forever as our guide and inspiration.

It is fitting, too, that you should have picked New York, because New York State has led in producing the great friends of labor, and in laws to advance the welfare of the working man. And we feel that spirit here too with us this the welfare of the working man. And we feel that spirit here, too, with us this morning—Al Smith, Franklin Roosevelt, Senator Robert Wagner, and New York's former great Governor now fighting the good cause in the Senate, Herbert Lehman.

good cause in the Senate, Herbert Lehman. Seven years ago in Cincinnati Bill Green introduced me to the A. F. of L. convention. I still recall what he said, "Remember, you are among friends." And I have been greeted in that same way when I have spoken at conventions of the CIO. That is why I addressed you as my friends, and that is why I feel I am among friends this morning.

my friends, and that is why I feel I am among friends this morning.

For more than 20 years I have had the privilege of being associated not only with Bill Green and Phil Murray, George Meany and Walter Reuther, but with many others of you here today. I wish I could mention each one of you by name. But as a former railroad man I have noticed an old friend of mine has been here, and that is W. P. Kennedy of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, also H. E. Gilbert of the Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen. Does this mean that they are going to follow the example of George Harrison? Maybe that won't be a bad idea. idea

idea.

During all these years and in many ways we have worked together to promote the cause of freedom and the rights of man. We have fought together to create and carry out domestic and foreign policies that have had this underlying purpose: to bring more liberty, more security, more opportunity, and more dignity to all men everywhere.

That has been the common denominator of everything we have done together—at home and abroad—from the NRA to the Marshall Plan, from social security to Mutual Security and NATO.

to Mutual Security and NATO.

And so I feel very much at home in talking with you this morning. No group in America has had a better understanding of the needs and aspirations of free men. No group has done more to combat communist subversion at home and abroad. No group has supported our government more forthrightly in its efforts to build a system of collective security in the free world. As an American, I am proud of your achievements. achievements

The AFL-CIO now joined together is not just an addition of your separate strengths—it is a multiplication of your strength for carrying on those causes to which you are now rededicauses to which you are now rededicated. Your responsibilities are great, and so are your opportunities. I know that you are going to fulfill the great promise of this marriage.

promise of this marriage.

Yet unhapplly, there are people in high places who don't like your marriage. Of course, these are the same people who didn't like you when you were single. It's not like when you were single. It's not like when people, disapproving of a marriage, shake their heads and say, "No, it won't last." What these enemies of American labor fear is that this marriage will last and that it will grow stronger in its bonds as time goes on. And at this very moment they are plotting and carrying on a powerful and systematic attack designed to weaken the influence of labor in American life.

This attack is a triple threat attack.

influence of labor in American life.

This attack is a triple threat attack. In the Federal Government, they have packed the administrative agencies with men who are anti-labor. In the State legislatures they are turning out union-busting laws wherever they can under the guise of right-to-work. And then to make it impossible for labor to fight back, they are attempting to strip labor of its political rights, to split labor and the public, and to drive a wedge between the working man and labor leadership.

Who are the men who really carry

Who are the men who really carry weight in the Federal Administration, the Eisenhower Administration? They are not men like Marty Durkin, who are not men thoughts today. You know what happened to him when he is so much in our thoughts today. You know what happened to him when he tried to make good on the promises of President Eisenhower to labor which he made in the campaign. Of course there are still men in the Administration who have a sympathy for labor. But look behind the window dressing and whom do you see?

You see the ways who some yourse.

and whom do you see?

You see the man who, some years ago, because of his anti-labor record was chosen to make the wind-up speech in the House in behalf of the Taft-Hartley Bill. You will remember that as a measure even worse than the final Taft-Hartley Act. Who is he? The Vice President of the United States, Richard Nixon.

And then we had Charlie "Bird Dog" Wilson.

And next, you see a man whose auto-mobile agency in Oregon has been ad-vertising for strike-breakers, as you

Machinists know. And that is the Secretary of Interior McKay.

We thought we had seen the end, my We thought we had seen the end, my friends, of men being shot down on the picket line, but it happened again in these United States of ours, just a few weeks ago in Indiana. And who had been a principal officer in the company concerned before he was called to Washington? An Assistant Secretary of Commerce, Teetor.

Is it any wonder that the NLRB has been turned over to men with long anti-labor records? Or that these same men have tried to use the Taft-Hartley Act to bust unions, as they did a few days ago in the case of a UAW local in

Indiana?

You remember what President Eisenhowever himself said, that the law ought to be amended so that it could not be used to bust unions. But it not be used to bust unions. But it hasn't been amended, and now his very own appointees are using it for that purpose. That certainly wasn't the interpretation of the law when there was another man living in the White House, and that is Harry Truman.

Now I want to make it very clear that I am not talking politics this morning. I am just talking about history.

I never thought we'd come back to the anti-union attitude that would per mit a trade union to be prosecuted for interviewing a political candidate on a news program. Well, the U.A.W. was recently indicted for that—by action of the Attorney General of the United States.

States.

And just the other day, the rise of the trade unions in the United States was compared to the rise of the Nazi party in Germany. And who do you suppose did that? He's the National Chairman of the "Salute to Elsenhower" dinners—dinners in honor of the President of the United States! I don't think any of you in this armory would want to sit at the same table with him, let alone pay one hundred dollars for that privilege.

Is Mr. Crawford so ignorant or so biased that he doesn't know that one of the strongest bulwarks both against communism and fascism has been free trade unions?

Now all of these men I have been

rade unions?

Now all of these men I have been talking about know that if labor can be stripped of its political rights, the economic rights of labor can be destroyed as well, and that is the motive behind what is going on today.

But we are not going to let them get away with it. We will never permit labor to be forced to sign a political yellow-dog contract. My party—perhaps you know what that is—may not represent the majority of the corporation presidents in this country, but we do represent the majority of the American people. And once the American people understand what is at stake they won't stand for what is going on, either.

they won't stand for what is going on, either.

We need more, not less, participation by working men and women in American political affairs. I hear that was challenged this morning in a newspaper by a prominent member of the Administration. You know and I know that there are a lot of things to be done.

We need more, not less, participation

by working men and women in American political affairs—because you and I know there are a lot of things to be done. A fundamental thing we have to do is to continue to expand our economy. We have a growing labor force, with a rapidly increasing productivity, which will be still further heightened by automation. I am convinced we can—taking 1934 as a base—increase our total national output by 50 per cent in the next decade.

This is a glorious opportunity to improve This is a giorious opportunity to improve living conditions for all of our people. And it is also a necessity. If we don't increase our total production and consumption at such a rate, we won't use all of our manpower—and that would mean built-in unemployment, with all the unhappy consequences.

To get this expansion, ise and progressive n we must have wise and progressive national policies.
It is up to labor to make its voice heard to make sure we have such policies.

to make sure we have such policies.

And I congratulate those of you, your leaders who have been making that plain. One thing we must do is see to it that every group in the population shares in our progress. It is your job to see that labor's ability to produce is paralleled by it ability to buy the produce is paralleled by it ability to buy the produce together, then those that lag behind will drag down everybody else. And, right now, all

rag now, It everybody else. And, right now, all groups are not advancing together. It is true big business is prospering at an all-time record, but small business is nor prospering to the same degree. And some of them are in difficulty. Nor has labor progressed as rapidly, and the most serious, there are hard times again on the

ous, there are hard times again on the farms all over our country, and right here in New York State as well.

Farm income is over 25 per cent below three years ago. Now that is not right and it is a threat to the well-being of everybody else. This agricultural recession or depression, simply cannot be permitted to continue.

I salute organized labor for its under

I salute organized labor for its under-standing of this, and for the way it has been and is battling for the right of the American farmer to have his fair share. I only wish that others were as farsighted and as understanding as you men and and as unde

women here.

We must identify the reasons why so many among us live in poverty and do something about it. Unhappily every fifth family in America has an income of less than \$2,000, and about half of these have less than \$1,000.

less than \$1,000.

It is shameful that in the midst of our great prosperity there should be this misery. And since these people neither produce nor consume what they should, they are a drag on our national economy and progress. We have got to help them raise both their productive power and their incomes. As we do, we will eliminate a blight on our society and strengthen our whole economy. economy.

economy. I ask you men of organized labor to take an interest in the problems of labor that is not organized, and I am going to ask you to help me in that. Here in New York the state administration is attacking this problem of poverty in all its forms. We intend to enlist the help of all organizations, public and private. Right here and now, I ask your help, and I know I am going to get it. But it can't be

done only at the state level; it has got to be done on a national level.

got to be done on a national level.
One line of attack is through minimum wages. Despite President Eisenhower's position that this prosperous economy of ours would be overburdened by a minimum higher than 90 cents, the Congress did raise the floor to \$1.00. Now that is improvement, yes, but it is not high enough. It ought to be raised to the figure I urged last year, and that was \$1.25. And the coverage of the law should be extended. be extended.

Our other security and labor legisla-tion is far behind the needs of the day, and this goes for our housing prob-

lems also.

In employment insurance, it is time to take the best elements of the vari-ous state systems and incorporate them into national minimum standards. This would end the use of substandard unemployment benefits as a means of unfair competition among the states unemployment benefits as a means of unfair competition among the states in attracting industry. And this should end the withholding of any compensation from those having annual wage benefits under collective agreement.

We need many other things: equitable retirement benefits for widows—better rehabilitation services for the handicapped — better education and training services—a national system of insurance for temporary disability, and retirement benefits for those permanently disabled.

manently disabled.

The number of older people and their needs are growing. In New York, we have brought together the best thinking of our State on the problems of the aging in all their aspects.

Now we expect to get their recommendation shortly, and on that basis we are going to develop a program in this State which I hope will enlist everyone's cooperation. And here again in this I ask your help. I know many of you are as much concerned over these problems of the aged as I am. In fact, I want to tell you that I got started on this line because of the advice that I got from one of your members, Dave

on this line because of the advice that I got from one of your members, Dave McDonald.

We all know we are way behind on education. It is a fundamental obligation of our society to see that every child has a fair and equal chance for a decent education. The future of our country depends upon it. To fulfill our obligation, we clearly need a program of Federal aid.

There is the problem of medical care. Surely we can find a way—with the help of our doctors—to see that good medical care is available to everyone, without the bankruptcy that now comes to many families when they are struck with catastrophic illness.

In all these ways, we've got to get

with catastrophic illness. In all these ways, we've got to get out of the era of the Model T in our social thinking and catch up with our fast-moving economic development. After the war, when free men needed help to rebuild their lives and to stem the advance of communism, you were there first. You sent a man I came to know and respect—Irving Brown. Later, when the Marshall Plan went into operation, you came in as full-fiedged, full-time participants—helping to make and carry out American policy. and carry out American policy.

To this day, I doubt that most Americans have any idea of what we owe to those labor men who went abroad, and to the support we all got from American labor back home. They came from the A. F. of L., from the CIO, from the Broth-A. F. of L., from the CiO, from the Broth-erhoods, and became top members of my staff in Paris and of other missions. And I tell you that without their help the Marshall Plan would never have accomplished what it did to rebuild vi-tality and the conditions of freedom in the countries of Western Europe and

tality and the conditions of freedom in the countries of Western Europe and prevent communist domination that otherwise would have been inevitable. Free labor in all these countries was one of the strongest forces against communism. The backing of American free labor strengthened them immeasurably. then you joined with free world in establishing the around the

LC.F.T.U.

I see representatives of many countries in this hall and some of them are

very old friends of mine.
Of late, the free world has been losing Of late, the free world has been losing ground in the struggle with communism, and I doubt that anyone knows this better than you. I am sure your colleagues in the I.C.F.T.U. have told you this week how much the unity and position of the free world have suffered recently—especially in the past three

Now, I want to make it clear that I believe our government should always be ready to negotiate at any level with

be ready to negotiate at any level with the Kremiin leaders, providing we do not also let down our guard. Unhappily, at the Conference of the Summit in Geneva, our President was quoted in the press as crediting the Rus-sians today with no less a desire for peace than that of the West. As a con-sequence there occurred a psychological disarmament throughout the free world. disarmament throughout the free world.

disarmament throughout the free world.

The President's statement of course was qualified afterwards, but unfortunately, the qualification did not eradicate the first impression.

It is a tragedy the President didn'd osomething else at this Conference. He mentioned, but he did not keep insisting that Stalin carry out his wartime agreements to permit free elections in Poland and Eastern Europe. That is a principle that we must always stand on, and that is a principle that we must always make clear to everyone in the world, that self determination of nations is the basic principle of our foreign policy everywhere in the free world. in the free world.

Well, at the Summit Conference

Kremlin achieved relaxation of tensions—and not just relaxation of tensions, but relaxation of effort. And sions, bu they did not give in one inch achieve these results.

George Meany pointed out bluntly last summer the dangers of accepting the so-called "Spirit of Geneva." I did the same while I was in Europe. We were not popular at the time. But the warning needed to be sounded, and it still needs to be heeded.

Three years ago, Soviet communist influence had been stopped and rolled back in Western Europe and in the Middle East. The Kremlin leaders admitted as much, even before Staling and the Communication of the Communication mitted as much, even before Stalin died, at the Communist Party Congress in October, 1952. And at that time they

laid out new tactics-the tactics co-existence. 'peaceful

peaceful co-existence. Since then the new group in the Kremlin, even though weakened by the death of Stalin, has carried out this policy with great shrewdness. I will repeat here what I have said before, and that is that at Geneva, and since Geneva, the Kremlin leaders have achieved a major political break-through. through.

ee it in the increasing difficul-Western Germany and in the We see ties in Western Germany and in the situation developing in Berlin. We see it in the intrusion of the Kremlin in the explosive situation in the Middle explosive situation in the Middle st. We see it in the fantastic tour Khrushchev and Bulganin in India of Khrushchev and Bulganin in India and Burma, where they are being hailed as the apostles of peace and human welfare. And what are they saying in Asia? Khrushchev, the new strong man of the Kremlin, has had the affrontery to hurl this accusation, and I quote, "The English, French and the Americans started the Second World War and sent new troops against our country—the troops of Hitlerite Germany." This uncouth man is the same Khrushchev who, we are told, is a man of good will.

Khrushchev who, to good will.

The plain fact is that the Kremlin has breached the lines so carefully built in the alliance of free men. We must set about rebuilding these lines, mosition again to take the

initiative

There are many things we must do rally and strengthen the free peo-les. In addition to maintaining mili-try defenses, we must identify ourples. In auditory defenses, selves with the hopes and aspirations of people everywhere. In many countries the communists have been more

tries the communists have been more successful in doing this than we.

In this endeavor you have a vital role to play. You are in a position to bring effectively the American message to those who are desperately struggling to lift themselves out of poverty and to convince them that false promises of communism will bring them only a new bondage.

new bondage.

They need technical and economic They need technical and economic assistance. But they need as well assistance in organizing and developing those institutions essential to free so-

You have already done much and I am grateful for what you have done; yet much more remains to be done in helping to organize and strengthen free labor movements everywhere.

We need a great remarshalling of

We need a great remarshalling of America's strength and will and talent to bear down on this job of helping other people help themselves. This is more than philanthropy, it is more than an expression of brotherhood—although it would be justified for these purposes alone. It is a simple necessity for our own survival in the world struggle against communism.

All of these matters foreign and do-

against communism.

All of these matters, foreign and domestic, affect the life of every trade union member and his family. It is labor's right—it is labor's obligation—to be heard on them. And from this week forward, labor united will speak out with a strong and clear voice.

Delegates to this convention, you have opened a new chapter in labor history—and in the story of our country. Let it be a glorious one!

May God bless your new enterprise; may God bless our country.

PRESIDENT MEANY: At this time Secretary Schnitzler will read a procla-mation of the Governor of the State of New York designating this week, De-cember 5 to 12, as Free Labor Week.

Secretary Schnitzler read the following:

Proclamation by the State of New York from the Executive Chambers:

"From the most distant corners "From the most distant corners of the world and from every part of the country men and women dedicated to the cause of free trade unionism will assemble in New York State to conduct the deliberations of utmost significance

to the free world.

"During the first weeks of December delegates from the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations will meet to merge their memberships into one body, thereby creating the largest body, thereby creating the largest democratic trade union organization in the world, free from government or

political dictate.

political dictate.

"A few days later leaders of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions will meet in executive session to explore how best they can bring new hope through broadened opportunity to exploited and poverty-stricken workers all over the world. In Asia, Africa and Latin-America there is tremendous need to bring a greater measure of economic security to the workers and to encourage the economic advancement of whole nations. Thus can we best achieve a durable peace and resist the encroachment of free labor's greatest enemy, communist totalitarianism.
"Spokesmen for 54,500,000 workers from

communist totalitarianism.

"Spokesmen for 54,500,000 workers from every part of the free world will make their headquarters in New York City during the meetings of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. During the six years of its existence, the ICFTU has been devoted to the principles of human rights and democratic freedoms. Under its banner, men and women of many religious, social and economic trades are united in common faith, in political freedom and respect for human dignity.

"We Americans are provide that the

and respect for human dignity.
"We Americans are proud that the
AFL-CIO plays a leading role in the
affairs of this world-wide organization.
Our people are proud that New York
State has been selected as the site of
these historic sessions. Here free trade
unionism was cradled. Here many of unionism was cradied. Here many of its leaders, some immigants, some na-tive born, rose to eminence in the councils of the nation. Here leaders of government chosen by the people brought new hope to the workers of this State through passage of pioneer-ing social legislation.

"Yet despite this voluminous history of progress, we know that much remains to be done. A united labor movement can best work for the goals of free labor which encompass many of the goals of all our citizens.

"Now therefore, I, Averell Harriman,

Governor of the State of New York do hereby proclaim the week of December 5 to 12, 1955, as Free Labor Week in the State of New York and call upon our citizens to celebrate this momenour citizens to celebrate this momen-tous occasion by according full recog-nition to the achievements of free labor and the struggle for peace and the strengthening of our democratic

"Given under my hand and privy seal of the State and the capital of the city of Albany, the 6th day of Decem-ber, in the year of our Lord 1955. Aver-ell Harriman, Governor of the State of New York."

PRESIDENT MEANY: In the name of all the delegates of this Convention of all the delegates of this Convention and of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations I express to the Governor our sincere appreciation for his visit here this morning and for the very fine address he delivered, also his thoughtfulness in proclaiming this week when we are meeting here in the great City of New York, as Free Labor Week.

Thank you very much, Governor York, as lank you very much, Thank Governor

Harriman.
... At this time James P. Mitchell,
Secretary of Labor, was escorted to
the platform.

PRESIDENT MEANY: For many years at conventions of the great labor federations of this country we have had the pleasure of having an address from the Secretary of our Department, a Department that was created more than 40 years ago to foster and improve the welfare and the interests of those who work for wages. It is always a pleasure to have a representative of that Department with us. While we may have our criticisms and our differences, we must never forget that the Department of Labor is a Department dedicated to the interests of all workers and that the trade unions are the spokesmen for all workers and that the trade unions are the spokesmen for all workers and that this is our Department. Department.

I take great pleasure in introducing to you the Secretary of Labor, the Honorable James P. Mitchell.

HONORABLE JAMES P. MITCHELL Secretary of Labor

Mr. Meany, members of the Executive Council, distinguished guests, delegates to this Convention, ladies and gentle-

The merger of the American Federa-tion of Labor and the Congress of In-dustrial Organizations is a high moment in American history.

I have no doubt that unity has been achieved. It will last, It will be a great force for good in the land.

great force for good in the land.
Organized labor in America has passed
an historic crossroad. I congratulate
you as you move on to a new highway
leading to loftler goals. And I congratulate all America which will benefit from the statesmanship of George
Meany and Walter Reuther and the
others who made the dream of unity
come alive. come alive.

The world beyond our shores will also be affected by this achievement,

AFL-CIO

Even the blindest and most prejudiced antagonist of the free way of life has had to be witness to how leaders of American labor have ended their split. Those very labor leaders who are char-acterized in communist propaganda as tools of Wall Street have used free and tools of Wall Street have used free and uncoerced negotiations to immeasurably advance the interests of American workers. And the forces which today stand attwart the advance of communism and barbarism in the world have here in this hall had a victory. American labor will speak in one clear and mighty voice on behalf of freedom so that workers wherever they may be, even behind the Iron Curtain, will know that free labor has scored another victory. victory.

As you know, I have always been in favor of the uniting of the A. F. of L. and the CIO. I have not hesitated to say so, both publicly and privately; to any rank-and-file union member I might meet at a local meeting or to the President of the United States. I have said it to businessmen, some of whom have expressed alarm and hostility about the merger. I have never flagged in my conviction that unity is in the broad public interest. In point of fact. I want to tell you here today that I am in favor of more unity.

am in favor or more unity.

I am delighted to note that the chief officers of two of the railroad brotherhoods are honored and interested guests at this convention. I hope that whatever differences that may exist between the AFL-ClO and the railroad brotherhoods can be composed, and that these great and venerable organizations will take their full and rightful place within the united labor movement.

united labor movement.

There are many independent unions in the land, some of them large and powerful, some of them small and comparatively weak. I would hope that they, too, will find their place in this united labor movement, working as united labor movement, workin harmonious, cooperative partners

I'm for unity all the way. And I predict that its great attractive force will eventually overcome those differ-

fully complete.

To this audience, I could let that ences which now keep it from being fully complete.

To this audience, I could let that statement stand, unqualified. You know that when I talk about unity I mean the unity of legitimate, bona fide, American-minded unions. But because what I am saying here may be heard or read by others. I must make it explicit that I know that you want no fellowship with organized rackets or communist organizations which use, and thereby debase, the name of unionism. On the contrary, one of the virtues of unity as I see it, is that it will isolate, and I hope destroy, the leadership of those so-called unions which prev upon their members, employers, and the community. They exist and you know they exist for either the financial gain of dishonest and unscrupulous men or for the equally dishonest and unscrupulous ends of subversion.

The AFL-CIO must hold them deadly enemies.

Now what are some of the things for

enemies. enemies.

Now, what are some of the things for which the increased strength of labor which unity brings should be used. It will surely bring the benefits and protection of unionism to more of our working people. It will surely make clearer and more emphatic the voice of labor in the field of public affairs. I welcome both these developments. Both, if I may say so, will help me personally in my job and responsibilities. As your President has said, the law which establishes a Secretary of Labor in the Cabinet of the President of the United States, directs him to "foster, promote, and develop the welfare of the wage earners." As unionism penetrates into the lower-paid areas of our economy—into the South and into the sweated, exploited trades—it can very effectively "foster, promote, and develop" those interests which Federal law makes my concern. working people. It will surely make concern.

oncern.

I believe that the size of this great federation will make it able to do a more effective job in serving the welfare of its members and the nation as a whole, in bringing the benefits of trade unionism to those not now enjoying its protection and advantages, and in making for greater labor-management peace between responsible unions on the one hand and responsible management on the other.

I believe that labor's voice in public affairs should be heard loud and clear. I believe that as American citizens you have a duty and responsibility to make your voice heard.

The leaders of this organization have

your voice heard.

The leaders of this organization have stated clearly that they do not intend to try to control the votes of union members. They have stated that labor does not intend to create a powerful economic pressure group or political pressure bloc. They intend instead to keep their members informed on all issues affecting the electorate, especially those affecting workers, so that workers can exercise their privilege and responsibility to participate freely in the Government of their country.

No one can object to that kind of

No one can object to that kind of political activity. Everyone should applaud and encourage that kind of po-

plaud and en litical action.

And as united labor speaks out on And as united labor speaks out on public questions, I look for its continued support of the principles to which I have so long subscribed.

These principles constitute a philosophy which believes in a strong, united labor movement:

labor movement:
A philosophy which has brought an increase in the minimum wage:
Which has tried, so far unsuccessfully, to extend the coverage of the minimum wage to the millions who need it so desperately:

A philosophy which supported and secured an extension of unemployment insurance to 4 million more people and an extension of social security to 10 million more;

supported and worked for improvements in state workmen's pensation, unemployment insurance comand other labor standards laws: a philos-ophy, indeed, which obtained more ac-tion in this field than has occurred in years:

It is a philosophy which supports the International Labor Organization as an instrument for raising the world's liv-ing standards; and eliminating forced labor.

A philosophy which cannot counte-

nance discrimination based on color,

And a philosophy which holds it a mistake for states to rush heedlessly into the passage of so-called "right-to-work" laws.

I look for your continued agreement with this philosophy.

How else do I look for important support from a united labor movement?

support from a united labor movement? I look for it in maintaining, extending and increasing our prosperity as a nation—a state of affairs in which the workers of America have a vital stake. The situation which confronts your new organization is indeed very different from those hard days of the 1930's which I am sure you remember as clearly as I. Today, you emerge united after struggle, and you find yourself in a very different America. It is an America where 65 million men and women have jobs; It is an America where the average factory worker makes more money

It is an America where the average factory worker makes more money than ever before. And he is able to buy more for himself and his family than ever before because his pay check is not being reduced by inflation. This is a stable America in which people are confident, industry expanding, production increasing; an America which for the first time in many years is operating on a sound fiscal basis with a balanced budget in clear sight. In bulwarking our prosperity as a na-

with a balanced pudget in creat again. In bulwarking our prosperity as a nation and ensuring that all of our people, the very humblest and weakest among them, enjoy its benefits, I beour peo-weakest tion and ensuring that all of our peo-ple, the very humblest and weakest among them, enjoy its benefits, I be-lieve very strongly labor-management relations play a large part. I look to the new unity in the labor movement to bring improvements in our union-management relations. If it does not, it will have falled to rise to what may very well be its greatest challenge. I do not think that there is one man or woman in this hall who would not honestly agree that collective bargain-

ag not think that there is one man or woman in this hall who would not honestly agree that collective bargain-ing can be improved. The interesting thing is that if this were a meeting of the NAM or of the Chamber of Comwould merce there be 8.

unanimity.

unanimity.

The outsider might say, "That's of no consequence. Both the labor fellows and the industry fellows say they want to improve collective bargaining. But what they really mean is that they want to see it changed to their own advantage."

You know, I don't really think that

I think, at bottom, both labor and in-dustry want to see collective bargain-ing improved in precisely the same way and for precisely the same reasons. They and for precisely the same reasons. They want to see the end results of collective bargaining arrived at without the loss and waste of strikes and lockouts. They want to see the final agreements reached without bitter, wounding, acrimonious exchanges. They want to go on living together after negotiations are at last concluded with no aftermath of unsettled scores and calling resert. are at last concluded with no aftermath of unsettled scores and salling resentments. I am talking, of course, about that ideal state to which both labor and management aspire. I am not so naive as to think that we will ever see the end of industrial disputes unless. Heaven forbid we should abandon our Heaven forbid, we should abandon our

But I firmly believe that we can come

a lot closer to that ideal state now with a united labor movement. I think the assurance that unity was at hand a lot closer to that ideal state now with a united labor movement. I think the assurance that unity was at hand made it possible for George Meany to speak on behalf of all labor for a "live-and-let-live" agreement with business. And I think the fact of that unity lends weight and seriousness to that proposal. I would hope that spokesmen for business and industry will respond to it in the same spirit.

But if they do not, I urge you to keep on trying. Keep on seeking and searching for ways to develop a broader base of understanding with American employers. And strive to make more fruitful your own day-to-day relations with those whose names are opposite yours on the contracts which establish the wages and working conditions for 15 million mighty important American men and women.

and women. The taproots of the American Labor Movement reach back to Colonial times. Even before we found unity as a nation, our forebears in this, our beloved land, banded together as journeymen and artisans for their own protection. Labor moves in that hallowed tradition which is the true American folkway as it grows firmer and more closely knit in unity. This, with God's will, has brought greatness to our country and hope to the world. Labor's unity will strengthen our concord as a people and weave us together even more surely than before. before

Ladies and gentlemen, because of what have heard in this hall this morning, want to say, because I couldn't leave I want to say, because I couldn't leave this platform without saying it, I couldn't leave this platform without indicating my feelings—I want to say to you that nothing, nothing in this world is more nothing, nothing in this world is more important than world peace. And I want to say to you that I have the honor and the privilege of working under the direction of a man who commanded your sons and your brothers and your husbands to victory in the greatest war in the world. And I want to say to you that this world knows that there is no other man in the world who has as intense a desire for peace as he, because he knows the horrors of war. And I want to say to you, please, please, let

he knows the horrors of war. And I want to say to you, please, please, let us not deter him, hamper him in his intense, continual quest for peace.

Mr. Meany, ladies and gentlemen, my very best wishes attend your endeavors here. May you mightily meet the needs of labor in the nation, as I know you will, with dedication, devotion, discretion and dispatch, and may you have a long and hamp life.

and happy life. Thank you

PRESIDENT MEANY: On behalf of this convention and all the delegates in attendance, I wish to express our sin-cere appreciation to Jim Mitchell for his visit here this morning and for the very instructive and interesting talk delivered 118. Thank you very much, Secretary Mitchell.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS ON STATE ANTI-UNION LAWS-(Continued)

PRESIDENT MEANY: Now we will return to the order of business which

AFL-CIO 55

was interrupted to hear the addresses. The report of the Committee on State Anti-Union Laws was read to you and the motion is to adopt the report of that Committee. Is there discussion on his question?

VICE PRESIDENT MacGOWAN: Mr. Chairman and delegates, I want to consume Just about two minutes to call your attention to one particular situation. As probably many of you know, our International Headquarters is located in the State of Kansas. We worked very closely with the Governor of Kansas, Fred Hall, in securing the veto to the Right-to-Work law which was passed by an overwhelming vote of the State Legislature. In doing so, he practically committed political suicide because all of the reactionary forces in the State of Kansas, well financed, well supplied with propaganda and perhaps supplied with propaganda and perhaps supplied with a black bag, lined up the Legislature in support of this law. The Governor had the courage and fortitude to exercise his veto, which was very nearly overridden and was only sustained by a few votes in the Legislature.

I think the labor movement of America holds a very great obligation to the Governor of that State to see to it that he is renominated in the Republican primaries of Kansas next August. He needs a lot of help, and I hope that we will not give encouragement to the right-towork advocates in other states by failing to bring about the renomination of Fred Hall next August.

PRESIDENT MEANY: The Chair recognizes Brother I. C. Welsted, the Secretary-Treasurer of the Virginia State Federation of Labor.

DELEGATE WELSTED: Mr. Chairman, members of the Executive Council and delegates to this Convention: I am from a state that is burdened with one of these Right-to-Work laws—in fact, not one but several—and I know the conditions down there. We are burdened with the law and we are harassed by certain political prostitutes who will wave the flag in one hand and cut democracy from ear to ear with the other.

mocracy from ear to ear with the other.

We have a big job ahead. There is only one way to erase these laws from the books, and that is through political activity. In that connection we need the help of the International Unions that have membership in that state. We have checked the registry of the membership of many of these unions and we find that where the officers are active, where they are willing to get out and work, 80 to 90 percent of the membership are qualified voters. But we also find, if you please, that where the officers are not active less than 20 percent of the membership are qualified to vote. That is the reason we have these laws. We have got to let these fakers in politics know that America is the right way of life for us and we intend of effeat those persons who do not subscribe to the policy of the American way of life.

Those laws were not only passed to prevent organizations; they were also passed to prevent political action as well. I can cite an example in Virginia where a group of 62 unions were organized recently by a union that is affiliated with the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. Upon investigation of those 62 adults living in Virginia who had just been organized, only two of them were qualified to vote. That is less than 2 percent of those workers who were qualified before they were organized.

The politicians in Virginia know that and they know if they get an active union with aggressive officers they are going to be taught political education and action and they don't want that. They don't want them in the State of Virginia. Our own Senater, if you please, Harry F. Byrd, was nominated by less than 18 percent of the adult population in the State of Virginia, and that is the reason you are harassed with him in Washington. Make no mistake about it, he has got a lot of power in the Southern group and he is using it against the International Unions in this organization.

organization.

I plead with the President and the officers of this great organization, that group that has been married and I hope will live happily together, to get more action in Virginia through the International Unions and assist the Virginia State Federation of Labor in its effort to have people become qualified voters and exercise their right of franchise and restore to Virginia the democracy our forefathers founded, but which has been destroyed by the use of reprehensible anti-labor laws and other things contrary to our American way of life. I will assure you that the International Unions will assist and we will welcome that assistance gladly and work with them in doing the job that lies ahead. Thank you very much.

. . . The motion to adopt the resolution on State Anti-Union Laws was seconded and carried unanimously.

PRESIDENT MEANY: As I told you yesterday morning, there is a great interest in this convention on the part of workers all over the world. As an indication of that interest we have visitors here from practically every country in the free world representing the trade union groups in those countries. A number of these visitors are on the platform. I am going to ask them to come back on the platform this afternoon and I hope we have them all together at that time. At the beginning of the afternoon session I am going to ask them to stand so they can be identified and take bows so they can be identified and take bows ovou know who they are as you meet them from time to time during this Convention.

Assistance to Kohler Strikers

I would also like to announce that the Kohler strikers who are represented here this morning by this very fine choral group could use some funds, if they are available, to assist them to carry out the strike. I would suggest that any International or local unions who are present give consideration upon their return to their offices to making some assistance available

to this group if they feel they can

In addition, I have been asked by a number of delegates this morning if it would be possible for them to make personal contributions, so I have arranged for representatives of the strikers, some of the choral group, to be at the exits at the conclusion of this morning's session, with some waste paper baskets available, into which those who care to can drop some good, legal United States tender for the assistance of these strikers. Please make note of that fact when you leave the hall this morning. the hall this morning.

There is great interest on the part of our friends in public life in this convention, and a number of them, of course, will from time to time drop in to see us.

At this time I would like to ask a very good friend of ours in the United States Senate who is on the platform to stand and take a bow: Senator Hubert Humphrey of the State of Minnesota.

SENATOR HUBERT HUMPHREY State of Minnesota

Thank you very much, Mr. Meany.
My good friends of the great new
powerful and responsible labor movement of America, the AFL and ClO,
this is going to be a short speech,
believe me. I want to wish you the
very, very best, and I want to congratulate and commend your leadership
and the delegates in making this great
unity of American organized labor a
reality.

reality.

Believe me, friends, this is going to be good for America. Being good for America. Being good for America, it is going to be good for you. I am delighted.

I am looking forward to seeing all of you in many parts of America in the coming months. I think you may have some idea as to what I refer. I shall be around and I hope that we will have good days, good times, and that all of your efforts will be crowned with success. God bless you and more power to you.

power to you.

... At 12:00 o'clock noon, under suspension of the rules, the Convention was recessed to reconvene at 2:30 P. M.

SECOND DAY—TUESDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

The Convention was called to order by President Meany at 2:30 o'clock.

MEANY: recognizes Secretary Schnit Schnitzler

COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Schnitzler read the following communications:

UNITED STATES SENATE Washington, D. C. December 3, 1955

Messrs. George Meany and Walter Reuther

American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations 71st Regiment Armory 34th and Park Avenue New York, New York

Dear George and Walter:

"I most keenly regret that I could not accept your invitation to participate in the historic deliberations of the American Labor Movement now going on in New York City, Hard as I tried, I could not rearrange my schedule so as to be in New York this week.

as to be in New York this week.

I need scarcely tell you that I rejoice greatly—as the whole nation should—that the 15 million members of the A. F. of L. and the CIO are now gathered into a single organization representing, with their families, more than a third of the people of our country.

of the people of our country.

Yet this merger marks not the summit of the growth of the American Labor Movement, but only a new beginning . . a new opportunity to concentrate on the organization of the still unorganized. There is no more vital challenge than this one. Such organichainings than this one, such organi-zation will help give new impetus to our economy and bring social justice and a higher standard of living to hun-dreds of thousands of our fellow citizens.

dreds of thousands of our fellow citizens.

As separate organizations, your achievements have been monumental. This time of congratulation upon your merger is also an appropriate time to acknowledge the debt that our country owes to both the A. F. of L. and the ClO for their support of many vital causes which go far beyond the immediate concerns of simple trade unionism. Your organizations have been among the vital bulwarks of our democracy and among the most effective forces for an expanding and dynamic economy. But the accomplishments of the past furnish only background for the challenge of the present. Our problems today are heavier, not lighter, than before. The threat from communism abroad and reaction at home grows greater, not less. The peace of the world, and the preservation of the United States as the world's fortress of these who

Our immediate and specific problems include: (1) the threat of those who would plunder our natural resources; (2) the threat of monopoly and the

stifling of our free, competitive enter-prise system; (3) the continued denial of equal rights to some of our citizens, and (4) the uneven distribution of the benefits of prosperity among all sec-tors of our economy and among all our

These problems must be met and faced along with the great overriding problem of our very survival in this

yes, in one organization, under unified leadership, you now hold part of the fate of the nation and of the free world in your hands.

Doubled in strength, you are re-

Doubled in strength, you are re-doubled in responsibility. But I am confident that you will discharge this responsibility with dedication and distinction.

I am proud that my State is serving host to your historic convention. as host to your historic co Welcome and congratulations.

Very sincerely yours, Herbert H. Lehman United States Senate."

December 5, 1955

New York, N. Y. George Meany, President, AFL-CIG AFL-CIO

May I offer congratulations on the merging of The American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations. The union of these two should further the security and growth of our nation. The Navy appreciates the added potential such action can give our defense team.

CHARLES S. THOMAS, Secretary of the Navy.

December 5, 1955

New York, N. Y.

Mr. George Meany 71st Regiment Armory, New York

Tist Regiment Armory, New York
The Navy extends congratulations and
best wishes on this noteworthy occasion.
The significant accomplishment in merging these two great organizations provides
additional national strength in the preserving of our American ideals. I am
sure that the historic record of teamwork
between American Labor and the Navy
in combatting the enemies of our nation
will continue in greater measure than
ever before.

ADMIRAL ARLEIGH BURKE, Cmm. Chief of Naval Operations.

December 5, 1955

New York, N. Y. Mr. George Meany Statler Hotel

Statler Hotel
On the occasion of the merger of The
American Federation of Labor and The
Congress of Industrial Organizations I
take this opportunity to extend the
greetings of the Office of Naval Material. The contributions of labor
unions and their members to the defense efforts are a matter of record.
This continued teamwork will, I am
confident, keep strong the nation's defenses and assure peace in the world.

VICE ADM. MURRAY ROYAR.

VICE ADM. MURRAY ROYAR, Chief of Naval Material.

December 5, 1955

New York, N. Y. George Meany, President, 71st Regiment Armory, N. Y. AFL-CIO

Tist Regiment Armory, N. Y.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People hails the birth of the AFL-CIO as a propitious step toward industrial democracy. As the free world's largest and most powerful trade union movement, the AFL-CIO now has the opportunity to demonstrate to all the peoples of the world that American labor is united in support of our nation's democratic ideals of equality, freedom and justice for all, irrespective of race, color, religion or national origin. We in the NAACP are confident that you will insist upon and adhere to these principles within your ranks and invite you to join with us in the struggle to secure for all Americans the rights and privileges guaranteed by the Constitution. As you enter this new era we congratulate you and assure you of our cooperation in our common cause of making our country a happy and prosperous land in which no man is favored or rejected by reason of such irrelevant considerations as race or religion or nationality.

BOY WILKINS ligion or nationality.

ROY WILKINS. Executive Secretary

December 5, 1955 New York, N. Y. George Meany, President, AFL-CIO 71st Regiment Armory, New York

The Ukranian Congress Committee of America representing a million and a half Americans of Ukrainian descent of whom a preponderant majority are members of AFL-Clo extends its warmest congratulations to you upon election to the presidency of the largest free labor union in the world and sincerest well wishes of continued growth and success to the newly established organization which, like both its components in the past, will continue to work for the freedom of labor and the rights not only of labor but also of human beings and nations throughout The Ukranian Congress Committee and the rights not only of labor but also of human beings and nations throughout the entire world until the threat of enslavement by the Russian Communist menace shall have been eliminated. We are with you and pledge our cooperation in all your noble undertakings. STEPHEN J. JAREMA, Executive Director, Ukrainan Coursess Committee of

Ukrainian Congress Committee of America.

SS Ancon,

AFL-CIO 71st Regiment Armory, New York

Congratulations on long erger. May labor's highest awaited merger. May lab expecta-

CREW, SS ANCON,

December 6, 1955

December 5, 1955

Detroit, Mich.

WILLIAM F. SCHNITZLER, 71st Regiment Armory, New York

As symbolized in the firm clasping of strong hands, which depicts the spirit of true union brotherhood the AFL-CIO today has successfully set the pattern for all to follow in the resolving of all grave and serious differences that may arise amongst men and even between nations the world over. As a visitor I have been privi-

leged throughout this great panorama to witness the unfolding of the most advanced program yet to be inaugarated in behalf of the people who toil for their existence. Therefore, in behalf of the union which I represent, may I extend to President George Meany, to Walter Reuther, to the officers and to the delegates assembled here sincere congratulations upon a job of far reaching magnitude that has been done well.

JAMES C. McGAHEY, President, International Union, United Plant tional Union, Unite Workers of America. Guard

December 5, 1955

New York, N. Y. Chairman, AFL-CIO Convention Tist Regiment Armory, New York
Your unity convention is a happy

Ist Regiment Armory, New York
Your unity convention is a happy
day for all who have been associated
with the labor movement. We have
been proud of the fraternal relations
toward ORT by the leaders and many
affiliated unions of the AFL and CIO
for many years. We are confident that
the united family of labor will provide even greater opportunity for advancing the aim that ORT and labor
share in common of working for higher
living standards, improved quality of
skills and greater opportunity for vocational education to peoples everywhere... where.

American Labor ORT. ADOLPH HELD, Chairman.

December 5, 1955

Miami Beach, Fla. WILLIAM SCHNITZLER Secretary-Treasurer of AF Dallas Room, Hotel Statler:

Dallas Room, Hotel Statler:

Congratulations on the merger of
the AFL-CIO. This important event in
the history of the American Trade
Union Movement will guarantee the
benefits thus far achieved as well as
tuture gains to be made in the interest
of the workers of America. With ali
good wishes for a successful convention. Fraternally and cordially yours.
Striking Members of Hotel Employees
Union Local.

December 5, 1955

December 5, 1955

La Grange, Ill. George Meany, President AFL-CIO Con-

vention

The convention of the new united labor movement takes place upon the threshold of world shaping events. We have every confidence that the decision of the delegates will reflect the desires of the majority of the American people. On behalf of UAW-GM Sub Council 5, meeting in Hot Springs, Arkansas, we greet the delegates assembled at this historic convention.

HERMAN REBHAM, Secretary-Treasurer, UAM-GM Sub Council 5.

December 6, 1955

New York, N. Y. George Meany, President, AFL-CIO 71st Regiment Armory, New York

Greetings: The officers and members of the New York Photo-Engravers Union Number One of North America, assembled at a regular meeting of December 5, 1955 extend to you our heartfelt congratulations on this unique occasion of having your first convention as two great labor

AFL-CIO

organizations merged as one. Our earnest hope is that united labor of America, embodied in American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations will soon become a medium in our country to better the lot of American wage earners and to guide their destinies for higher attainment. Sincerely and fraternally.

DENIS M. BURKE. President, York Photo-Engravers Union Number

December 5, 1955

Port Au Prince

William Schnitzler,
71st Regiment Armory, New York.
Sincere wishes for full success of
AFL-CIO unity convention. Let us reaffirm faith in destiny of democratic
trade unionism.

NATHANAEL MICHEL, General Secretary, National Labor Union of Haiti.

December 5, 1955

Washinton, D. C.

Federation of Labor, Con-American gress of Industrial Organizations, 71st Regiment Armory, New York.

71st Regiment Armory, New York.

In the name of the International Peasant Union and the peasant movements of the captive European nations, we congratulate the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations upon the occasion of their union. We welcome this historically significant development as strengthening the forces of freedom, democracy, and social justice both nationally and internationally and look forward to fruitful cooperation on the international front in the fight for securing the freedom and independence of all nations as well as durable peace by defeating Soviet imperialism and any kind of human slavery.

DR. AUGUSTIN POPA,

DR. AUGUSTIN POPA, Acting President. DR. GEORGE M. DIMITROV, Secretary-General.

December 5, 1955

Washington, D. C.

AFL-CIO Unity Commitee, 71st Regiment Armory, New York

Unexpected circumstances have pre-

vented me from participating in your historic meeting. Wish the new AFL-CIO Federation every success in its en-deavor to improve labor conditions at deavor to improve

ABDEL RAOUF ABU ALAM, Labor Attache, Embassy of Egypt.

December 6, 1955

Washington, D. C. George Meany, Pres., AFL-CIO, 71st Regiment Armory, New York

Please accept my heartlest congratu-lations on being unanimously elected first president of the AFL-CIO. The new Federation has my very best wishes for success. Best regards.

THOMAS C. HENNINGS, Jr., USS.

President George Meany American Federation of Labor Dear Brothers:

The Berlin free trade unionists heartily greet the merger action. We hope that through this action not only free

your national aims will be promoted but that also the cause of peace and freedom in the entire world will be greatly served.

In brotherly solidarity

Ernst Scharnowski, Chairman Berlin Branch Trade Union Federation

(DGB)

To the Merger Congress of the CIO and the AFL

To the delegates of the Merger Congress I convey brotherly greetings and the wish that as a result of the actions of your convention an even greater epoch of the successful American before will be introduced. can labor history will be introduced which will serve as an example for the whole international trade union move-

Hans John, First President Railway Workers Union of Germany

ANNOUNCEMENT

Secretary Schnitzler read the follow-

There will be a free showing of union films and filmstrips: Tonight (Tuesday Tonight (Tuesday) at 7:30 o'clock— Second Floor Studio of ILGWU Build-

Second Floor Studio of ILGWU Build-ing, 1710 Broadways.

This is between 54th and 55th Streets.
All delegates are invited to attend.
Department of Education
American Federation of Labor and
Congress of Industrial Organizations

ESCORT COMMITTEES

President Meany announced the appointment of the following escort committees

mittees:
For Marion B. Folsom, Secretary of
Health, Education and Welfare, 10:30
a.m. Wednesday—Charles J. MacGowan,
A. J. Hayes, Richard F. Walsh, Joseph
Beirne, Joseph Childs.
For Rev. Father Raymond A. McGowan, 11:00 a.m. Wednesday—Michael
Fox, James A. Brownlow, L. M. Raftery, John Grogan, John Brophy.
For Omer Becu, President, ICFTU,
11:30 a.m. Wednesday—C. J. Haggerty,
Paul Phillips, James Suffridge, William
Smallwood, Jacob Potofsky.
For Thurgood Marshall, General Counsel, 3:15 p.m. Wednesday—David Dubinsky, Arnold Zander, A. Philip Randolph,
Emil Mazey, Willard Townsend.

REPORT OF RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE (Continued)

Co-Secretary Curran of the Resolutions Committee read the resolution on Taft-Hartley Act and the NLRB as follows:

TAFT-HARTLEY ACT AND THE

The Taft-Hartley Act has been law for over eight years. The stated policy of this Act, carried over from the Wag-ner Act, is to encourage the organiza-tion of workers into unions of their own choosing and to promote collective bar-

gaining. However, many of the detailed provisions of Taft-Hartley subvert these professed aims.

these professed aims.

In actual operation, the Act has been used to block union organization, to weaken unions, and to interfere with free collective bargaining.

The organization of the unorganized has been grievously hampered. Prior to Taft-Hartley the percentage of organized workers in the economy was steadily increasing. Since Taft-Hartley reduced, and two-thirds of the workers who are eligible for union membership remain unorganized today. By impeding the unionization of unorganized workers who stand in need of it, the Act threatens the standards of all organized abor.

ized labor.

The Taft-Hartley Act places serious restrictions on the rights to strike and to picket. Strikes or picketing for various purposes which were legal long before the Wagner Act are entirely prohibited by Taft-Hartley, and some strikes which are legal even under Taft-Hartley may be enjoined on the theory that they will create national emergencies.

The use of the labor injunction which

mergencies.

The use of the labor injunction, which had been virtually stopped in the federal courts in 1932 by the Norris-La-Guardia Act, has been revived by Tatt-Hartley, Under Taft-Hartley the government may seek an injunction in any unfair labor practice case prior to any unfair labor practice.

The Taft-Hartley Act injects the government into the writing of collective bargaining agreements. Under the Wagner Act unions and employers were generally free to make whatever collective bargaining contracts they thought ap-

erally free to make whatever collective bargaining contracts they thought ap-propriate. The Taft-Hartley Act, how-ever, restricts the benefits unions may achieve through collective bargaining agreements in numerous respects in-cluding union security, welfare funds, check-off arrangements, strike notices,

etc.
The Taft-Hartley Act itself places re-The Taft-Hartley Act itself places restrictions on union security arrangements which are wholly unworkable in industries with shifting employment patterns, such as construction, maritime trades, and the canning industry. In addition, by Section 14(b), it legalizes state anti-union-security laws, in defiance of the principle that national legislation normally overrides conflicting lation normally overrides conflicting

lation normally
state laws.

A host of other restrictive provisions
are also contained in the Act.

The victous anti-labor character of The vicious anti-labor character of Taft-Hartley was expressly recognized by President Eisenhower during the 1952 election campaign. At that time he made solemn promises to eliminate these provisions and bring about a fair law. Thus, in a speech to the Convention of the American Federation of Labor, the President stated:

"I have talked about the Tatt-Hartley Act with both labor and industry people. I know the law might be used to break unions. That must be changed. America wants no law licensing union-busting. Neither do I."
In this same speech he proclaimed:

"I will not support any amendments

which might weaken the rights of the

which might weaken the rights of the working men and women."
He praised the Norris-LaGuardia Act which limited labor injunctions, and boasted that it was passed under a Republican Administration. He spoke out specifically on this subject, saying that injunctions "will not settle the underlying fundamental problems which cause a strike." lying fundamental cause a strike."

He spoke in defense of the right to strike, saying "there are some things worse, much worse, than strikes—one of them is the loss of freedom."

of them is the loss of freedom. The President declared that he believed in strong unions, saying "weak unions cannot be responsible. This alone is sufficient reason for having strong unions."

He declaimed against the "heavy hand f Government intervention" in labor of Government intervention" in labor disputes and reaffirmed his faith in col-

lective bargaining.
And the President expressed his com-And the Fresident expressed his com-plete confidence that the Job of amend-ing the Taft-Hartley Act "can be worked out so that no fair-minded member of labor will consider the re-sults unreasonable."

Finally, he pledged "justice and fairness" in our labor relations laws.

After the election, unfortunately, these fine promises were ignored by the Administration

In March 1953, the House and Senate In March 1953, the House and Senate Labor Committee commenced hearings on Taft-Hartley revision. These hearings were quite extensive: the House Committee hearings lasted from March until the middle of May, while the Senate hearings ran from the latter part of March into June. Numerous witnesses from the ranks of labor and management appeared before the committees, as well as many outside labor relations experts. experts.

However, no one appeared to state to the Committees the position of the Ad-ministration on Taft-Hartley revision. No witness appeared, no Presidential

message was sent up, no Administration bill was introduced.

bill was introduced.

President Eisenhower had appointed as his Secretary of Labor, Martin P. Durkin. President of the Plumbers' and Plpe Fitters' Union. AFL. Mr. Durkin accepted the directive of President Eisenhower. issued shortly after the new Administration took office, to revise Taft-Hartley to eliminate its union-breaking provisions, and make it fair and just to labor. Month after month, Secretary Durkin labored to secure a fair implementation of the Administration's promises. tion's promises

tion's promises.

Finally, in the late summer of 1953, after detailed negotiations between the White House and the Congressional leaders, President Eisenhower renudiated the proposals for revision of the Taft-Hartley Act which the President had promised Mr. Durkin to support. Consequently and justifiably Mr. Durkin resigned. kin resigned.

During the whole of 1953 the Admin-istration sent no communication to the Congress on Taft-Hartley revision. In January 1954, approximately one year Congress on Taft-Hartley revision. In January 1954, approximately one year late. President Eisenhower finally sent to Congress a message on Taft-Hartley revision.

The President's message to Congress on Taft-Hartley amendments and the

AFL-CIO

implementing bill introduced by Sen-ator Smith (R., N.J.), instead of liberal-izing Taft-Hartley, proposed a few insubstantial improvements and offered

anti-labor provisions.

new anti-labor provisions.

Far from honoring its pledge of justice and fairness, the Administration's program would not have rid the Taft-Hartley Act of its union-busting provisions. It would have retained the one-sided, anti-labor injunction along with other major anti-labor Taft-Hartley provisions.

It would have added

would have added a new dangerous anti-labor measure on pretext of protecting states' rig dangerous anti-labor measure on the pretext of protecting states' rights. This provision would have legalized state laws which, under the guise of dealing with local emergencies, prohibit strikes and provide for compulsory arbitration of labor disputes. Yet during the campaign, President Eisen-hower declared against any trend to-ward compulsory arbitration in the

field of labor-management relations.

In addition, the discredited strike vote procedure which had been proved useless in wartime was recommended by the Administration for insertion into the Act.

into the Act.

This anti-labor program of the Administration was rejected by the Senate in May 1954. During the year and ministration was rejected by the sen-ate in May 1954. During the year and a half since then, Congress, evenly divided, has held no further hearings on Taft-Hartley and the Administra-tion has made no further proposals for its revision. The Taft-Hartley Act has unchanged on the statute remained books.

Though the language of Taft-Hartley Though the language of Taft-Hartley has remained unchanged, its interpretation by the Labor Board has not. On rumerous and important issues the new Board, a majority of whose members have been appointed by President Eisenhower, has overturned long established rulings, and given the Act a new, and almost always anti-labor, meaning. Indeed the Eisenhower appointees seem to have taken office with

that end consciously in mind.

The Wagner Act had been in effect since 1935 and as amended by the Taftsince 1935 and as amended by the Taft-Hartley Act since 1947. Interpretation placed on these laws over the years by the Board and courts had been reviewed by Congress on several occasions. Both before and after 1947, several bills which would have changed Board policies had been considered by Congress. Certain changes in Board policies, of course, were required by the Taft-Hartley Act. But aside from such changes, Congress had refused on a number of occasions since 1947 to require changes in other Board policies. This created the obvious implication that Congress had thereby given its approval to such other policies and intended them to be continued in effect. intended them to be continued in effect.

The new Board members, appointed by President Eisenhower however, have until now not felt themselves bound by these policies of the old Board. In line with their prior pronuncements, they have proceeded to promulgate widespread anti-union widespread anti-union well-established policies promulgate promulgate well-established policies changes in well-established policies covering a large number of important issues. They seem to have proceeded on the assumption that since they were appointed by a new Administration, they had a license to overhaul any or all of the Board's policies. They have proceeded to imbue the Board with the employer-oriented interests of the new

Administration.

It should also be borne in mind that the NLRB is supposed to be an independent agency, with quasi-judicial functions. Unless the Board and its staff can be free of influence or control, it cannot function in the independent and impartial manner required of a quasi-judicial agency. Clearly, the policy changes instituted by the new Board, in most instances over the opposition of one or both of the holdover members from the old Board, raise grave questions as to the independent, imquestions as to the independent, impartial, non-political and quasi-judicial status of the new Board.

Among these policy changes are the

following:

Jurisdiction: The new Board has (a) Jurisdiction: The new Board has drastically limited the establishments over which it will assert jurisdiction. This is legislation by administrative action, for proposals to diminish NLRB jurisdiction were rejected by Congress 1954.

in 1954.

The result is to deny even the limited protection of the Act to millions of workers who previously were covered. These employees no longer will be protected by federal law against discriminatory discharges and other employer unfair labor practices. They will not be able to obtain NLRB elections to determine their bargaining agent. And most states do not have laws which at all protect the rights of labor. labor.

Among the workers thus of the protection of the federal Act are the great majority of those em-

are the great majority of those employed in retail stores, power stations, TV and radio stations, daily and weekly newspapers, utilities, service companies, and all small businesses even including defense plants.

(b) Employer "Free Speech": Under the guise of protecting free speech, the new Board has sanctioned employer statements of plainly coercive character. For example, an employer pre-election statement that if the union wan the company "would be character. For example, an employer pre-election statement that if the union won the company "would be forced to move the plant" was held not to warrant setting aside the election; the statement was merely a "prophecy", not a "threat", and so was "not coercive". Similarly, a statement by a company lawyer that the company would not recognize the union even if it won the election was held to be simply a legitimate "expression of the employer's legal position".

(c) Captive Audience: It is no longer an unfair labor practice for an employer to force workers to listen to anti-union tirades on company time

anti-union tirades on company time and property, without affording the union an opportunity to reply. More-over, an election will, now be upset only if the employer addressed the captive audience within 24 hours be-

election.

fore the election.

(d) Majority Union Recognition: Another reversal of basic policy was made by the new Board when it held that an employer may refuse to accept a majority of signed membership cards as proof of a union's majority status. Employers are thus encouraged to re-

fuse recognition and to defer bargain-

ing until the union goes through a formal Board election.

(e) Interrogating Workers: Under

(e) Interrogating Workers: Under the old Board, there was a long-standing doctrine that it was intimidation and an unfair labor practice for an employer to question his employees about union membership and activities. Yet, fundamental as this doctrine was, it was overturned by the Administration majority of the new Board. (f) Responsibility for Unlawful Strike: A new doctrine entailing extremely harsh consequences for innocent members of a union was enunciated by the new Board in a case involving the discharge of employees who did not participate in an illegal strike and who either reported for work or were ill. Despite their non-participation in the strike action, the new Board uphel the discharges. Board upheld the discharges.

new Board upheld the discharges. It has also been held by the new Board that employees of one union, who respected the picket line of another union during a short 'hit-andrun'' strike, lost their protected status under the Act and were subject to discharge or other discipline. These employees, said the Board, forfeited their own protection under the Act by "joining" and "participating" in the unprotected strike of the other union. The Board thus struck at a vital artery of trade unionism because respect for a picket line is a fundamental obligation of union members. of union members.

of union members.

(g) Implied No-Strike Clause: Under a recent doctrine of the new Board, a strike may not take place until the expiration or reopening date of a contract even though the 60-day notice required by Taft-Hartley has been given and elapsed and even though the contract does not contain a no-strike

(h) "Hot Cargo" Clauses Unenforce-able: It has long been the practice of various unions to seek the inclusion in collective bargaining agreements of provisions permitting their members to refuse to handle "hot goods". Until provisions permitting their members to refuse to handle "hot goods". Until recently the Board regarded these clauses as valid and enforceable by strike or picketing, but the new Republican appointees have ruled that these clauses either are not valid at all or may not be enforced by the Union.

Union.

The foregoing are only some of the areas in which the Administration-dominated Board has established new policies. The anti-union nature of these policies is obvious on their face. Other additional examples of new policies might be cited. They, too, are almost uniformly detrimental to the most uniformly rights of labor.

Despite the major stated purpose of the Act to encourage genuine collective bargaining through unions freely chosen by the workers, the Board appears to be doing everything in its power to impede these objectives. It has clearly acted to impose anti-labor restrictions beyond those required by Taft-Hartley; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, 1. The AFL-CIO will press for the elimination of the evils of the Taft-Hartley Act and the enactment of a sound and fair national

labor relations law based on the principles of the Wagner Act.

2. The AFL-CIO condemns the Administration for its failure to live up to its campaign promises to rid Taft-Hartley of its anti-labor provisions.

3. The AFL-CIO denounces the administrative policies of the National Labor Relations Board, and the unnecessary manner in which the Board has, in effect, been legislating by administrative action.

COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY CUR-RAN: I move the adoption of the resolution.

. . . The motion for adoption of the resolution on Taft-Hartley Act and the NLRB was seconded and carried unanimously.
... Committee co-Secretary Soderstrom

read the resolution on Collective Bar-

gaining as follows:

COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

Free collective bargaining through strong trade unions has provided work-ing people with a meaningful voice in deciding the terms under which they work. It has functioned to translate the

work. It has functioned to translate the nation's potential for improvement into actual advances in working and living standards. It has thereby benefited immeasurably our nation as a whole.

Bargaining through trade unions has developed because individual workmen by themselves cannot bargain on an equal basis with their employers. It has grown despite only a slow and grudging acceptance by many employers and despite continued efforts of many other employers to do all in their power to resist it. We must do our best to assure its continued growth and to extend its benefits to the many workers still not represented by effective trade unions.

In a democratic nation it is appropriate that collective bargaining, free of

In a democratic nation it is appropriate that collective bargaining, free of government control, be encouraged and strengthened in place of unitateral determination by employers. For free collective bargaining is the most equitable means of deciding workers wages, means of deciding workers' wages, hours and working conditions, of assuring reasonable protection for the rights of workers against arbitrary and unjustly discriminatory employer actions, and of resolving the many individual human problems which arise in everyday work situations.

day work situations.

In addition to the moral and social need for adequate worker representation, collective bargaining is important as a significant force for strength and improvement in the American economy. As a major instrument through which trade unions succeed in raising wage levels, reducing hours of work, gaining health and pension protection, and otherwise advancing American standards of living, it has contributed heavily to the economic welfare not only of workers but of the general public and of business itself.

We must remain alert to the dangers

business itself.

We must remain alert to the dangers of government domination. Government interference and control of union bargaining activities can alter the character and destroy the advantages of the collective bargaining process. Collective bargaining by unions and employers must remain free of government control to function most soundly and effectively to function most soundly and effectively as a basic bulwark of a free society.

The collective bargaining picture in the past year has seen significant forward strides in almost every industry in the land. Our affiliated unions are to be commended for the substantial wage increases and benefit improvements they have achieved. Their gains have served as a major factor contributing to the general economic upswing of the past year. Continued wage and benefit advances are now required to sustain continued economic growth in the year ahead; now, therefore, be it the year ahead: now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, The AFL-CIO and its affiliated unions will continue to defend free collective bargaining and nurture as a major means in a democracy for gaining improved wages, hours, work-ing conditions and job security for workers and thereby contributing to the well-being and advancement of the nation as a whole.

The AFL-CIO and its affiliated unions will continue to fight for better wages, spurred by the knowledge that the nation's power to consume must keep pace with its growing power to produce. We will seek also in collective bargaining to reduce the workweek with no reduc-tion in take-home pay; to provide greater protection for workers against the economic hazards of illness, old-age, and irregular employment through such programs as health and welfare plans, guaranteed employment plans, improved insurance and pension plans; to liberalize paid holiday and vacation provisions; and to improve working conditions. All of these measures are nec-essary basic elements in our efforts to gain continued improvement in Ameri-can standards of living.

OMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY SODER-STROM: I move the adoption of the Committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

. . . Committee co-Secretary Curran con-tinued with the report of the Committee as follows:

DISTRESSED AREAS AND INDUSTRIAL MIGRATION

Although production and employment

Although production and employment reached record levels during 1955, many American communities failed to share in the general prosperity.

Of the 149 major labor market areas in the United States, 26 were classified last September by the U. S. Department of Labor as suffering from a substantial labor surplus. In addition, 94 smaller areas also had a substantial labor surplus, that is, 6 per cent or more of the total labor force was unemployed. employed.

Even of more serious consequence, in many of these areas unemployment is not only high, in some cases in excess of 12 per cent, it also has been of long duration and no relief is expected in the foreseeable future. These are the "chronically distressed" areas are the "chronically distressed" areas and there are more than 50 of them in the United States.

The problem of chronic unemployment is not new. In the past it was largely associated with the gradual

decline of areas in which the depletion of minerals and other resources was occurring. Today, however, the causes are more complex and the impact upon affected communities and upon the

nation is far more severe.
In modern times technological innovation, shifting product demand, and changing competitive factors, as well as raw material exhaustion, lead to shutdowns and drastically reduced demand, and tors, as well shutdowns and drastically reduced operations in many industries and in

operations in many industries and in all parts of the country.

In a number of instances, the depressed areas are the result of the movement out of the locality of particular firms and industries. Upon investigation many of the affected unions have found that these migrating firms have left their locality not for sound economic reasons, but because of special foundal indusements that were cial financial inducements that w offered them in their new location. were

offered them in their new location.

These special attractions have been of two types: (a) special financial subsidies in the form of free plants or equipment, tax exemptions or payments, reduced utility rates, and the like, or (b) more concealed types of the state ments, reduced utility rates, and the like, or (b) more concealed types of subsidies in the form of lower wage rates, open hostility to unionism, and a lower level of labor standards legislation. In effect, the use of these subsidies has seriously dislocated the nation's economy, caused widespread unemployment, and needlessly dis-rupted the pattern of industrial development,

The problem of chronic area unemployment predominates in, but it is not limited to, textile, coal mining, and limited to, textile, coal mining, and railroad centers. Wherever and when-ever a facility is closed or its output is sharply curtailed, and no alternative employment exists in the area, an calamity confronts the affected

locality.

In earlier times communities were often forewarned of an impending employment decline by the visible exhaustion of natural resources. Further-

tion of natural resources. Furthermore, the affected populations were generally small and often transient.

The chronically distressed area of 1955, on the other hand, has at its center an established city of homes, churches, schools, hospitals, commercial structures, and all of the other facilities essential to urban living. For years, and sometimes generations, families have lived and worked there and invested their savings to create a modern community. modern community.

We cannot solve the surplus-labor We cannot solve the surplus-labor problem of places like Lawrence, Terre Haute, Scranton, Charleston, Duluth, and Providence—or of substantially smaller ones—by telling the people to "pack up and go." The teacher, doctor, and storekeeper, as well as the wage earner, have deep roots in their home communities and a mass exodus is not

the answer.

A valiant local effort has already been made by many stricken communities to find employment for their displaced workers. These local "bootstrap" operations, however, have selective. Outside dom achieved their objective. Outside aid is clearly needed. Surely the entire nation has a stake in helping the hundreds of thousands

of our fellow citizens who live in dis-tressed areas. Americans have always tressed areas. Americans have alway had a reputation for their responsive ness to human need wherever it exists. Besides, the creation of suitable employment for displaced workers would add millions of dollars to our national output while, at the same time, millions would be saved by eliminating the social cost of idleness.

When Congress passed the Employment Act of 1946, it pledged all the resources of the federal government to the battle for maximum employment. In seeking to achieve this goal, surely the federal government must recognize and deal with unemployment as a local problem and not merely as a national to human need wherever it exists.

as a national

problem and not merely a one; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, The AFL-CIO calls upon the federal government to utilize all of its resources and to work uncessingly —in cooperation with labor, industry, the states, and the affected local gov-ernments—to alleviate chronic area unemployment in the United States.

Federal assistance should include the rederal assistance should include the establishment of a central coordinating agency to assist distressed areas, and the inauguration of a comprehensive program of technical aid, public contract priorities, loans and tax amortization benefits for new and expanding enterprises, public works grants, vocational establishments. tional retraining and supplementary compensation for displaced workers. This program should be geared excompensation for displaced workers. This program should be geared exclusively to the needs of substantial labor-surplus areas and its benefits must be specifically denied to any employer who undertakes to close or curtail his operations in one community in order to seek special advantages in another.

Furthermore, federal action is neces-Furthermore, federal action is necessary to discourage plant piracy—a practice which leads to the creation of distressed communities. The most important first step to be taken is to remove the federal tax-exempt status that now applies to interest received from municipal bonds, the proceeds of which are used to build plants for runaway employers. away employers.

Additional federal and state legisla-Additional rederal and state legisla-tion required to meet the problem of subsidized industrial migration includes an expanded Fair Labor Standards Act, a strengthened Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act, and improved state labor

legislation.

COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY CURRAN: Your Committee recommends adoption, and I move its adoption.

. . . The motion was seconded and was seconded and

carried unanimously.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Will the Escort Committee kindly bring Dr. Goldstein to the platform?

. At this time Dr. Israel Goldstein was escorted to the speaker's platform.

PRESIDENT MEANY: The Unity Committee, acting in its capacity as an Arrangements Committee for this Con-yention, has scheduled short talks from representatives of the major re-ligious faiths. Our movement in this country has always recognized the necessity for Divine guidance and for cooperation between labor and re-

ligious groups.

Ilgious groups.

In keeping with that arrangement of the Unity Committee, I am now proud to present to you the first of these speakers who will talk to us on the relation of religion to labor during the Convention. He is the President of the Albert Einstein Foundation for Higher Learning. He is one of the founders of Brandeis University, and since 1947 the President of the World Confederation of Zionists and the American Jewish Congress. Congress.

I take a great deal of pleasure in presenting to you Rabbi Doctor Israel Goldstein of the Congregation B'nai Goldstein of the Co. Jeshurun. Dr. Goldstein.

DOCTOR ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN Rabbi, Congregation B'nai Jeshurun, New York

President Meany, Vice-President Reuther, fellow Americans: I consider it a great compliment to have been invited to address this historic gathering. It is not unusual for me to officiate at unions and mergers between individuals of the opposite sex, but to have a part in a union and merger such as this is not an ordinary privilege. The traditional Jewish felicitation at a wedding ceremony, as some of you

nis is not an ordinary privilege. The traditional Jewish felicitation at a wedding ceremony, as some of you know, is "Mozel Tov", which means good luck and great success. So I wish this merger a hearty "Mozel Tov."
Having appeared on platforms of both the AFL and ClO, I flatter myself to believe that I am one of your many points of agreement. I use the personal pronoun generically to identify myself a Rabbi with members of the Catholic and Protestant clergy with whom I have shared the espousal of the cause of organized labor in its entirety.

I am confident that religious leader-

I am confident that religious leader-I am connent that religious leadership in America welcomes this merger of the two labor giants. It regards this event not only as a great day for American labor but as a great day for America. It is nothing new that religious leadership and spokesmanship, Protestant, Catholic and Jewish, regard the position af labor as one of the glous leadership and spokesmanship. Protestant, Catholic and Jewish, regard the position af labor as one of the touchstones of American democracy. They have stood at labor's side in many a crucial test as far back as the 1920s, crucial years for the labor movement, when the steel industry and the railroads were shaken by industrial disputes. The churches and synagogues then and since have played a not unimportant part in educating public opinion on the merits and the principles of industrial democracy.

Speaking as a Rabbi I deem it appropriate to recall not only the Mosaic and Prophetic tradition of social justice which has served both as text and inspiration to generations of dedicated servants of humanity, but also the role of the Jew, long oppressed and underprivileged, a pioneer in the struggle for a better day for all men. The American labor movement, on this historic day, has reason to pay grateful tribute to the memories of Samuel Gompers and Sidney Hillman among the architects of our industrial democracy.

AFL-CIO

To say that labor is a bulwark of American democracy is as much an axiom as to say that the welfare of our nation depends on the welfare of the majority of its people. It is the same axiom put in other words. Yet it is the ironical paradox of history that the simple elementary truths have had the hardest time and have evoked the most violent resistance. A united labor movement will have a better chance to impact a few simple truths than a divided labor movement. This chance to impact a few simple truths than a divided labor movement. This too is an axiom and it too has not had an easy time becoming recognized and accepted in the labor movement itself. Now that it has been learned may it never be unlearned. By the joining of forces, labor's power for good is not only increased but multiplied.

only increased but multiplied.

America has a tremendous stake in a labor movement that is strong, free and united. Being strong, labor will see to it that the gains which have been made are maintained and avanced. Labor conditions have reached a fairly high plateau, the result of more than two decades of continuous progress. But it is not a uniform plateau and it will not be straightened out until the reactionary Taft-Hartley law is revoked from the statute books and the phoney "Right to Work" laws—so called—have been exploded and puncis revoked from the statute books and the phoney "Right to Work" laws—so called—have been exploded and punctured wherever they exist. Moreover the plateau is only a relative one, relative to the cost of living index. If the index rises the plateau must rise. Labor's concern is not merely one of self-interest, though self-interest is the natural and legitimate starting point for all human activities. But there is a difference between self-interest and selfish interest. There is a self-interest which fits into the public interest just as in a series of concentric circles the diameter of the inner circle is part of the diameter of the larger circle if the circles fit properly one into the other. On the other hand selfish interest is ready to disregard, defy and violate the interests of the community as a whole. I believe it can be said for organized labor which is here represented that it represents a socially consclous and a socially responsible force, that in times of crisis for the nation it has proved itself worthy of its power, and that its leaders, Mr. George Meany, Mr. Walter Reuther and their associates, respectively, are not only industrial statesmen but leading American patriots. Walter Rearer respectively, are but leading patriots.

The American people as a whole, however, must recognize that a nation's prosperity which is not based on a good living wage for labor is false a good living wage for labor is false prosperity because it lacks a broad consumer's base. It is encouraging to consumer's base. It is encouraging to note that the great industrial corporations in America are risking huge expansion capital on this promise and that the general confidence in America's economic future rests on this proposition. The American public must also recognize that a nation's democracy which is not based on a free labor movement is neither genuine nor stable. Labor which is free will not tolerate any intrusion of totalitarianism in its ranks. The most reliable and the most effective force against Communism and against Fascism in America is not the coterie of cheap and vulgar patrioteers

who, under the guise of fighting Com-munism, would impair and even de-stroy our fundamental American freestroy our fundamental American freedoms. The most reliable and the most effective force against Communism in America is the labor movement. Being a school in self-government from the trade union local up, it is allergic to regimentation. Having brought the American worker the highest standard of living enjoyed by workers anywhere in the world, it is in a position to put forth the most convincing of all arguments, tangible results, under the American system of democracy. Thus, all in all, a united labor movement can be the most powerful single force for guiding and influencing the development of American democracy.

Permit me to say, however, that de-

guiding and influencing the development of American democracy.

Permit me to say, however, that democracy, like charity, begins at home. Every group in American life which looks upon itself as a force for democracy must make certain that its own inner credentials are beyond cavil, not only because the instrument must partake of the character of the end which it proposes to serve, but also because democracy as a way of life, if taken seriously, should be a way of life on all levels of association. Therefore I am pleased to see in your constitution that while the preamble sets forth the larger, over-all aims to which your newly formed organization is dedicated, the statement of objects and principles in your constitution spells out larger, oversall alms also in terms of the labor ranks themselves, "to encourage all workers without regard to race, creed, color, or national origin to share in the full benefits of union organization."

To transform this principle into living reality in the thousands upon thousands of trade union locals throughout sessignment.

country will not be an

assignment

I would like to interrupt to say that

I would like to interrupt to say that I am saying these things to you, not just pro forma. I am saying these things to you because I would like to listen to them, just as the organizations which I represent and have the honor to head listen very attentively to labor leaders who come to us to address us. In some locals there may be resistance to the admission of members "without regard to race, creed, color or national origin", resistance reflecting environmental prejudices. This resistance must be resisted. To do otherwise would be a betrayal of the American labor movement which has a history of resistance to racial discrimination.

The trade union movement can do

to racial discrimination.

The trade union movement can do more. Just as it prevents employers from denying employment or advancement because of membership in a trade union, it can and should prevent employers from discrimination against trade union members and other employees on racial or religious grounds. Its weapon for this purpose is the anti-discrimination clause which some unions now insert as a matter of routine in every collective bargaining contract. This now insert as a matter of routine in every collective bargaining contract. This clause should become standard practice and the unions should see to it that it becomes as vital a part of the contract as clauses relating to wages, hours and

working conditions.
At the same tim At the same time the trade union movement as a whole must redouble its efforts at every level of government to fight for non-discriminatory legislation, for Fair Employment Practice laws, against segregation and against every form of discrimination.

Recent excesses in some of the south-Recent excesses in some of the south-ern states present a particular chal-lenge. Lynching, it is true, is no longer the problem it used to be but in its place another potent form of mob rule has appeared, the economic boycott im-posed by so-called Citizens Councils. Labor has not only an American stake but also a labor stake in preventing Labor has not only an American stake but also a labor stake in preventing these excesses. The same people who fire Negroes or deny them credit because they have signed a desegregation peti-tion are also the ones who enlist the police to run a union organizer out of town or to hamstring an organizing campaign.

The most effective solution, of course, for the special problems in the South is simply to unionize its workers. Unionization of the South will do more than anything else I can think of, to elevate the moral standards of that region, to eliminate segregation, to end economic boycott and mob violence and what is perhaps the most important, to improve the quality of political repre-sentatives in the Government of the

United States

Another important area in which the labor movement can see to it that democracy begins at home is that of civil liberties. The labor movement has not done all that is within its power to do to protect its own members. There are many thousands of employees working for government contractors or employed as seamen and longshoremen, white collar workers, who are subjected to arbi-trary security risks and are often dis-charged without a hearing on the basis of go-called confidential information, confidential because it cannot stand the light of day. Indeed there are efforts on foot in Congress to extend the secuon foot in Congress to extend the security program to any industrial establishment which may be classified as a
defense facility. If this trend continues,
every trade unionist will soon have a
dossier in the FBI files complete with
his fingerprints, photograph and life
history of himself and his close relatives. This device can be readily used
for union busting. It must be resisted
not for that reason alone but because
on all fronts it is high time that the
American people recovered its sanity
without relaxing its vigilance.

It would be a healthy development if
labor had a representation in the United
States Commission which is looking into
the security program.

the security program.

I trust you do not mind this brief excursion into self-analysis focussing

excursion into self-analysis focussing attention upon our inner promises. For the accomplishment of all these objectives, a united labor movement can be incomparably more effective than a divided one. Two are not better than one if the two are two fractions of the same integer. One united whole

of the same integer. One united whole is incomparably more effective than two divided parts.

There are also and more so broader promises of democracy which can be better served by an American labor movement that is strong, free and united. The extension of educational facilities, the expansion of slum clearance and government subsidized housing

the improvement projects, the improvement and the building of highways, the education of the public to demand honesty and efficiency in city, state and federal government, and the encouragement of the liberal trend in American political life, these are some of the national items to which the American labor movement must give effective support.

Permit me to single out for a special observation the present immigration policy of the United States. You should be congratulated for the stand you have taken before the President's Commission on Immigration and Naturalization in urging an increase in the nave taken before the President's Commission on Immigration and Naturalization in urging an increase in the rigid numerical ceiling imposed by the McCarran-Waiter Act. But labor must do more. It must speak out against the fundamental evil of this Act, the national origin quota system with its built-in racist discrimination principle which gives the right to entry into the United States, not on the basis of character, or technical skills, or family relationship to American citizens, but on the accident of place of birth. It brands the stamp of inferiority upon races from which a large segment of American labor stems and upon stock from which many of America's foremost citizens originate. Labor should lead in the fight to rescind the racist immigration law which is a blemish on America's credentials in the eyes of the intervalvant. civilized world.

In the international arena labor has shown a commendable increasing inter-est in the foreign policy of the United snown a commence of the United states. The forces of labor, like the forces of religion, are both by nature forces of religion, are both by nature and experience international minded. Their contacts transcend national boundaries. Their vision is global. They are seasoned in international relations and their supreme goal is world peace. Long before the American people as a whole became aware of the sobering truth that in the age in which we live national isolationism is not only immoral but suicidal the labor movement was practicing cidal, the labor movement was practicing internationalism. It is not certain that the American people has been permanently cured of its isolationism. There are still rear-guard pockets of resistance to be found among segments of the population of the control of are still rear-guard pockets of resistance to be found among segments of our population, which political demagogues may seek to exploit when the hour may seem to them to be opportune. The American labor movement will be found vigilant. The voice of labor, seasoned in international affairs, should carry weight in the councils of government, for it is the very nature of democracy that government should give heed to voice a which represent huge constituenvoices which represent huge constituencies of the American people.

Just now there is a pressing item on the international agenda in which there is at stake the future of the greatest little democracy on the face of the earth, Israel. It is the only true de-mocracy in the Middle East as judged by the criteria of democracy as we know them, namely, universal suffrage, a free ballot, universal education, equality for women respect for human krow them, namely, universal suffrage, a free ballot, universal education, equality for women, respect for human rights, and above all a free strong labor movement. Eighty percent of the workers in Israel, including its Arab workers, belong to the Histadrut Israel Labor Federation. No other country in the Free World matches this record. It is fitting that we here recall the

noble part which the American labor movement has had in winning Amer-ican public opinion for the ideal and the reality of a Jewish state in Palesican public opinion for the ideal and the reality of a Jewish state in Pales-tine, one of the foremost moral achievements of modern history, civili-zation's atonement for the Nazi geno-cide of six million Jews. The names of William Green and Philip Murray, of blessed memory, are enshrined in the hearts and on the soil of a grateful neonle

people.

Nothing that I can say about Israel could be more friendly than what has been said again and again by George Meany, Walter Reuther and other leaders of the American labor movement.

This model industrial democracy is now This model industrial democracy is now endangered for its very life because of the hostility of the dictators of the neighboring Arab nations who tried in vain to destroy it at its birth, who hate its democracy and fear lest its example spill over to their domains. The hostility is not new. What is new is the shipment to Egypt of heavy arms supplies from Communist Czechoslovakia with the blessing of the Kremlin, which gives Egypt the military tools with which to implement its oft-declared vow to destroy Israel. to destroy Israel.

would be expected tha' It would be expected that when Egypt gives the Communists a foothold in the Middle East, the United States, leader of the democracies, would come to the aid of its tiny sister democracy. It would be expected that America's desire to safeguard the peace and stability of the Middle East would impel our government to dull Egypt's appetite for attacking Israel, by making available to Israel arms to belance Egypt's and by stating quite bluntly tite for attacking available to Israel arms to balance Egypt's and by stating quite bluntly—as I believe the American Government should state and as I trust you believe the American Government should state—that it will not permit aggression by any state against any other state in the Middle East. Yet up to the present time neither of these two essential

Any talk of compromises or concessions is not the way to solve the problem. The immediate task for the United States, which has been checkmating the Communist moves in other parts of the world as part of its peace strategy, is to rectify the arms imbalance now existing against Israel and to state unequivocally that it will not permit Israel to be destroyed. Israel's ordeal is a reflection of the moral forces in the world, which, like the labor movement, appreciates the unique significance of the light which shines out of Zion and the Holy Land.

The international objectives, like the domestic ones, have much to gain from a united labor movement.

Being more secure in its internal condition as a result of this historic

a united labor movement.

Being more secure in its internal condition as a result of this historic union, the American labor movement can march to its new goals with greater confidence. It will consolidate and secure its hard won gains, and it will win new gains not only for labor but also for the American people and beyond. This is your multiple and indivisible function.

There is also another aspect of our vision for the future with which I should like to close, an aspect not less relevant and even more decisive than

the economic aspect. I refer to the moral

'Ill fares the land to hastening ills

a prey Where wealth accumulates and men decay

Let our vision for America also encompass that other aspect. A nation as great as it is strong, whose affluence is matched by its character, a land whose shores contain not so much a melting pot producing an amalgam as an orchestra in which every racial strain and religious heritage lends unique enrichment, a people that still welcomes the stranger at the gate, a nation so confident of its democracy that it is not afraid to expose its mind to the free market of ideas, a land where the color of the skin no longer makes a man less or more than a man, a people seeking to win the world not alone with armaments and dollars but also with its ideas and human sympathy, a nation renew-Let our vision for America also enments and dollars but also with its ideas and human sympathy, a nation renewing its youth as an eagle, a land reclaiming its title as a new heaven and a new earth, a people under God whose children pronounce a three-fold benediction, once upon its past, once upon its present and once upon its future. To such a vision of America let us be dedicated a vision of America let us be dedicated.

PRESIDENT MEANY: I am sure that it is unnecessary for me to tell Dr. Goldstein of our feelings in regard to the visit and his very, very inspiring talk. I think you have done that by your response and by your rapt attention. I merely want to express to him in your behalf our sincere and deep appreciation for his visit with us today and

ciation for his visit with us today and for the very, very interesting and in-spiring talk which he has given you. Thank you very much, Dr. Goldstein.

INTRODUCTION OF FOREIGN VISITORS

PRESIDENT MEANY: At this time I wish to present to you, so that you may see and know them, a number of visitors see and know them, a number of visitors representing trade unions in various parts of the world. All of these men represent workers, some in very large numbers; others from smaller countries and smaller numbers. They all are united with the free American worker in the work of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and dedicated to the ideals and principles of a free labor movement. I will call their names one by one and ask them to step to the front of the platform. J. H. Oldenbroek, Secretary General. International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

Unions. Omer Becu, President, International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. Dhyan Mungat, Secretary, Asian Re-

gional Organization.

Mordecai Namir, Secretary General,
General Federation of Jewish Labor in Israel.
T. Nishimaki, Gene
Japan Seamen's Union. General Secretary, All-

Janan Seamen's Union.
Guillo Pastore, Secretary General, Italian Confederation of Labor Unions.
P. B. Perez Salinas, President, Venezuelan Confederation of Labor in Exile.
Sir Vincent Tewson, General Secretary.
British Trades Union Congress.
J. K. Tettegah, Acting General Secre-

tray, Gold Coast Trade Union Congress. F. L. Walcott, General Secretary, Barbados Workers' Union.

Nathan Bar-Yaacov, General Federation

of Jewish Labor in Israel.
Robert Bothereau, President, General
Confederation of Labor-Workers Force, France.

France.
James Campbell, National Union of
Railwaymen, England.
Giovanni Canini, Secretary Italian Confederation of Labor Unions.
Thomas Eccles, O. B. E., National Union
of General and Municipal Workers, Eng-

land.

Paul Finet. Vice President, Coal and Steel Community, Luxembourg.
Matthias Foecher, Deputy Chairman,
German Trade Union Federation.

C. J. Geddes, Gener of Post Office Workers. General Secretary, Union Bialis, International Free Trade

Union Center in Exile.
Adolph Graedel, President, International
Metal Workers Federation.

Arturo Jauregui, Acting Secretary General, Inter-American Regional Organiza-

Claude Jodoin, President, Trades and Labor Congress of Canada. Albin Karl, Vice-President, German

Trade Union Federation.

Olavi Lindblom, General Secretary, Cen-tral Federation of Finnish Trade Unions.

tral Federation of Finnish Trade Unions.
Louis Major, Secretary General, Belgian
General Federation of Labor.
Albert E. Monk, President, Australian
Council of Trade Unions.
Italo Vigilanesi, National Secretary of
the Union of Italian Labor.
PRESIDENT MEANY: These are our
friends. There are several more who were
here this morning, but I will present
them to you at a later date.

here this morning, but I will present them to you at a later date. I would like to give these visitors your assurance that they are welcome at this Convention. We are glad to have them here, and we hope they can stay through our sessions and that we can pledge to them and to free labor all over the world them and to free labor all over the world our continuing association and our con-tinuing interest in their freedom as a sort of requirement, if you please, for the maintenance of our own freedom. Let's give them a great, big hand.

PRESIDENT MEANY: The Chair re

ognizes co-Secretary Soderstrom, who will continue the report of the Committee on

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS—(Continued)

COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY SODER-STROM submitted the following resolu-

ECONOMIC POLICY

The healthy functioning of our economic system is of paramount concern to American workers. Workers know that a high level of employment and a constantly improving standard of living cannot be achieved without a sonatory without a conomic system falters, workers are the first to suffer from the cutbacks in production, resulting layoffs, and rising tide of unemployment. duction, resulting lay tide of unemployment.

Since World War II, the American

economy has shown an amazing vitality. Although our nation has had to absorb the impact of two recessions, in 1949 and 1954, neither of these temporary setbacks has led to a general catastrophe similar to that of the 1930s.

Organized labor is proud of the American economy and the role which unions have played in helping it achieve its present high level of production. By their pressure for improved wages, unions have succeeded in winning continuing advances in living standards for American workers. The nation's rising level of wages has contributed to the rapid expansion of workers, builting him the readers of tributed to the rapid expansion of workers' ability to buy the products of their labor.

Organized labor has likewise taken the lead in urging the Federal Govern-ment to assume a more positive respon-sibility for the nation's economic growth and stability. In the past 20 years, such government measures as those dealing with labor standards, taxthose dealing with labor standards, taxation, social security, and housing, enacted at the urging of our labor movement, have introduced a greater degree of stability into our economic system. The passage of the Employment Act of 1946 providing for government efforts to "promote maximum employment, production and purchasing power" and the acceptance by both political parties of the obligations imposed by this Act, testify to the significant change that has taken place in the Federal Government's role in economic affairs.

The economic situation we face today

The economic situation we face today is quite different from that of a year ago. General economic activity has increased substantially since the fall of ago. General economic activity has in-creased substantially since the fall of 1954, when increased consumer spend-ing began to lift the levels of output and sales out of the recession. Trade union strength together with economic and social legislation, had helped re-duce the impact of the 1954 downturn and has contributed to the improve-ment in economic conditions of the past vear.

The nation's total production of goods and services has risen over 9% since the spring of 1954, when the low-point of the economic downturn was reached. This increase in output, one of the largest in recent years, stands as a concrete demonstration of the nation's capacity for continued economic growth.

substantial expansion of consumer

A substantial expansion of consumer credit and mortgage debt, combined with a rise in inventories, have helped sustain the great advances in production and sales during the past year.

The gains of the 1955 recovery have not been distributed evenly among all groups in the population. Between the first nine months of 1954 and the same period of 1955, farm income has dropped 10%. Compensation of employees has period of 1955, farm income has dropped 10%. Compensation of employees has increased 6% in that period. Corporate profits, however, have risen 28% and stockholders' dividends, which increased during the downturn last year, have risen by 8%. Business failures—among small businesses, for the most part—remain high. remain high.

The improvement in employment has lagged considerably behind the rise of total production. The number of nonfarm jobs, in the third quarter of 1955, was still below the peak levels reached

in 1953, before the downturn started. Manufacturing jobs are still almost half a million below the 1953 level.

Despite the general improvement in economic activity, substantial unemployment has persisted in many communities, particularly those in which coal mining, textile manufacturing and railroad repair shops are located. Only a few days ago, the Labor Department reported that in 93 labor market areas, 6% or more of the labor force was un-

The lag of employment behind the sharp increase in output during the past year reflects a substantial rise in productivity, which has tended to reduce production costs and to increase profit margins. In addition, during the pront margins. In addition, during the year, several major sections of American industry seized the opportunity presented by the recovery in business conditions to raise prices of their products by an amount far higher than justified by increased costs. This failure by business to coroling reasonable. business to exercise reasonable re-straint in setting prices can seriously endanger sound and balanced economic progress.

American corporations already have American corporations already have profited more than handsomely from the economic recovery. Corporate profits, after taxes, in the first nine months of 1955 were 28% greater than in the same period of last year. Dividend payments to stockholders, which were rising during the economic downturn in 1954, continue to increase at a marked rest. to increase at a marked rate.

Business failures, especially of small-r firms, however, have continued at urprisingly high levels, considering surprisingly high levels, considering the overall prosperity of business enterprise. In September, there were 822 business failures, compared with 819 in the same month of 1954, 686 in September 1953, and 539 in September 1952.

With both the productivity and the size of the labor force rising, continued economic expansion is essential to attain full employment, production and purchasing power. While the economy as a whole is operating at a high level of activity, dangerous weaknesses in some of the economy's vital areas are discernible. discernible.

A major weakness in the current economic picture is the continuing decline in farm income. Net farm income in the first nine months of the year was 10% below the same period of 1954 and was at a yearly rate of 26% below 1954.

was 10% below the same period of below 1951.

Some of the forces that lifted economic activity so sharply in the past year seem now to have slowed down. Residential construction, which remained strong during the 1954 downturn, and provided part of the basis for the 1955 pick-up, is leveling off. Automobile production in 1956, according to many observers, may decline by as much as 10% below 1955.

With the expected easing off of the rate of growth in automobiles and residential construction, other key areas must develop substantially to serve as a base for a continued upward impetus for the economy as a whole. No sector of the private economy appears ready to provide a stimulus of the magnitude offered by auto and residential construction in the past year. This gap in economic growth underlines the im-

portance of both private and government economic policy for the months ahead.

Unfortunately, there is a nestion whether the current question the federal government will produce conditions required to sustain economic growth in the months ahead. The Ad-ministration seems more interested in tilting with the windmill of inflation by increasing interest rates than it is in creating the environment necessary for economic expansion. While we recognize the monetary policy is a legiti-mate tool for stabilizing the economy, it is merely one among many weapons in the arsenal of economic programs.
Moreover, unless used with extreme
caution and precision timing, monetary caution and precision timing, monetary measures can boomerang against the expansion of the economy and precipitate the economic decline they are intended to prevent. Thus, during the past summer the Federal Housing Administration and Veterans Administration increased down payments and cut the time period for mortgage payments. This had the effect of reducing housing construction, particularly of lower-priced homes; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, In the coming months, both private and government action will be needed to maintain economic growth and to sustain full employment levels in the years ahead. Such action should include the following:

Free collective bargaining 1. Free collective bargaining must be encouraged by the federal, state and local governments. Reasonable wage and fringe-benefit improvements should be agreed upon at the bargaining table to enable wage and salary earners to share adequately in the fruits of industrial progress. Wherever feasible, provisions such as guaranteed employment plans should be negotiated to promote stability of workers' incomes and to eliminate unnecessary fluctuations in employment. tions in employment.

2. The Federal Government's tax ment's tax pol-to strengthen 2. The Federal Government's tax policy must be revised to strengthen consumer buying power, especially among low and middle income groups, and to eliminate tax law loopholes that grant special privileges to wealthy families and corporations. Tax revisions should be made as as soon as possible. State and local tax systems should also be revised to establish tax structures based more largely upon ability to new ability to pay.

3. Low-income families-whose earns. Low-income ramines—whose earn-ings are less than \$3,000 a year—re-quire special attention. The federal legal minimum wage should be extend-ed to millions of low-paid workers who ed to millions of low-paid workers who now lack its protection, and the minimum rate, raised to \$1.00 an hour by the past session of Congress, should be further increased to at least \$1.25. The inadequate coverage and minimum wage standards under state laws should be improved without further

should be improved without turthed delay.

4. Congress should enact a specific program of special assistance to areas of persistent economic distress. It is the obligation of the federal govern-ment to assist these areas back to economic health. The government should discourage the continued pirat-ing of plants and job opportunities by

unscrupulous politicians and business associations—to prevent the spread of further distress in the older industrial

- The inadequate unemployment compensation system must be modern-ized. Congress and state legislatures must substantially increase both the amount and duration of unemployment compensation payments. Harsh disqualification provisions in the state laws must be removed.
- 6. The Social Security Act should be improved to raise old age and sur-vivors' benefit payments to an adequate vivors' benefit payments to an adequate level of living requirements and to provide adequate protection against the hazards of long-term and temporary disability. A national health program should be adopted, including national health insurance as part of the social security system and with full reservation of free choice of doctors and pations! tients.
- 7. Two million new housing units a year should become the national housing goal. Interest rates on home loans must be reduced to meet the housing needs of families whose earnings are between \$3,000 to \$6,000 a year. A government program is required to stimulate the construction of not housing for middle income group Public housing construction should groups. substantially increased to provide adequate housing for low-income families.
- 8. The continuing decline of farm income must be halted. Farm programs—such as price supports, conservation, low-cost credit and rural electrification and telephone service—should be improved to strengthen the income position of the family farmer, while making it possible to increase the consumption of sericultural products. sumption of agricultural products.
- Low-interest loans, under liberal 9. terms, are necessary to encourage business and farm investment, particularly for small businesses, as well as to sustain high levels of residential construction

tion.

In addition, the Federal Government must make a major contribution to economic growth by reducing the backlog of pressing public needs. Public services have been in a state of neglect for many years, despite the need for continuing improvements and expansion to meet the needs of a growing population. The sad state of our schools, hospitals and roads, as well as other public service facilities, indicates the urgent requirement for a vast program of improvement and growth. The Federal Government should start on a program of expanded federal aid to education, health facilities and roads, through direct federal programs, as well as grants and loans to the states and local governments. Since many states have legal limits on the amount and type of borrowing, legislation. states have legal limits on the amount and type of borrowing, legislation should be adopted to enable the Federal Government to make special loans and grants to the states and local communities to get their much-needed programs under way. A public works program should be viewed as a continuing one, to keep the structure of society strong; in periods of economic decline, such programs should be accelerated without long delays.

COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY SODER-STROM: I move the adoption of the resolution. The motion was seconded and car-

ried unanimously.

PRESIDENT MEANY: The Chair recognizes co-Secretary Curran. . . . Committee co-Secretary Curran continued with the report of the Resolutions Committee as follows:

TAXATION AND BUDGET POLICY

Tax policy becomes increasingly im-portant as the federal government continues to assume a major role in the economic life of the country. Budget problems, as well as economic conditions, must be carefully considered in determining the composition of an adequate and countrible text program. quate and equitable tax program. Our federal government has assumed per-haps the most serious domestic and foreign responsibilities in its history. Of necessity, the present requirements for heavy expenditures, in turn, mean a heavy burden of taxation must be borne by all the American people.

Organized labor recognizes the neces Organized labor recognizes the necessity for these high taxes. The nation's wage earners do not shirk their responsibility for paying their fair share of these taxes. They insist, however, that the nation's tax system as a whole must be fair and equitable to all, regardless of level or source of income.

Our tax system has been built largely Our tax system has been built largely upon the principle that taxes should be levied according to the individual's ability to pay. Organized labor fully supports this basic principle of taxation. In recent years, however, Congress has weakened the progressive character of the personal income tax schedule by enacting tax-escape provisions favor-ing certain groups of taxpayers.

The most flagrant example of tax legislation for special interest groups was the tax revision bill enacted in 1954. The most important effect of this 1954. The most important effect of this legislation was to reduce taxes upon the very small minority of taxpayers who receive the overwhelming proportion of dividends from stocks. Taxes on corporations, for all practical purposes, were reduced without cutting the tax rates by altering the method of calculating depreciation. The few minor concessions granted to a few taxpayers in the low- and middle-income brackets were palliatives, which did not offset the billions of dollars of relief given to corporations and wealthy stockholders. Earlier this year, an unsuccessful effort was made in the Congress to reverse this trend. to reverse this trend.

Long-standing loopholes and escape clauses continue to weaken the progressive character of our tax structure. Wealthy taxpayers do not really pay the high tax rates applicable to their incomes because of these escape mechanisms. As a result, more and more of the burden of tax payments is placed on the shoulders of those least able to pay. The trend of weakening the progressive character of our tax structure must be reversed; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, The AFL-CIO and its affiliated unions will fight vigorously

to reverse the trends toward regression in our tax structure. Equity in our tax structure, Equity in our tax structure requires certain tax changes. Some will increase revenue; others will mean a loss of revenue. But, on balance, the acceptance of the following tax program will not result in an overall loss in revenue, and will establish a more equitable distribution of the tax burder. tax burden:

1. First priority on tax cuts should be given to the following measures: a. Reduction in excise taxes below

present levels

b. Increase in individual income tax exemptions from the present level of \$600 per person

c. Reduction in the 20 percent rate for at least part of the first \$2,000 of

taxable income

- 2. Congress should continue for at least another year the corporate income tax rate of 52 percent, which is scheduled to revert to 47 percent on April 1, 1956. Consideration should be April 1, 1956. Consideration should be given to easing the tax burden on small business by some such means as changing the two component rates of the corporate tax structure. We now have a 30 percent normal rate and a 22 percent rate on all income above \$25,000. This provision could be changed by applying a normal rate of 25 percent and a 27 percent rate on all income above either the present exemption level of \$25,000 or perhaps even a \$50,000 or \$100,000 exemption level. The total rate would remain 52 percent, but it would be more equitable for small business. business.
- 3. To close the many loopholes and escape clauses in our tax structure and to obtain additional revenue. Congress should take the following steps:
 - a. Repeal the special tax relief granted to dividend income by the Revenue Act of 1954.
 - Revenue Act of 1954.

 b. Repeal the new depreciation provision of the 1954 Revenue Act. depreciation
 - c. Eliminate the advantage given married couples and heads of house-holds by the income-splitting tax provision.
 - d. Repeal excessive depletion allowances.
 - e. Tighten the capital gains structure by lengthening the holding period of long-range gains and increasing the rate considerably.
 - f. Require withholding taxes on the payment of dividends and interest,
 - g. Eliminate the family partnership provisions which are designed to re-duce individual income taxes.
 - Eliminate stock option privileges designed to circumvent the payment of taxes.
 - Tighten the estate and gift tax structure by eliminating life estate provisions and reducing the total level of exemptions.
 - j. Repeal the tax exempt status of state and local bonds.
 - k. Increase appropriations to permit stricter enforcement of our tax laws.
- 4. We oppose the enactment of any retail sales tax or any other type of

general or specific tax on consumption, including the "manufacturers' excise

tax. 5. We 5. We oppose any Constitutional amendment designed to place a top limitation on the Federal Government's right to tax Individuals, corporations or states.

COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY CUR-RAN: I move the adoption of the resolu-

tion. . . . The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Co-Secretary Soderstrom will continue the report. . . Committee co-Secretary Soderstrom continued with the report of the Committee as follows:

STATE AND LOCAL TAXES

Committee co-Secretary Soderstrom read the resolution on State and Local Taxes as follows:

The rapid rise in federal taxes over the last twenty years has focused the attention of most Americans on tax decisions made in Washington. The rapid increase in local and state ex-penditures emphasizes the need for adopting sound fiscal and tax policies in our state and local tax programs.

in our state and local tax programs.

Since the end of World War II state
and local tax collections have been
rising continuously. From \$9 billions
in 1945, they have soared to a total of
more than \$23 billions in 1955. Total
expenditures which approximated \$25
billions in 1953 are now close to \$30
billions. Moreover, current local and
state tax revenues are inadequate to
meet developing needs for services and
facilities. State and local debt which
stood at \$13.6 billions in 1946 now exceeds \$30 billions.
Furthermore, as federal tax collec-

Furthermore, as federal tax collections within the last two years have been tending downward, the revenue needs of state and local governments have continued to go up. Vast unmet nave continued to go up. Vast unmet public needs for capital improvements, to meet the demands of not only a growing but shifting population, re-require a constant search for new tax sources by all state and local governments.

ments.

The rising burden of state and local axes is increasingly being shifted to the shoulders of families with the least ability to pay. Families in the income groups below \$5,000 are paying a larger share of their income for local and state taxes than families in the income groups above that figure.

Under our federal tax structure, a substantial portion of revenue comes from progressive income taxes. Almost 60 per cent of all state tax revenues, on the other hand, comes from general and selective sales taxes imposed upon all consumers. On the local level, almost 90 per cent of the tax revenue comes from property levies. More and more municipalities are now instituting supplementary sales and payroll taxes which are combining to make the overall tax system even more regresoverall tax system even more regres-

State and local difficulties in securing

necessary revenue have been compli-cated by the following factors:

- 1. The property tax has been permitted to disintegrate. A declining portion of total state and local taxes relative to income in most states from 1932 to 1950 has come from property taxes. More recent increases in property tax revenue during the past several years have been confined largely to a several triangle of the several triangle of t to a relatively few states.
- The adoption of sales taxes and other consumer taxes have thrown disproportionate share tax load on low income taxpayers.
- 3. With few exceptions, states have adopted inadequate personal and corporation income taxes.
- State and local legal and consti-tutional restrictions on taxing power interfere with sound taxing policies.
- 5. The unrepresentative character of state legislatures prevent the en-actment of needed constitutional and legislative tax changes.
- 6. The competition between states is used as an excuse to hold down taxes needed to provide necessary
- Certain poorer states, largely be-cause of inadequate resources and income, fail to provide needed state and local services.

The wage and salary earners of America have always borne a tremendous portion of the cost of public services. The fifteen million members of the AFL-CIO will gladly continue to bear their just share. We seek no tax avoidance for ourselves.

In the long run, at both federal and state levels all taxes must be paid from income. Progressive, graduated taxes—based on income after reasonable deductions for dependents and other legitimate reasons—must fairly reflect ability to pay.

Tax reform is a long and arduous task. The efforts to withstand the growth of sales and payroll taxes, to ultimately eliminate existing ones and to make our property tax systems more equitable, is a long range undertaking. Yet this is a duty the American Labor movement cannot ignore if social justice is to be achieved; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the AFL-CIO urges RESOLVED, That the AFL-Clo urges all of its affiliated unions to intensify their efforts to secure a more just and equitable system of taxation in all states and localities.

Enactment of tax measures and grant-in-aid programs at the national level are needed to develop a greater degree of local-state-federal coordination through the use of the federal taxing power and credit that is not available to states and local communi-

COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY SODER-STROM: Mr. Chairman, I move the adoption of the Committee's report. The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

GOVERNMENT STATISTICAL **PROGRAMS**

Committee co-Secretary Curran read

. . . Committee co-Secretary Curran read the resolution on Government Statist-ical Programs, as follows: In collective bargaining negotiations and formulation of economic policies trade unions have increasingly turned to the statistical services of the federal government for infermation on wages, government for information on wages, income levels, prices, profits, employment and unemployment, production, construction and housing developments, social security, productivity and a host

or other economic trends.
Unfortunately, the federal agencies charged with providing these services are hampered by lack of sufficient funds. Therefore, they have often been unable to obtain and to make available to trade unions and other interested groups necessary statistical information.

Inadequate appropriations have para-

of other economic trends.

Inadequate appropriations have par-ticularly handleapped the U.S. Depart-ment of Labor, on which unions have relied most heavily for statistical in-formation; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, The AFL-CIO recommends that the Congress appropriate increased funds to permit needed exnarieased runds to permit needed ex-pansion of government statistical ser-vices, especially those carried on by the U. S. Department of Labor, the Bureau of the Census, the Social Se-curity Administration, the Federal Trade Commission, and the Securities

Trade Commission, and the Securities and Exchange Commission.

We particularly hope that Congress will appropriate additional funds for the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics so that it can provide more complete information on employment and unemployment, wage and collective bargaining developments, productivity, housing and construction, and industrial accidents

accidents.

COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY CUR-RAN: I move the adoption of the resolution.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

WAGE-HOUR AND WALSH-HEALEY ACTS

. . . Committee co-Secretary Soderstrom ead the resolution on Wage-Hour and

read the resolution on Wage-Hour and Walsh-Healey Acts as follows:
Perhaps the outstanding achievement in domestic legislation of the first session of the 84th Congress was the increase in the federal minimum wage from 75 cents to \$1.00. The \$1.00 minimum was passed over the objections of the Administration and its spokesmen in both Houses of Cengress. It was not a complete victory. Organised

spokesmen in both Houses of Cengress. It was not a complete victory. Organized labor, although very few organized werkers in the country were in a position to gain directly, called upon the Congress to enact a \$1.25 minimum which was fully justified by increases in living costs, preductivity and the general wage level. No action was taken in the last session to extend coverage of the Fair Labor Standards Act to the millions who are not now protected. The sub-minimum wage rates in Puerto Rico were left unchanged. Despite all this, the enactment of a \$1.00 minimum constitutes a major step forward.

In testimony presented to both Houses of Congress, AFL and CIO spokesmen called upon the Congress to take action which would bring the completely unrealistic minimum wage of 75 cents up to a more appropriate level.

President Meany, in presenting the AFL's case for a \$1.25 minimum, told the Congress that part of America's job "is to make sure that all Americans have a decent chance to share the abundance all of us are creating. We fall in this part of the job as long as the much-vaunted American standard of living is denied to any group of Americans." Americans.

or Americans."
President Reuther summarized the CIO's case for a \$1.25 minimum by declaring:
"It is morally right because there is no excuse for the payment of sweatshep wages in an era of atomic energy and automain an era or atomic energy and automa-tion. It is economically sound because an expanding economy requires an ever-ris-ing consumer income to match our ever-rising productive power."

The Administration, which make any recommendations in 1953 and 1954, finally endorsed an increase in the minimum—but to only 90 cents an hour. This would have done no more than adjust the 75-cent minimum for the increased cost of living since 1949. It would have meant no recognition of the tremendous productivity gains in the American economy and the general wage advances won by organized labor. Despite impressive evidence justifying a higher minimum, and despite improvement in the general economic picture during the course of the year, the Administration stood firm and did not yield from its 90-cent position. ministration, which failed recommendations in 1953 The Administration.

did not yield from its 90-cent position.
The stubbornness of the Administration and the short-sighted belief of many Congressmen that a higher minimum would be harmful, made it impossible to reach labor's full objective. But enactment of the \$1.00 minimum, despite Adminstration opposition, is a tribute both to the leadership of the Congress and the tremendously effective work done by organized labor back home.

back home.

back home. Unfortunately, no action was taken to extend the benefits of the law to workers now denied its protection. After the retail lobby testified before the Senate Labor Committee, the Administration withdrew even its inadequate proposal for extension of coverage which it had made earlier in the year. Under this proposal, less than 2 million employees working for interstate chain stores would have been brought under coverage. When the Administration pulled back from this modest proposal, it became impossible to obtain extension of coverage. coverage.

coverage. Less than one-half of the nation's wage earners are now given the protection of the Fair Labor Standards Act. Individual states cannot prescribe adequate minimum wages for plants manufacturing for an interstate market without putting their industries at a competitive disadvantage. Only the Congress can take meaningful action in this field. In 1956, extension of coverage to millions of additional workers will be a major legislative objective of organized labor. The Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare has promised that its Subcommittee on Labor under the Chairmanship of Paul Douglas (D., III.), will hold early hearings on extension of coverage. It is hoped that the House Education and Labor Committee will take similar action. similar action.

Under the present Fair Labor Standards Act, the statutory minimum does not apply to Puerto Rico. Instead, industry committees determine individual rates for the respective industries. This practice has not worked well. Wide wage differentials have become wider year by year. To meet this situation, the Senate last year included in its bill a provision which would have raised all existing Puerto Rican rates by a modest amount. The House refused to take similar action and, as a result, the final bill did not raise the minimum wage for Puerto Rico. In 1956, it is to be hoped that the Congress will take the necessary action to lift the minimum wage rates in Puerto Rico to more realistic levels. The economic development of Puerto Rico must Act, the statutory minimum does not apply to Puerto Rico. Instead, industry comeconomic development of Puerto Rico must not and cannot depend upon a low-wage structure

not and cannot depend upon a low-wage structure.

Another year has passed without action being taken to correct the damage which has been done by the Fulbright Amendment to the Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act. It is this amendment which has prevented enforcement of the few wage determinations which have been made in recent years. The Walsh-Healey Act should be amended: (1) to make clear the authority of the Secretary of Labor to issue minimum wage determinations on an industrywide basis, (2) to make clear the application of the Act to all articles actually purchased by the government on specific contracts, whether or not available in the open market, and (3) te revise the Fulbright Amendment to prohibit the issuance of injunctions suspending the effectiveness of wage orders pending litigation.

With the increase in the minimum wage, the becomes particularly essential that the

it becomes particularly essential that the Labor Department be given adequate ap-propriations for careful enforcement of the Fair Labor Standards Act as well as the

Walsh-Healey Act.
Dramatic advances in improved technology, such as automation and atomic energy, have meant and will continue to mean tremendous increases in productivity. These advances make it both economically feasible and desirable to consider the reduction of the work week. The Congress should give the earliest possible considera-

should give the earliest possible consideration to amendments to the Fair Labor Standards Act to provide for a shorter work week; now, therefore, be it RESOLVED, 1. International unions, state bodies and local organizations are commended for the effective work done in the past year to assure the enactment of the \$1.00 per hour minimum wage.

2. Congress is called upon to take further action to improve our wage laws. Specifically, we call upon it:

a. As a matter of first priority, to extend the full protection of the Fair Labor Standards Act to all workers in Industries engaged in or affecting interstate commerce.

state commerce. b. To increase b. To increase Puerto Rican wage rates promptly and substantially so that the mainland level may be achieved at

the ariliest possible date.

To raise the minimum wage to at least \$1.25 an hour as soon as practicable, d. To revise the Public Contracts Act. or restore that Act's effectiveness and

utility.

e. To provide adequate funds for the enforcement of the Fair Labor Standards Act and the Public Contracts Act.

f. To amend the Fair Labor Standards Act and Public Contracts Act to provide the public Contracts Act to provide the school of the Contracts Act to provide the school of the contracts and Public Contracts Act to provide the school of the Contracts and Public Contracts Act to provide the school of the Contracts Act to provide the Contracts and Contracts a

for a shorter work week.

COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY SODER-STROM: Mr. Chairman, I move the adoption of the Committee's report. ... The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

INTRODUCTION OF DIRECTOR OF **ORGANIZATION**

PRESIDENT MEANY: At this time I wish to interrupt the work of the Resolutions Committee for a few brief moments so that I can present to this Convention one who is going to have a very important assignment in the work of this Federation in the future. The job of organizing the unorganized, the job of servicing the organized, especially in the smaller unions, reposes in the Department of Organization.

smaller unions, reposes in the Department of Organization.

I would like to present to you now the gentleman who is going to take on that responsibility. He has been appointed and approved by the Executive Council as the Director of Organization of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations. I would like to present him to you now—Brother John W. Livingston of the Auto Workers.

MR. JOHN W. LIVINGSTON Director of Organization

President Meany, members of the Executive Council, delegates to this great Convention, and friends:
First I want to express my appreciation of the opportunity granted me to serve in the capacity of Director of Organization. It will be with a great deal of sadness, immediately upon the recessing of this session, that I shall submit my resignation as Vice President of the United Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, affiliated with the AFL-CIO, in order that I might have the necessary time to devote to this assignment. this assignment.

this assignment.

I am sure that all of you realize, as I do, that it will take some time to put into effect our new organizational projectores, but I can and do give you this piedge, that we will work at this job untiringly and continue to increase our ranks of membership.

We expect at all times to advance and promote organizational drives throughout the land, and we expect to

We expect at all times to advance and promote organizational drives throughout the land, and we expect to call upon national and international unions to advance and promote organizational drives where they are not doing so at this time. We expect to ask those national and international unions that have drives under way in high gear at the present time to put those organizational drives in overdrive. Without question, when any union stops organizing the unorganized, just as sure as we are assembled in this great Convention that union will die of dry rot. Organizing of the unorganized is the very life blood of any union, and we must continue to organize the unorganized. We fully realize that in many of the areas huge new modern plants are now being erected, and the most modern machinery is being placed in those plants. Non-union members are being hired to operate those plants at low-

wage scales. We say those unorganized workers have economic ills at this time, and they are also undermining the wages and working conditions of the organized workers. So we say their problem is our problem, and it is our duty and our responsibility to help them to become members of organized labor.

labor.

Babor.
During this Convention we will undoubtedly adopt resolutions on organizing the unorganized, but may I say that we must do more than just adopt resolutions. When we return to our respective communities we should conrespective communities we should consider it our duty and our responsibility to carry the message to unorganized workers wherever they may be—in the mines, in the factories, the mills, the trades, the crafts, the officeworkers, the salesrooms, the white collar groups in general. We must extend them an invitation to come on in and join our rapks. ranks

Often we speak of the brotherhood of man. I ask this question: What in reality can we do to further promote the brotherhood of man than to bring organization to those unorganized

people?

people?
So let me say in conclusion, because I do expect to have further discussion when the organization resolutions are presented, that as we go back to our respective communities we keep in mind the saying of the Good Book—to unite and multiply, and let us be wise and organize. Do that as never before and show to the people throughout the land that there is teamwork in the leadership and solidarity in the ranks, and we can-not fail.

Thank you.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Thank you very much, Brother Livingston.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS—(Continued)

The Chair recognizes co-Secretary Curran of the Resolutions Committee. . . . Committee co-Secretary Curran continued the report of the Committee as follows

PUERTO RICO

In recent years the government of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico has striven diligently to bring about the rapid industrialization of the island. To the Puerto Rican government this end the Puerto Rican government has offered numerous inducements to businessmen to establish new industries in Puerto Rico or to transfer mainland industries to Puerto Rico. These inducements include government loans, training of workers, and exemptions from various taxes, including Federal taxes, for a period of ten years. This industrialization program has met with considerable success. siderable success.

siderable success.
Certainly the industrialization of Puerto Rico is a necessary and desirable objective. Industrialization would give employment to the Island's abundant labor force, which has suffered acutely from unemployment and from under-employment. Further, the people of Puerto Rico cannot prosper while tied to an economy dominated by a handful of industries—sugar, coffee and tobacco—particularly since these indus-

AFL-CIO

tries are basically agricultural in a land-poor area.

We therefore support the industrialization of Puerto Rico, and the establishment of new industries there. We vig-

ment of new industries there. We vig-orously condemn, however, the luring of 3. We urge that unemployment in-mainland industries to Puerto Rico by means of the low wage structure pre-vailing there or of unsound financial subsidies. Moreover, the removal of mainland industries to Puerto Rico brings hardship and unemployment to the areas of this country abandoned by these industries.

Further, industrialization will not of itself produce the needed improvement in the living standards of the Puerto in the living standards of the Puerto Rican people, unless industrial develop-ment is accompanied by corresponding improvement in the wages, working ment is account in the wages, working improvement in the wages, working conditions, and security of the Puerto conditions, and security of the Puerto conditions, and security of the conditions are tready Rican workers. An industrialization that brings new wealth to those already wealthy and continued poverty and in-security to those already poor does not represent progress for the workers of represent Puerto Rico.

Puerto Rico.

Two steps must be taken to raise Puerto Rican living standards, both in the interests of the workers of Puerto Rico and to protect mainland industry from unfair sweatshop competition.

First, the workers of Puerto Rico must be organized into strong unions. The labor laws of Puerto Rico are for the most part fair and progressive, and the workers of Puerto Rico have made some progress in forming unions and in bargaining collectively. But much remains to be done. The bulk of the island's workers are still unorganized. They need and are entitled to receive need and are entitled to receive

our help.

Second, Federal legislation affecting the living standards and security of Puerto Rican workers must be improved. Most important is the Federal Fair Labor Standards Act, On the mainland the antiquated 75-cent minimum hourly rate was recently raised to a dollar an hour. In Puerto Rico, however, not even the old 75-cent minimum rate applies to all industry. Under a special industry committee procedure established by the Fair Labor Standards Act, the Wage and Hour Administrator has established minimum rates far below 75 cents an hour for various Puerto Rican minimum wage must be brought as rapidly as possible to the same level as the mainland minimum wage. Otherwise Puerto Rican workers will continue to be denied the minimum income. tinue to be denied the minimum income necessary for decent subsistence, and mainland industries will continue to be subjected to unfair sweatshop compe-

Further, there is no system of unemoyment benefits in effect in Puerto ico. For Puerto Rican workers the ployment Rico. Fo Rico. For Puerto Rican workers the loss of a job means complete destitu-tion. The extension of unemployment benefits for Puerto Rican workers would beneats for Fuerto Rican workers would be a substantial contribution to reducing the hardship unemployment now brings to them, and would aid in achieving a high standard of living for the island; now therefore, be it

RESOLVED: 1. The AFL-CIO pledges to the workers of Puerto Rico that it will

expend every effort to bring to them the benefits of militant and democratic trade

unionism.

We urge immediate revision of the z. We urge immediate revision of the minimum wage law provisions appli-cable to Puerto Rico, with the objective of raising the Puerto Rican minimum wage to the mainland level at the ear-liest possible date.

liest possible date.
surance be extended to Puerto Rico.
4. We call on the government of
Puerto Rico to institute policies that
will assure to the workers of Puerto
Rico their rightful share in the benefits of the island's industrialization,
and that will prevent unscrupulous employers from establishing sweatshop
operations there.

COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY CURRAN: I move adoption of the resolution.
. . The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.
. . Committee co-Secretary Soderstrom continued the report of the Committee as follows:

WOMEN WORKERS

Millions of working women are members of unions represented in this Convention, and both the AFL and Clo have long fought for equal treatment of women. Our women members have fully demonstrated their firm devotion to the principles of unionism, and have contributed immeasurably to the many improvements obtained by the labor movement through collective bargaining, community activities, and political action.

Women now constitute one-third of the labor force, many of whom are em-ployed in occupations and industries which have not had the benefits of unionism and where low wages, inade-quate security and substandard condi-

quate security and substandard condi-tions of work prevail.

Under such conditions, unions are essential for the advancement of eco-nomic conditions and human dignity, and we urge these women to enroll in our federation to gain for themselves high living standards and greater dig-nity in their work.

high living standards and greater dignity in their work.

In the past, our affiliates have supported many types of labor legislation especially designed to safeguard women from such abuses as substandard wages, excessive hours, and unhealthy working conditions. Such legislation has reinforced collective bargaining advances and has paved the way for laws such as the Fair Labor Standards Act which give similar protection to men. However, even today in many states labor laws designed to protect women, or both men and women, are still inadequate or altogether absent.

These protective labor laws continue to be threatened by the miscalled "Equal Rights Amendment," which organized labor has opposed. While presumably designed to give women rights equal with men, this amendment is so worded that it would place in jeopardy all the many state laws which now offer protection to women against substandard wages, hours and working conditions. Organized labor has taken the leadership in opposing this amendment which is also opposed by a large number of women's organizations as well as the U. S. Department of Labor

The achievement of equal pay for comparable work has long been a fundamental objective of organized labor. Special efforts have been made both by collective bargaining and by legislation to achieve this objective; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, This Convention of the AFL-CIO urges our officers and our affiliates to continue working to ad-vance the conditions of working women through collective bargaining and by the passage of federal and state legis-

the passage of federal and state legislation.

While we shall continue union efforts to increase the earning capacity of all workers so that wives and mothers are not driven into the labor market by substandard family incomes, we recognize that increasing numbers of women are seeking jobs in order to obtain more adequate family living levels and to contribute to community affairs. We support programs that make it easier for women to earn a living without endangering their own health or the welfare of their families.

We support elimination of restrictions on women's rights as citizens and property owners. We oppose the miscalled "Equal Rights Amendment," which would endanger long-standing federal and state legislation enacted to establish wages, hours, safety and other standards for women workers.

We recommend that the officers of the federation study bill H. R. 6503 providing equal pay for comparable work with a view to taking whatever action seems appropriate.

We urge our officers and our affiliates to continue traditional union efforts to overcome discrimination against women on the job or in the community.

efforts to overcome discrimination against women on the job or in the community, and to support actively protection of women's rights through clauses in union contracts providing equal treatment in hiring, upgrading, training, lay-offs, or similar procedures.

We urge that the Women's Bureau of the U. S. Department of Labor consider the advancement of the welfare of women in industry its first objective, as provided by law, and that the Bureau receive adequate funds to expandits work for this nurpose and for constructive education on women's rights.

COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY SODER-STROM: I move adoption of the resolution.

The motion was seconded and car-

ried unanimously.

. . . Committee co-Secretary Curran submitted the following resolution on behalf of the Committee:

WOMEN'S AUXILIARIES

The Women's Auxiliaries have, through The Women's Auxiliaries have, through their educational programs, acquainted the wives, mothers, sisters and daughters of our union members with the history and goals of our labor unions. They have staged union label campaigns, contests, and exhibits promoting the union label and have issued a directory of union made products.

They have worked for the election of candidates favorable to labor by registering the unregistered, forming telephone

tering the unregistered, forming telephone brigades, doing the necessary clerical

work, plus any other duties assigned to

The Auxiliaries, by staging demonstrations and by boycotting products of companies during labor disputes, have assisted the unions in their successful settlement of these disputes.

settlement of these disputes.
The Auxiliaries have provided a well-balanced recreation program for the union members and their families.
The Auxiliaries have been exceedingly active in the various community drives, assisting not only in a monetary way but also by donating their personal services on a year-around basis. They serve on community boards and act as community counsellors to our union members

They have also been active civil defense program by serblock wardens serving as civil defense program by serving as block wardens and members of the Ground Observer Corps; now, therefore,

RESOLVED, This convention whole-heartedly supports the activities of the Women's Auxiliaries and hereby pledges their assistance in helping them to carry out their program.

COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY RAN: I move adoption of the resolution.
... The motion was seconded and

BACKDROP

PRESIDENT MEANY: I would like at PRESIDENT MEANY: I would like at this time to call the attention of the delegates, if such is necessary, to this very beautiful backdrop we have at the back of the platform which symbolizes the unity of all crafts, all trades, all col-ors, all creeds together in this organization.

would like to point out to I would like to point out to you that this backdrop has been furnished to us by our friends of the Jewish Labor Committee in order that they might make some contribution to this great Convention. It was designed by Bernie Seaman, Cartoonist for the ILGWU Paper, "Jus-

APPOINTMENT OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

PRESIDENT MEANY: I would like to announce that, in accordance with Ar-ticle IX of the Constitution of the Amer-ican Federation of Labor and Congress lean Federation of Labor and Congress
of Industrial Organizations, the Executive Committee has been designated by
the Executive Council at its meeting
held yesterday. This Executive Committee is to consist of Brothers Matthew
Woll, Walter Reuther, David McDonald, George Harrison, James B.
Carey, Harry C. Bates, Secretary-Treasurer Schnitzler and myself.

INDUSTRIAL UNION DEPARTMENT CONVENTION CALL

PRESIDENT MEANY: I would like to announce, by direction of the Executive Council, that in accordance with paragraph 3 (a) of the Agreement for the Merger of the AFL and the ClO, and in accordance with Article XII of the Constitution of the AFL-ClO (the First Constitutional Convention of the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-ClO is hereby called, to convene at 4:30 o'clock,

Wednesday, December 7, to-afternoon, in this 71st Region

morrow afternoon, in this 71st Regi-mental Armory. The President of the AFL-CIO has been designated to act as Temporary Chairman

Chairman.

Delegates to this founding Convention will be accredited from unions which are eligible to affiliate with the Industrial Union Department under the Constitution of the AFL-CIO, and which are approved by the Temporary Chairman of the Convention, acting as the Credentials Committee for the Convention.

The Convention will be governed by the Convention Rules adopted by the Convention of the AFL-CIO.

The order of business for this meeting is:

ing is:

1. Report of Temporary Chairman, acting as Credentials Committee.

2. Adoption of a Constitution for the Industrial Union Department.

3. Election of President, Secretary-Treasurer and Vice Presidents of the

Department.

Department.

4. Designation by each affiliated union of its representative on the Executive Board of the Department.

5. Adjournment.

5. Adjournment.
This announcement is made by direction of the Executive Council of the CIO, and all organizations interested will kindly take note. The Convention will convene at 4:30 tomorrow afternoon here in this hall.

The Chair recognizes Secretary Schnitzler for announcements.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

Secretary Schnitzler announced the following:

Labor's Daily, America's only daily labor newspaper, has made arrangements for a

member of the cast of the union-musical, "The Pajama Game," to be present at our display, which is next to the drinking fountain at the 33rd Street exit.

We have an outstanding offer, which consists of a free ticket to see "The Pajama Game" with every subscription to Labor's Daity.

The word has spread around that many of the delegates would like to see it but haven't been able to get tickets. However, we have made arrangements with the theatre that will enable them to see this play before leaving New

SECRETARY SCHNITZLER: On my right, behind the wall the Federal Civil Defense Administration has set up a very unusual exhibit, it is the Civil Defense Emergency Hospital, and this exhibit unit is but a small part of the complete 200-bed hospital that FCDA has developed for use during a period of disaster—whether that disaster be caused by man or nature, FCDA has 832 such hospitals now on order. I sincerely urge that you take a moment of your valuable time to look it over, because you must remember that after all there is no civil defense unless you are a part of it. a part of it.

PRESIDENT MEANY: This brings us up to the conclusion of our work for today. I have a motion that the Rules be suspended and that this Convention stand adjourned until 9:30 o'clock tomorrow morning.

Hearing no objections, that will be the order

... At 4:45 o'clock, P. M., December 6, 1955, the Convention recessed until 9:30 o'clock, A. M. on Wednesday, December

First Constitutional Convention

of the

American Federation of Labor and

Congress of Industrial Organizations 1955 Proceedings

New York, New York, December 7, 1955



Report of

THIRD DAY—WEDNESDAY MORNING SESSION

The Convention was called to order by President Meany at 9.30 o'clock, PRESIDENT MEANY: The invoca-tion this morning will be delivered by Dr. Bernard Segal, of the United Syn-agogue of America—Dr. Segal.

INVOCATION

Dr. Bernard Segal, United Synagogue of America

O Father in heaven, we are assembled this morning from all parts of the land to take counsel with one another regarding the responsibilities which have come to us on behalf of the welfare of millions of working men and women of this nation, and our hearts and souls are turned to Thee in prayer.

From the rising of the sun unto its going down Thy name is extolled among men, Thy work guides our steps in the path of duty and of right and fills our souls with blessings.

Be with us at this hour and at all times and bless our efforts.

Grant us the will and the wisdom ever to give of ourselves completely and wholeheartedly to the tasks ahead of us, to the end that our priceless heritage may be preserved and that men everywhere may be free.

Banish selfishness from our hearts and do Thou endow us with a spirit of self-sacrifice, to seek not advancement for ourselves but safety and security for all the inhabitants of our land and glory to Thee.

Grant Thy blessings, we pray Thee, upon the millions of men and women in all parts of our land, in all forms of industry whom the delegates assembled here represent.

Uphold their hands and their spirits and rermit not strife and confusion to enter their ranks. May they ever clearly perceive their many and varied tasks and responsibilities; and together with all Americans, may they stand united, determined to see the day when universal justice and achieved.

Establish Thou the work of our achieved.

Establish Thou the work of our hands; yea, the work of our hands do Thou establish it—Amen.

DEATH OF DELEGATE A. SHOEMAKE

PRESIDENT MEANY: I regret very much to announce the death last evening of a veteran representative of the Maintenance of Way, Brother A. Shoemake, Grand Lodge Secretary, the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees, who passed away early this morning. The Chair recognizes Secretary Schnitzler.

COMMUNICATIONS

SECRETARY SCHNITZLER read the following messages: December 6, 1955

New York, N. Y.

William F. Schnitzler. Secy-Treas

71st Regiment Armory, New York

Congratulations on the splendid lead Congratulations on the splendid lead-ership displayed in the consolidation of the organized labor movement. We are certain that under the leadership of President Meany and yourself all work-ing men and women will be justly proud. We are confident that your good judgment and wise thinking will bring glory and credit and greater benefit to

HARRY LORBER, Sec'y, Nathan Ehrlich Cake Bakers Union Local 51

December 6, 1955

New York, N. Y.

AFL-CIO Convention, 71st Regiment Armory, New York

The Labor Advisory Committee on Puerto Rican Affairs, CIO and AFL wishes all success to your convention. May the united labor movement of America be the true champion of the working man all over the world.

CHARLES S. ZIMMERMAN, Co-Chairman, Morris Iushewitz, Co-Chairman, Joseph Perez. Executive Secretary

December 5, 1955

Kitchener, Ont.

Convention Chairman, American Federation of Labour and Congress of Industrial Organizations Hotel New Yorker or Hotel Statler, New York

Congratulations and best wishes on the merger of solidarity in the union ranks from all the officers and members of the District Nine Joint Board of Brewery Workers, Province of Ontario, Canada.

FRANK KIESWETTER, Secretary District 9, Joint Board 4

Swiss Federation of Trade Unions Bern, December 4, 1955 AFL-ClO Unity Committee, 815 16th Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Brothers

Dear Brothers:
I acknowledge the receipt of your letter of November 7th, inviting me to participate at your merger convention which will be held in New York on December 5th through December 9th, I should like to thank you very much for your kind invitation, which is a great honour for me.
Infortunately I have to inforw you

Unfortunately I have to inform you that I am not able to accept your invitation, as I shall be very busy at that time, and I beg you to excuse my ab-

sence.

The Swiss working class and the Swiss Federation of Trade Unions welcome the alliance of the two big American Trade Union Federations. We are sure that this will be very important and useful as well see for the working class in your switch. as for the working class in your country as for the trade union movement. The Swiss Federation of Trade Unions sends the new big trade union organization the heartiest wishes for a successful fu-

Sincerely and fraternally yours. BERNASCONI. General Secretary.

PRESIDENT MEANY: The Chair recognizes co-Secretary Soderstrom to continue the report of the Resolutions Committee

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS—(Continued)

Co-Secretary Soderstrom submitted the following resolution:

CHILDREN AND YOUTH

Our nation must be ever aware of and responsive to the needs of our young people, for our future rests in their hands. They are entitled to the best the nation can give them.

Sound child development requires a decent family and community environment. Failure to meet this need adequately has too often prevented youngsters from maturing to their full capacity and has been a major contributing factor to juvenile delinquency.

quency

ributing factor to juvenile delinquency.

A well-rounded program to meet the needs of our youth also requires special services to meet particular problems. Our unions have supported many programs which have proved valuable in advancing child welfare. These include the child labor laws, health measures to aid mothers at childbirth and children in infancy, welfare programs to give crippied children a chance to grow whole and to aid in the placement of orphans and abused children in good homes. The Children's Bureau of the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare and the Bureau of Labor Standards of the U.S. Department of Labor have helped to develop such programs in cooperation with state and local governments and voluntary agencies; now, therefore, but the control of the such parts of the control o

RESOLVED: The AFL-CIO declares its wholehearted support for programs which strengthen and safeguard family life and help to assure to each child the fullest healthy mental and physical

direct nearthy mental and physical development.

Since child development is rooted in family and community standards, we can best serve our youngsters by working to assure an economy in which families are financially secure, by making available to all families the opportunity to live in homes and neighborhoods which are adequate and comfortable, by developing top-flight school and recreational facilities, and by providing parents with knowledge of how best to protect the child's personal well-being.

best to picture and well-being.

Trade unions are doing and will do their utmost in these essential areas.

Our efforts to develop and sustain improving standards of living for American families are at the very heart of trade union activities. We urge our affiliated unions to expand their efforts to aid the young people of their communities through active participation

affiliated unions to expand their efforts to aid the young people of their communities through active participation in local programs.

We have insisted that the Federal Government, along with state and local governments and private organizations, fulfill their essential responsibility to act to overcome substandard living and neighborhood conditions and thereby help provide improved opportunities for children throughout the nation. We must not lose sight of the fact that money spent for such programs can be more than recaptured, not alone through savings in expenditures for jails or correctional facilities and mental institutions, but through the greater positive contribution to the community by youngsters who develop into healthy and responsible adults. In the areas of specialized child needs, we commend the U. S. Children's Bureau and the Bureau of Labor Standards for their efforts in advancing the welfare of children and in helping to limit child labor.

We urge expansion of the programs providing maternal and child health services and special welfare services for children, including aid to crippled children. We support expansion of research and education in child life which will help parents understand better what makes for healthy, happy child-hood.

The problems of juvenile delinquency can be met better also by expanded programs to improve procedures for programs to improve procedures for spotting and aiding maladjusted children and to handle constructively those who get into trouble with the law. These programs should be given full support by our affiliated unions. Committee co-Secretary Soderstrom moved the adoption of the resolution. The motion was seconded and unanimously carried. Committee co-Secretary Soderstrom read

the following resolution:

OLD-AGE AND SURVIVORS INSUR-DISABILITY INSURANCE, AND PUBLIC ASSISTANCE

During the twenty years it has been in existence, the national system of old-age and survivors insurance has fully proved its worth. Most Americans are now contributing regularly to the trust fund, and over seven million persons are receiving benefits.

Our members are well aware, however, of serious limitations that remain in the OASI legislation. In spite of amendments which organized labor helped to secure in recent years, benefits are still too low, no insurance payments are made for permanent and total disability or temporary disability, and many workers do not receive any protection. protection.

protection.
The Lehman-Dingell bill, which both the AFL and the CIO supported in 1954, would have substantially remedied these shortcomings.
The House this year passed a bill (H.R. 7225) which was supported by

organized labor and which embodies important though restricted forward steps. It would initiate the payment of benefits to the permanent and totally disabled at age 50, with the same eligibility requirements now provided for freezing the pension rights of such disabled persons. For women, the bill would lower the qualifying age for OASI benefits to 62 years in recognition of the fact that many wives are younger than their husbands and that older women have even greater difficulty than men in obtaining steady emolder women have even greater un-culty than men in obtaining steady em-

The House bill would likewise ex-tend coverage to additional groups, in-cluding employees of the TVA and many self-employed professionals. It would continue benefits for disabled dependent children of beneficiaries after

age 18.
To finance these improvements, a one-To finance these improvements, a one-half per cent contribution by employers and employees would be added to the schedule previously enacted. An advisory council on social security financing would be established to review the status of the trust fund in relation to the long-term commitments of the program. These provisions are consistent with the historic position of American labor in support of a social security system soundly financed on a long-term busis.

This House bill is now awaiting action the Senate Finance Committee. Unfortunately, powerful groups, including the U. S. Chamber of Commerce and the American Medical Association, are planning a strenuous fight against these longoverdue changes, especially the provision

for disability benefits.

for disability benefits.

While labor has emphasized the development of rounded social insurance programs under which benefits are paid without a needs test, our unions have also favored improvements in the public assistance provisions of the Social Security Act designed to provide decent incomes for those not adequately reached through social insurance. In many states pay-Act designed to provide decent incomes for those not adequately reached through social insurance. In many states payments to the aged, dependent children, and other groups are pitfully small, and the terms for qualifying are too harsh. Proposals such as those of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce for eliminating Federal grants for public assistance overlook the common national interest in the health and welfare of old people. Some attention to the public assistance programs must be given by Congress this year because of the coming expiration of a special \$5 a month Federal grant; now, therefore, be it RESOLVED: This Convention supports comprehensive expansion and improvement of the existing system of old-age and survivors insurance to provide adequate benefits as a matter of right to the aged, the permanently and totally disabled, and those suffering from temporary illness or accident.

The provisions for improving benefits should include the following:

illness or accident.

The provisions for improving benefits should include the following:
(1) an increase in the wage base to keep pace with rising wage levels.
(2) an annual increment of one-half of one per cent of the primary benefit for each year of contributions.
(3) a two per cent increase in the primary benefit for each year of continued employment beyond age 65.

(4) the inclusion of "tips" as wages.

The success of the OASI program and of other social insurance systems which provide disability benefits has amply demonstrated the practicality and value of such measures. We likewise favor use of OASI funds to aid in vocational rehabilitation of disabled persons so that they may become self-supporting.

We favor continuation of Federal grants for the public assistance program more adequate assistance payments to individuals on a basis consistent with human dignity and self-respect, and removal of harsh requirements with regard to eligi-

bility and residence.

We shall continue our efforts to achieve adequate social security both through collective bargaining and through Federal and state legislation.

Committee co-Secretary Soderst moved the adoption of the resolution.

. . . The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

. . . Committee co-Secretary Soderstrom continued the report as follows:

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE AND THE EMPLOYMENT SERVICE

In 1954, the conventions of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations Congress of Industrial Organizations both pointed out the serious defects of the present federal-state system of unemployment insurance. Affiliates were urged to undertake strenuous efforts to secure improvements in the great majority of states where legislatures majority of states met in 1955.

We can report a certain measure of success, due in many states to con-structive cooperation among the varilabor groups. Unfortunately continued opposition of organized em-ployers to adequate protection, and ployers to adequate protection, and other difficulties inherent in the state-by-state approach, continued to prevent improvements of the kind required for adequate protection of unemployed workers. Benefits are still too low, maximums put a restrictive ceiling on the amounts that can be received, duration is far too short a period, and harsh disqualification and eligibility provisions deprive many thousands of provisions deprive many thousands of workers of all insurance benefits.

In too many cases, a rise in the maximum benefit could be obtained only by sacrifice in some other respect. In some states no advances whatever were made

Experience of the last year thus lends new weight to the contention of organized labor that federal action is required to build an adequate unemployment insurance program. Both the AFL and the CIO have long supported a national system of unemployment insurance that would provide sufficient incomes to unemployed workers throughout the nation, in place of the present fifty-one competing systems. Last year both federations supported a Federal bill which provided certain minimum steps towards the reconstruction of the unemployment insurance system. This bill included uniform

national minimum standards as to benefit amounts, duration, eligibility requirements, and disqualifications. It established a re-insurance fund as a source of grants-in-aid te states whose benefit reserves are in danger of insolvency. Further, it struck at the present unsound system of individual employer experience rating by permitting an alternative method by which states can reduce employer tax rates where such reductions are justified by the condition of benefit funds.

Recently many unions have receit national minimum standards as to ben-

Recently many unions have negotiated collective agreements that provide ated collective agreements that your guaranteed wages, supplementary unemployment benefits, and dismissal pay to provide more protection against unemployment. Many such agreements unemployment. Many such as contemplate simultaneous receipt of unemployment insurance and the privately-negotiated benefits. This is a devately-negotiated benefits would be most sirable objective, and it would be most unfortunate if narrow provisions and rulings were to interfere with free rulings were to interrere with free collective bargaining and the development of a combined arrangement that will better protect millions of workers and promote a more liberal insurance program for all wage earners.

The Federal Advisory Council on Employment Security, a tripartite body established by law, has in recent years provided constructive advice to the Secretary of Labor on methods of improving unemployment insurance and the winding employment insurance. proving unemployment insurance and the public employment offices. However, employer organizations have supported a bill to replace the tripartite body with separate consultative groups of labor and management. Provisions for tripartite bodies in the states would also

be eliminated.

The proposal by the Administration for basing old-age and survivors insurance benefits on annual reports of earnings, rather than quarterly reports as at present, likewise constitutes a threat to unemployment insurance. If quarterly reports by employers for threat to unemployment insurance. If quarterly reports by employers for OASI purposes are abolished, the drive of employers to substitute so-called request reporting for quarterly reports under the unemployment insurance laws will be strengthened. Such a change would work to the detriment of unemployment insurance claimants unless proper safeguards can be provided; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED: This Convention supports a comprehensive over-hauling and improvement of the unemployment insurance system. The ultimate answer to present shortcomings lies in the establishment of a single federal employment security system, with adequate benefits for all workers and a sound system of financ-

workers and a sound system ing.

Pending the establishment of such a system, we support Federal legislation providing uniform minimum standards with regard to benefits, duration, eligibility and disqualifications, providing for re-insurance as a source of grantsin-aid to states, and permitting states to make flat-rate reductions in taxes in place of individual employer experience rating.

We support a coordinated national

We support a coordinated national approach by the employment service and the continuation and expansion of

its various activities.

We oppose employer proposals for abolishing the tripartite Federal Advisory Council on Employment Security and similar state advisory bodies.

We favor repeal of the Reed amendments which will shortly result in automatic federal grants to the states, regardless of need, which can be used to supplement federal appropriations for employment security administration, thus undermining proper Federal leadership without meeting essential requirements.

leadership without meeting essential requirements.

We urge the Secretary of Labor to enforce strictly the labor standards provisions of the unemployment insurance section of the Social Security Act, and to oppose all efforts by employer representatives to weaken or abolish the Federal Advisory Council on Employment Security and similar state advisory committees.

We urge affiliated unions to continue their efforts to improve the state unemployment insurance laws so that they will replace a higher percent of the individual's lost wages, so that maximums are realistic in terms of present wage levels, and so that harsh, restrictive provisions in regard to eligibility and disqualifications are reeligibility and disqualifications are re-

moved.
We favor extension of coverage to

We favor extension of coverage to all wage earners and the establishment of a system of unemployment insur-ance in Fuerto Rico. COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY SODER-STROM: Mr. Chairman, I move adop-tion of the resolution.

carried.

Committee co-Secretary Curran submitted the following report:

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION

American workers injured on the job American workers injured on the job are today bearing not only the pain and suffering caused by their injuries, but also a shocking proportion of the resulting economic burden. Despite the intention of workmen's compensation legislation to restore to injured workers at least two-thirds of the wage losses due to industrial injuries, this intention is violated in every state in the United States.

While there has been some improve ment in state legislation during the past year, there are few states that repay as much as one-third of the losses suffered by workers and their

families.

With average weekly earnings of approximately \$72.00, the stated objective of the Workmen's Compensation system would require average weekly benefits of \$43.20 to \$48.00. However, only one state, Arizona, attains this average. In all other states compensation is reduced below the theoretical benefit level because the statutes fix a maximum payment that is not related to the worker's actual earnings. earnings.

In addition, there are wide dispari-ties in payments for permanent partial disabilities. The value given an arm in one state is only half the value in another state. In a number of states loss of an arm at the shoulder is given less compensable value that the loss of

a thumb in one of the better states. Increases in workmen's compensation payments since 1940 have been at only one-half the rate of employer contributions to all other social-insurance and related programs during the same period. Abuse of workmen's compensation insurance by private insurers has continued. By design, workmen's compensation premiums set surers has continued. By design, work-men's compensation premiums set aside as much as 40 percent for "over-head." In practice, workers often re-ceive even less than half of the pre-miums in benefits.

The decline of workmen's compensa-

The decline of workmen's compensa-tion legislation in America is a matter of grave concern not only to the mil-lions of workers who make up the nation's labor force, and their imme-diate families, but also the communi-ties in which they live and to the na-tion as a whole. Injured workers in ties in which they live and to the na-tion as a whole. Injured workers in many instances receive substantially less than they could collect in relief payments. Thus there is a tendency to tax the community for what properly should be a charge against industry. The time has come for the Federal Government, which is an active partici-pant in all other forms of social in-surance, to assert leadership in im-proving workmen's compensation, the most neglected form of social insur-

proving workmen's compensation, the most neglected form of social insurance in America today.
Organized labor is fearful that our first social-insurance laws are headed for almost certain collapse. It was the collapse of the common law and emcollapse of the common law and em-ployers' liability acts 40 years ago that resulted in widespread investigations and the enactment of workmen's compensation laws. But experience has shown that the 1910 models of workmen's compensation laws do not meet today's needs; now, therefore, be it

needs; now, therefore, be it
RESOLVED: 1. We approve of the short
initial step taken by the present national
administration to make an objective survey through the U.S. Department of
Labor of workmen's compensation systems throughout the United States.
This survey should give prior attention
to the decline in benefits in relation to
the wage loss and the relation of the
benefit to modest living costs.

- 2. The respective state legislatures are urged to take the following action: eliminate dollar and duration limits on medical care which still exist in too many states; overhaul the permanent many states; overhaul the permaner partial disability rating schedules; make coverage compulsory for all employers including those in agriculture of employers of the number of employers. ployers including those in agriculture regardless of the number of employees; make provision for compulsory reporting of all disabiling injuries including occupational diseases; maintain a free choice of physicians for the injured worker under proper safeguards established by the State Workmen's Compensation Commission; and expand occupational disease provisions, especially in view of the vast development of new industrial processes and materials. rials.
- 3. Greater consideration must also be given by the states to provisions for rehabilitation of injured workers. One authority has revealed that "true rehabilitation of the injured worker. with a few real exceptions is, from a practical point of view, virtually non-

existing under our present workmen's compensation system."

4. Abuses, such as excessive overhead charges, arising out of the insurance of workmen's compensation risks by private insurance companies must be corrected.

5. We urge all of our affiliated organizations to work for the amendment and improvement of state workmen's compensation laws in accordance with the standards set forth in

men's compensation laws in accordance with the standards set forth in this resolution.

COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY CUR-RAN: I move adoption of the resolution: ... The motion was seconded and carried.

. . . Committee co-Secretary Soderstrom continued the report of the Committee as follows:

OCCUPATIONAL SAFETY AND HEALTH

Occupational accidents and health hazards continue to take a relentless toll of the lives and well-being of American workers. Despite continuous

American workers. Despite continuous discussion of the problem, statistics indicate that these accidents and injuries continue at a fairly consistent level year after year. The 14,000 death toll and 1,550,000 cripping accidents in 1954 reveal only a slight reduction in the shameful record of 1953.

These tragic problems can be solved only through the cooperation of all concerned, in voluntary activities and in enactment of necessary legislation. Organized labor has consistently requested business management, the other major group directly concerned in occupational safety and health, to joint with us in such cooperation. In the isolated instances where the coperation at the coperation of the cooperation of the solated instances where the coperation in the isolated instances where the coperative approach has been tried, the

joint with us in such cooperation. In the isolated instances where the cooperative approach has been tried, the record plainly reveals tremendous improvements in safety performance.

Major opposition to the cooperative approach can be traced clearly to a group of large industries, the heads of which continue to insist that occupational safety and health programs are the "sole prerogative" of management. Representatives of these industries strive to dominate completely the voluntary and governmental agencies which presumably have been estabstrive to dominate completely the vol-untary and governmental agencies which presumably have been estab-lished to reduce accidents and occupa-tional diseases. Thus they prevent any real improvements in occupational safety and health legislation, and ade-quate governmental appropriations for research, education and enforcement of existing laws.

existing laws.

The limited interest which the U. S. Department of Labor and the U. S. Public Health Service are permitted to take in occupational safety and health, is revealed in the Federal budget. The Bureau of Labor Standards in the Labor Department has been allotted \$735,000 for the current fiscal year; the Occupational Health Program in the Health, Education and Welfare Department has been given \$557,000 by the present Administration. These amounts together represent an annual partment has been given \$557,000 by the present Administration. These amounts together represent an annual expenditure of less than TWO CENTS for each American worker. Even these pitiful amounts are constantly threat-ened with further reductions. Similarly, the Department of Labor and other agencies concerned with occupational health in the respective states are handicapped by grossly inadequate appropriations. Efforts to improve inadequate state standards meet with steady and relentless opposition, now, therefore, be it RESOLVED: 1. We reaffirm the programs for improving occupational safety and health which organized labor has repeatedly recommended.

for improving occupational safety and health which organized labor has repeatedly recommended.

2. We further urge the 84th Congress to appropriate funds in amounts sufficient to enable the Bureau of Labor standards of the U. S. Department of Labor and the Division of Special Services, U. S. Public Health Service to carry out properly and efficiently their respective leadership functions in the prevention of occupational accidents and diseases. We further urge that the Congress provide for Federal grantsin-aid to the state agencies concerned with maintaining standards of occupational safety and health as provided in the Bailey bill (H. R. 4877) and the Murray bill (S. 638), We also urge the Congress to vest in the Federal Government enforcement of adequate labor standards in metallic and non-metallic mines as well as in coal mines, and also in quarries, and in the logging and lumbering industry.

3. We commend the National Safety Council for its decision within the last year to integrate organized labor into the work of the Council through the establishment of a Labor Conference equal in status to other NSC Conference.

equal in status to other ences.

4. We emphasize our conviction that occupational safety and health can be attained only by initial action at the level of each individual plant or workplace. Neither management, nor labor, nor safety technicians can do the job alone. All three groups must work together voluntarily in good faith to attain the objectives through joint committees.

committees.

5. We urge all affiliates to work diligently in their respective states to bring about the enactment of enforceable, up-to-date occupational safety and health codes at all levels.

COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY SODER-STROM: Mr. Chairman, I move adoption of the Committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried

ESCORT COMMITTEES

. . . President Meany announced the appointment of the following Escort Committees:

J. Addington Wagner, Commander of The American Legion William L. McFetridge M. A. Hutcheson W. C. Doherty I. W. Abel William Pollock Ed Miller

carried.

Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, President, National Council of Churches of Christ

America
Phil Hannah
Lee Minton
Herman Winter
John Riffe John J. Moran

The Honorable Adlai Stevenson George M. Harrison Joseph D. Keenan Peter Schoemann David J. McDonald Frank Rosenblum

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt James B. Carey John J. Murphy John J. Lyons Harriet Wray Charles Zimmerman O. A. Knight

PRESIDENT MEANY: The members of these Committees will kindly take note and get information from the Secretary-Treasurer's office as to where these guests can be contacted.

GENERAL BOARD AMERICAN FED-ERATION OF LABOR AND CON-GRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANI-ZATIONS

PRESIDENT MEANY: I would like to call attention also at this time to Article X of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations. This Article has to do with the General Board of the Federation and states that this Board shall consist of all the members of the Executive Council and the president or other principal officer of each of the affiliated national or international unions, and of each trade and industrial department.

The section further calls for a meeting at least once a year.

In order that the names of these people who will comprise the General Board may be listed in the Convention proceedings, I would request each affiliated International Union and its trade or industrial departments to present to the Secretary sometime the name of the principal officer whom they wish to sit on this particular Board.

In case we do not hear from the

Board.

In case we do not hear from the International Union, it is understood then that the president of each organi-zation will be listed as the principal

I ask that each organization who has any other desire would communicate that to the Secretary so that these names can be listed in the official proceedings of this Convention before adjournment.

The Chair recognizes co-Secretary Curran of the Resolutions Committee to continue the report.

continue the report.
... Committee co-Secretary Curran continued the report of the Committee as follows:

HEALTH PROGRAMS

Adequate health services must now be Adequate health services must now be considered one of the necessities of life along with food, shelter and clothing. Yet millions of Americans are still denied the benefits of proper medical care and other health services. Among those who suffer most are many beneficiaries of old-age and survivors

insurance.
Public funds invested in health programs are more than repaid by the

increased productivity and well-being

increased productivity and well-being of the population.
Organized labor has supported a national health program which would give all Americans access to the highest quality of medical care. In addition, our unions have made notable progress in the development of health centers and collective bargaining agreements providing health protection for our members. We have cooperated in community efforts by private and public agencies to provide more and better health services of many types. Labor representatives have served constructively on boards of voluntary health agencies and on many public bodies concerned with health problems.

In spite of remarkable achievements in medical science and in limited areas of activity, the national, state and local property and the services of account of the services of activity, the national, state and local acceptance and in limited areas of activity, the national, state and local

In spite of remarkable achievements in medical science and in limited areas of activity, the national, state and local governments generally lag seriously behind their capacity to develop comprehensive activities essential for the maintenance of good health. Our union-negotiated programs are severely limited by the shortcomings of the public programs, especially by continuing shortages of medical personnel and facilities, with ever-rising costs. Our unions are also handicapped by the scarcity of nonprofit, direct service, prepayment medical plans, which make comprehensive services, including preventive medicine, available at reasonable charges.

Organized labor has favored many types of government action which would overcome these shortcomings

types of government action which would overcome these shortcomings and lead toward our ultimate goal of a comprehensive national health program, including national health insur-

ance.

ance.
In the last year, the failure of the Eisenhower Administration to provide adequate leadership has had tragic results. The delay in rapid provision of a safe vaccine against polio arose partly from a narrow concept of the responsibilities of the Federal Government and inadequate staffing of the U. S. Public Wealth Service. Health Service.

Health Service.

No constructive programs were advo-cated by the Administration for train-ing more doctors, dentists, and all other types of medical personnel, or for as-sisting the development of direct ser-vice prepayment plans.

Administration budget requests for hospital construction, medical research, and many other health services were inadequate, and so are current appropriations, in spite of additions made by Congress. The Pure Food and Drug Administration and the Industrial Health Division of the U. S. Public Health Service continue to furnish sad illustrations of the effects of the short-sighted economy drive of a business-minded Administration. The marine hospitals, which have provided care for seamen since 1798, have been preserved with difficulty.

At a time when organized labor has been trying to hold down medical costs and promote nonprofit arrangements covering all costs of comprehensive medical service, the Administration has been turning to the life insurance companies in developing legislation for health insurance for Federal employees. As originally introduced in Congress, these proposals threatened to shut out Administration budget requests for

the voluntary nonprofit plans, and in other ways fell far short of the stand-ards our unions in private industry have obtained or are seeking for their members.

The passage of a law providing for a nationwide analysis of the problems of mental illness was the most notable mental illness was the most notable health legislation, other than the polio vaccine program, enacted by Congress vaccine program, in 1955. But th But this accomplishment is limited in scope tion's vast needs. compared to the na-

In the past, the Committee for the Nation's Health, endorsed and supported by both the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, has served as a dustrial Organizations, has served as a central agency for information and for cooperation between our organizations and others. It is desirable that the functions and structure of such a central clearing house be considered afresh by the Social Security Committee, in the light of the current situation; now, therefore, be it RESOLVED: The AFL-CIO, in recognition of the immensity of the problem of meeting the basic health needs of the nation, will renew organized labor's efforts

meeting the basic health needs of the na-tion, will renew organized labor's efforts to obtain more adequate health services through collective bargaining, through community activities, and through legisla-tive efforts in Washington, in the states, and in cities and counties.

We call upon Congress to enact a comprehensive legislative program geared to the nation's needs and resources. Such a program would strengthen national, state, and private agencies alike. It should include the following:

1. Federal assistance to schools training doctors, dentists, nurses and medical technicians, in the form of grants for construction, equipment and maintenance of physical facilities, for student scholaring and for research.

ships, and for research.

2. Expanded federal matching grants to states and local groups for the construction of hospitals, at least to the level of \$150,000,000 a year authorized under the original Hill-Burton Act. in addition to sums for special types of hospitals added by recent legislation.

3. A program of federal aid, such as grants and low-interest loans, to further the development of nonprofit, direct service presyment medical care plans hased

vice, prepayment medical care plans, based

on group practice
4. Expanded Federal aid for medical research and for state and local public health units.

Expanded aid for maternal and child

5. Expanded aid for maternal and child health services, and for programs for physically handicapped children.
6. Renewed efforts to develop a mental health program which will improve our mental hospitals, increase the facilities and services throughout the nation for care of the mentally ill, and provide for the training of psychiatrists and other mental health personnel.
7. Strengthening of other functions of the U. S. Public Health Service, with especial attention to restoring and increasing of its activities for Pure Food and Drug Administration, for advancing of industrial health, and for providing of up-to-date maritime hospitals.
8. Hospitalization insurance for persons receiving old-age and survivors insurance

receiving old-age and survivors insurance

insurance benefits.

 A national health insurance system which would make complete prepaid health protection available to all Amer-icans, with contributions geared to inhealth protection available to all Americans, with contributions geared to income; assure high quality medical services, facilities and personnel in expanding quantity and quality; and at the same time provide free choice of doctors and patients, with control of medical decisions in the hands of the medical professions.

sion.
We urge our affiliated unions and central bodies to continue their efforts to improve state and local legislation so that more adequate health facilities and services may be available in all areas. We seek repeal of laws that have been sponsored by medical societies in many states to interfere with the formation of consumer cooperatives for health care. We support the addition of fluorides to water as an excellent preventive step against an excellent preventive step against

tooth decay

We shall press for the continued im-provement of our collective bargaining programs in the field of health, which provide immediate protection and could, provide immediate protection and could, to a substantial degree, continue to operate under the type of national health insurance which we support. We express especial interest in the continued development of direct service prepayment mediately available to their memplans, making available to their mem-

bers the advantage of group practice.
We favor more extensive, active active and meaningful consumer participation in the determination of policies governing the operations of hospitals, medical service operations of hospitals, medical service plans and other voluntary health agencies. objective is not mere token repre-ttion, but sufficiently extensive and Our sentation, sentation, but sufficiently extensive and active participation by labor and consumer spokesmen to improve the services these agencies render. It should be clear to our unions that labor representation on the board of an agency does not, in itself, mean endorsement by labor.

We recommend that the Social Security the best means by

Committee consider the best means by which the AFL-CIO can cooperate with other groups interested in the development and promotion of programs to meet the health needs of the nation.

COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY CURRAN: I move adoption of the resolution.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

HEALTH AND WELFARE PLAN ADMINISTRATION

PRESIDENT MEANY: Before co-Secretary Soderstrom reads the resolves on this very important resolution I would ask that the delegates give him their undivided attention. These matters are very important and while they undivided attention. These matters are very, very important, and while they will, of course, appear in the proceedings in full and you will have an opportunity to read them, I feel it might be well to give the co-Secretary the attention he deserves so that you can hear these recommendations of the Committee regarding the administration of health and welfare plans and the principles that should be observed in administering those plans, which are all designed to protect the interests of each individual member in these particular plans. I ask you to very kindly give the to protect the interests of each individ-ual member in these particular plans. I ask you to very kindly give the co-Sec-retary of the Committee your undivided attention as he reads the resolves in this report.

. Committee co-Secretary Soderstrom presented the resolution on Health and Welfare Plan Administration as fol-

HEALTH AND WELFARE PLAN ADMINISTRATION

e development, through of collective bargaining, the process of collective bargaining, of plans designed to provide some measure of protection to the health and welfare of wage earners and their families, the labor movement is fulfilling its historic role. Having been denied by the Government the compreprocess denied by the Government the comprehensive health insurance protection for the people of the Nation which organized labor has advocated for many years, trade unions have secured for their members the best protection

available

The task of administering and ating these programs has pl erating these programs has placed heavy, new responsibilities upon the shoulders of trade union officials. The placed shoulders of trade union officials. The funds involved must be regarded as the common property of the workers covered by these plans, for they have been paid for through labor performed in exchange. They must, therefore, be administered as a high trust for the benefit only of the workers covered. The trustees or administrators of health, welfare and retirement programs, whether union, management or joint, as well as all others exercising joint, as well as all others exercising responsibility in connection with such responsibility in connection with such programs, have the obligation to make sure that maximum benefits are provided for the money available, and that the highest ethical standards are observed and rigorously followed.

In the pursuit of their responsibility

In the pursuit of their responsibili-ties as autonomous organizations in the direction of their internal affairs, is incumbent upon each national and international union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations to take such steps as are necessary to pro-tect the interests of its members in the operation of health and welfare programs, in the manner best suited to the particular problems and practices in its trade or industry. Where constitutional amendments or changes and practices in its trade or industry. Where constitutional amendments or changes in Internal administrative procedure are necessary to provide this protection, such amendments and changes should be undertaken at the earliest practicable time. They should be designed to provide national and international unions with the means and the authority to audit funds and apply remedies where there is evidence of a violation of ethical standards. To aid affiliated organizations in the performance of this responsibility, and as a guide to trade union officials engaged in the administration of health and welfare programs, a uniform code of ethical standards—in keeping with standards adopted separately heretofore by both the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations—should be adopted by the First Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations. These guides and standards should receive guides and standards should receive

the widest distribution throughout the ranks of the trade union movement. While unions affiliated with the

While unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Oragnizations can, with the aid of these standards, be relied upon to keep their own houses in order, there are problems in other areas of the health and welfare field, and particularly in the area of commercial insurance practices, which require legislative action: now therefore. commercial insurance practices, which require legislative action; now, therefore,

RESOLVED: 1. In the administration of health and welfare plans, the following principles should be observed:

(a) Where a salaried union official

serves as employee representative trustee in the administration of a health, welfare or retirement program. service should be regarded as one such service should be regarded as one of the functions expected to be performed by a union official in the normal course of his duties and not as an "extra" function requiring further compensation, over and above his salary, from the welfare fund. Officials who already receive full-time pay from their union should not receive fees or salaries from a welfare fund.

(b) Union officials, employees, or any other persons acting as agent or repre-

(b) Union officials, employees, or any other persons acting as agent or representative of the union who exercise responsibility or influence in the administration of welfare programs or the placement of insurance contracts should be entirely free of any compromising personal ties, direct or indirect, with outside agencies—such as insurmising personal ties, direct or indirect, with outside agencies—such as insurance carriers, brokers, consultants and others—doing business with the welfare plan. Such ties cannot be reconciled with their duty to be guided solely by the best interests of the membership in any transactions with such agencies. Any union official found to be involved in such ties to his own personal advantage, or to have accepted inducements, benefits or favors of any kind from such outside agencies, should be removed. kind from such should be removed.

This principle should not be construed to prevent an outside relationship on the part of a union officer or employee where (i) no substantial personal advantage is derived from the relationship, and (ii) the concern or enterprise is one in the management of which the union participates for the benefit of its members.

(c) Where any trustee-whether employer, employee or neutral—or em-ployee of a health and welfare pro-gram is found to have received an un-ethical payment, the union should can is found to have received an unethical payment, the union should insist upon his removal and appropriate legal action against both the party receiving and the party making the payment. In addition, if an insurance carrier or agent is involved, action against the carrier or agent should be pressed before the state insurance authorities, with a view to the cancellation of the carrier's or agent's right to do business in the state.

(d) Complete records of the fraction

(d) Complete records of the financial operations of walfare funds and programs should be maintained in accordgrams should be maintained in accordance with the best accounting practice. All welfare funds should be audited at least semi-annually by certified public accountants of unques-

professional integrity. tioned should certify that the audits and comprehensively show the finan. and comprehensively snow the intaken cial condition of the funds and results of the operation of these funds. All audit reports should be available to the

membership of the union.

(e) There should be full disclosure and report to the beneficiaries at least and report to the beneficiaries at least once each year by the trustees or administrators of welfare funds. Included in the report should be a detailed statement of receipts and expenses; all salaries and fees paid by the fund, to whom and in what amount such sums were paid, and for what service or purpose; a breakdown of insurance premium payments, if a commercial insurance carrier is involved, showing the amount of retentions, claims paid, dividends, commissions and service charges and to whom the carrier paid the amount of retentions, claims paid, dividends, commissions and service charges and to whom the carrier paid such commissions and charges; a financial statement on the part of the insuring or service agency, if an agency other than a commercial insurance carriers it amount of the statement of

other than a commercial insurance carrier is employed; and a detailed account of the manner in which the reserves heid by the fund are invested.

(f) Prior to the initial establishment of the plan, the relative advantages of all of the alternative available methods of providing health and welfare benefits should be fully explored, including self-insurance and the use of programs providing prepaid direct prepaid providing direct programs programs providing prepare directions medical services where they exist or can be set up in the community, as well as the use of commercial insurance carriers. The objective should be to reduce operating expenses and non-benefit costs to the minimum consistent benefit costs to the minimum consistent with the safety and security of the program, and to make available to the members the maximum in terms of actual prepaid health services (as distinguished from cash payments covering an unpredictable portion of actual medical bills) obtainable within the limits of the revenue of the fund.

(g) Where health and welfare benefits are provided through the use of a commercial insurance carrier, the carrier should be selected through competitive bids solicited from a substan-

rier should be selected through com-petitive bids solicited from a substan-tial number of reliable companies, on the basis of the lowest net cost for the given benefits submitted by a responsible carrier, taking into consideration such factors as comparative retention rates, financial responsibility, facilities

such factors as comparative retention rates, financial responsibility, facilities for and promptness in servicing claims, and the past record of the carrier, including its record in dealing with trade unions representing its employees.

The trustees of the fund should be required to state in writing and to report to the membership the specific reasons for the selection of the carrier finally chosen. The carrier should be required to warrant that no fee or other renumeration has been paid, directly or indirectly, to any representative of the parties in connection with the business of the fund.

(h) Complete records of the claims experience should be kept so that a constant check can be maintained on the relationship between claims and premiums and dividends, and on the utilization of the various benefits. In the case of medical benefits, records and statistics should also be kept,

where possible, showing the extent to which benefits paid out are sufficient to cover, or fail to cover, the costs and charges actually incurred by the mem-bers when they avail themselves of medical services.

medical services.

(i) The investment of welfare fund reserves in the business of any contributing employer, insurance carrier or agency doing business with the fund, or in any enterprise in which any trustee, officer or employee of the fund has a personal financial interest of such a nature as to be affected by the fund's investment or disinvestment. the fund's investment or disinvestment,

should be prohibited.

(This is not to be construed as pre-(This is not to be construed as preventing investment in an enterprise in which a union official is engaged by virtue of his office, provided (1) no substantial personal advantage is derived from the relationship, and (ii) the concern or enterprise is one in the management of which the union participates for the benefit of its members)

(j) The provisions of the plan governing eligibility for benefits should be designed to include, as nearly as practicable, all workers on whose be designed to include, as been practicable, all workers on whose wages any substantial contribution has been paid, whether such contribution was withheld from their wages or made on their behalf by their employers. Waiting periods for eligibility should not be of such a length as to altestimate unfairly against some discriminate unfairly against portions of the membership, benefit of others. against

(k) Every program should incorporate an adequate appeals procedure as a check against the arbitrary or unjust denial of claims, so as to afford the individual member a fair hearing and a sufficient opportunity to obtain redress where he feels his claim for benefits has been improperly rejected.

(1) The duty of policing and enforcing these standards is shared by every union member, as well as by local, national and international officials. The best safeguard against abuses lies in the hands of a vigilant, informed and active rempherable item of their best safeguard against abuses lies in the hands of a vigilant, informed and active membership, jealous of their rights and interests in the operation of health and welfare programs, as well as any other trade union program. As a fundamental part of any approach to the problem of policing health and welfare funds, affiliated unions, through education, publicity and discussion programs, should seek to develop the widest possible degree of active and informed interest in all phases of these programs on the part of the membership at large. International unions should, wherever possible, have expert advice available for the negotiation, establishment and administration of health and welfare plans, and should provide training for union representatives in the techniques and standards of proper administration of welfare plans. plans.

2. Legislation should be enacted by the Congress of the United States, re-quiring annual reports and public dis-closure of the financial operations of health, welfare and pension plans, in-cluding the details of the related finan-cial transactions of insurance carriers and/or service agencies. Such legisla-

tion should contain the following es-

tion should contain the following essential elements:

(a) The law should be adopted and administered at the Federal level rather than through a multiplicity of state agencies. Farties responsible for the operation of health and welfare plans should be required to file reports with the Federal Government, regardless of whether or not they also the with a state governmental agency. file with a state governmental agency. As an expression of the public interest in the operation of tax-exempt programs and so as to avoid the complexgrams and so as to avoid the complexity of determining whether such plans are intra-state or interstate in character, the reporting and disclosure requirement should be made a function of the Federal tax power.

(b) The filing and disclosure requirement should apply to all types of group health, welfare and pension plans, including those administered unilaterally as well as those administered jointly.

(c) The party or parties responsible for the administration of a health, welfare or pension plan should be required to report the financial details of plan

fare or pension plan should be required to report the financial details of plan operations annually, on a standard form, with the Internal Revenue Service. The report should disclose, in adequate detail, the operations, transactions, expenses and investments of the fund. If a private insurance carrier is employed, the report should be accompanied by a statement from the carrier covering the particular account companied by a statement from the carrier covering the particular account involved and containing a breakdown of premiums and retentions, showing the amount of dividends or rate credits paid or due, claims experience, the amount of commissions and service charges, and to whom those commissions and charges were paid.

The law should provide criminal penalties for non-filing or false filing. While the Internal Revenue Service should not be granted the power to withhold approval of a health and welfare plan so as to delay its establishment or to require approval in advance

ment or to require approval in advance of establishment as a condition of tax exemption, as a result of this legislation, the Service would be able to use the information contained in these reports as an aid to its normal enforcement operations.

(d) The party or parties responsible for filing these reports shall also, and at the same time, file a certified duplicate copy with the Department of Labor. It shall then be the duty of the Department of Labor to make these reports freely available on request to parties authorized to receive them—which shall include individual employees and their collective bargaining representatives, authorized government agencies and committees of Congress. agencies and committees of Congress, and state insurance departments. It shall also be the duty of the Department of Labor to undertake and to make public analytical studies and statistical summaries of the information derived through these reports. and committees of Congress

The proposed statute should spell out in detail the information to be sought in a disclosure form with authority lodged in the Secretary of Labor to prescribe appropriate rules. In addition, since the whole field of health welfare and pension plans is still in such a fluid state, the law should re-

quire the establishment of an advisory quire the establishment of an advisory committee to meet at regular intervals and to be composed of representatives from the important interest groups including organized labor. The purpose of the advisory committee would be to provide guidance to the government in the formulation of the disclosure schedule and in the administration of the ule and in the administration of the

Legislation should be sought the several states so as to achieve following objectives:

State insurance laws should be (a) (a) State insurance laws should be amended so that in cases where an agent or broker is not employed and no such services are rendered, the requirement that commissions must nevertheless be paid to an agent or retained by the insurance carrier is

retained by the hanned. A code of charges should be banned. A code of standards governing commissions and charges should be adopted and enforced

charges should be adopted and enforced by state insurance commissions.

(c) State regulatory bodies govern-ing insurance operations should be made more representative of the pub-lic and consumer interest. At present, state insurance commissions and de-partments tend to reflect and to be dominated by the special interests of the insurance industry.

(d) State insurance commissions and departments should be required to see

(d) State insurance commissions and departments should be required to assume and exercise a greater degree of responsibility for the integrity, competence and character of agents and brokers who are licensed by the state. At the present time, such a license is virtually meaningless and offers no assurance of the state. virtually meaningless and offers no assurance to the public that a person having a license is reliable or subject to any really effective checks, surveillance or standards. As a minimum step, as a requirement for securing and holding a license, the records and accounts of agents and brokers should be subject to regular and thorough inspections, and they should be required to file regular reports with state insurance commissions disclosing and insurance commissions disclosing and identifying every fee and commission received in connection with a group identifying every fee and commission received in connection with a group policy, issued as a part of a health and welfare plan, and the nature and purpose of expenditures made in the course of their business operations. The charging of excessive fees, commissions, or expenses and the making of unethical or improper payments to secure or to hold an account should result in the prompt revocation of the license to operate

result in the prompt revocation of the license to operate.

(e) Laws which, in a number of states, now stand in the way of the development of consumer-sponsored, nonprofit medical service prepayment plans should be repealed, so as to make constructive alternatives to limited cash indemnity insurance plans more generally available to trade union and other

consumer groups

consumer groups.

(f) Laws which, in a number of states, prohibit employers from withholding any part of wages earned by an employee (except taxes) without written authorization, should be amended so as to exempt from such prohibitions deductions made for health and welfare plans developed through

collective bargaining by employers and bona fide trade unions.

(g) The fiduciary obligations generally applicable to trustees under state law should be applicable to trustees of health and welfare plans. If additional legislation is necessary to bring about the result, it should be enacted.

Committee co-Secretary Soderstrom: I move Mr. Chairman the adoption of the

Mr. Chairman, the adoption of the

Committee's report.
... The motion was seconded.

PRESIDENT MEANY: You have heard the report of the Committee on the very important subject of Health and Wel-fare Plan Administration. The motion is to adopt that report. Is there discus-sion? The Chair recognizes Delegate Sorenson Sorenson.

DELEGATE SORENSON, Poughkeep-sie Central Labor Union: Mr. Chairman and delegates.

and delegates.

I have listened with a great deal of attention to the report of the Chairman of the Resolutions Committee on this important subject of welfare and the recommendation to seek legislation to protect the various phases of this important part of our union life.

I am in full accord with the Resolution Committee's suggestions, and so far as the adoption of the necessary legislation to protect the interests of each and every member of our great labor movement is, but I feel that the resolution itself does not cover the most resolution itself does not cover the most important part of the administration of the welfare fund itself. That particular point has to do with the constantly expanding costs of the application of the fund to the benefits of the membership. By that I mean, if I may illustrate it in a rather simple manner, the experience that we have had in the administration of our own fund is simply that each year as the contributions of our employers to our funds have increased and as the resources of our funds have increased, we have witnessed within the area of that particular fund a continual increase in the service charges by the physicians working in that particular area. By that I mean as our income has increased our expenses have increased much more rapidly, and it increased much more rapidly, and it seems to refute the statement of the American Medical Association that the people themselves can enlist and work on the basis of their own funds.

on the basis of their own funds.

Then we find the picture where the American Medical Association takes the negative position in so far as trying to control the costs of that particular fund. I believe if we are to seek legislation which will guarantee protection to the members of our organizations—and I reiterate I am solely and wholly in favor of it—I would say this also, that this resolution should be embodied so that a specific study would be made of the costs that have been foisted on these particular plans by the unscrupulous physicians—and I hope there are not too many of them—who are willing to increase their costs and which again brings about a gradual mounting of costs to the point that possibly the fund itself will become inoperative.

I respectfully suggest to the Resolu-

I respectfully suggest to the Resolu-tions Committee that study be given to the adoption of legislation that will def-initely protect the members in so far

as the mounting charges imposed upon them by physicians who will take ad-vantage of this particular measure which has been instituted and has been developed by organized labor are con-

PRESIDENT MEANY: Is there fur-ther discussion? The Executive Council can make The Executive Council can make study of the point raised by Delegate Sorenson, and I am quite sure they will have the authority to support legisla-

Sorenson, and I am quite sure they will have the authority to support legislation in that direction if they feel the study warrants that support.

COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY SODER-STROM: I think the delegate will be interested in knowing that his point is completely covered in another section of the Resolution Committee's report under the caption of Health Programs of the Resolution Committee's report under the caption of Health Programs. I suggest that he read that. ... The motion for adoption of the resolution on Health and Welfare Plan

Administration was carried.

Administration was carried.
PRESIDENT MEANY: Will the Escort
Committee escorting the Secretary of
Health, Education and Welfare, please
come to the platform?
. Mr. Marion B. Folsom was escorted to the speaker's platform.

PRESIDENT MEANY: With a great deal of pleasure I have the opportunity to present to you a member of the President's Cabinet in charge of the newest Department of the Executive branch of our Government, the Depart-ment of Health, Education and Wel-

department is without question of the outstanding departments the viewpoint of workers and one of from th their families.

I am very happy to see this department under the charge of our guest speaker who is with us this morning. He has had a long career in business and has for many years had an interest in health and welfare and unemployment insurance programs. I had the ment insurance programs. I had the pleasure of sitting with him as one of the first members of the New York State Advisory Commission on unemployment insurance, which was established after the passage of the State Unemployment Insurance Law in 1935. I sat on that board with him for five years. I know him very well. I am quite sure that he is one secretary of a department that is completely in sympathy with the purposes for which his department is established.

I regard him as a close personal friend, and I take great pleasure in presenting him to you—Mr. Marion Folsom, Secretary of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

MR. MARION B. FOLSOM Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, Members of the Convention:
It is a privilege to have a part in this historic convention. In this setting, I think it would be pertinent to consider, for just a moment, the scene that surrounds American workers today.

ne nation The nation is breaking all records in the number of people with jobs, the high wages they are receiving, and the production of goods for people to enjoy. And income means more to the

enjoy. And income means more to the average family—because prices have remained stable.

No single element of our national life, of course, can claim credit for this abundance. We have advanced to higher living standards through the joint efforts of all. This Administration has made its contribution over these past three years by governmental posteries which foster a continuously past three years by governmously policies which foster a continuously expanding economy without inflation. Business has been willing to take risks Business has been willing to take risks a distributed at individual Business has peen willing and growth. necessary for expansion and growth. And organized labor and individual workers have contributed mightily workers. workers have contributed mightily with their enterprise, effort, and counsel for ever-increasing productivity and a better life for the individual and the nation.

the nation.

It is not characteristic of the labor movement to sit back and rest on the past, to drift into a future you are not helping to shape. Nor is economic standpatism a tradition of American business, with its will to venture. And complacency certainly has no part

And complacency certainly has no part in our thoughts in this Administration. Even in times like these, poverty, disease, and distress still afflict too many people. Our national living standards, although high, can be higher. And so we must renew our combined efforts to achieve for each person an ever-increasing measure of economic security, well-being, and freedom from want. I believe this is the best fundamental approach to the problem:

We should all cooperate to promote

mental approach to the problem:
We should all cooperate to promote continuing increases in production for the benefit of all. We should not be content with programs—worthy as they are—which simply relieve human want after it has developed. Our best hope for progress lies in greater stress on prevention and elimination of need, on attacking the underlying causes of want. We must look ahead and head off problems before they become acute. We must emphasize the services which help restore persons in need to in-

We must emphasize the services which help restore persons in need to independence and a better life. This approach requires imagination, hard and practical thinking, and a willingness to face up to the problems.

In the past 20 years, I have seen this approach bring great benefits to individuals and to the nation through our social security system. This is one of the best examples of the prevention of need—because this system provides basic protection for millions against economic distress. It is one of the nation's strongest bulwarks against human want.

against human want.

against human want.

It is a personal pleasure to meet old friends again and to recall our long work together. I know from personal experience that leaders of organized labor have made a magnificent contribution to social security through the years. I remember vividly my association with the late William Green in 1934 on the advisory council which helped draft the original social security program. In 1937-38 I participated with Philip Murray, Sidney Hillman, Mathew Woll, and others on the second advisory council, which proposed the

recommendations for the far-reaching amendments of 1939, adding survivor benefits to the program and increasing benefits. The important social security improvements of 1950 were due in large part to the work of the advisory council of 1947-48 on which I served with Emil Rieve and Nelson Cruikshank.

visiony council of 2217-22 with the served with Emil Rieve and Nelson Cruikshank.

I also had the pleasure as your chairman has indicated of working with him on the New York State Advisory Council on Unemployment for many years. And in 1951-52 I served with George Meany and Walter Reuther on the President's National Advisory Board on Mobilization Policy.

We were able to bring tangible results from these councils, I think, because labor, industry, and public representatives were willing to work together. Although our views may have differed widely at the beginning, after all the facts were on the table we were usually able to reach an agreement. The labor leaders and others on these councils sought advanders. others on these councils sought advan-tage for no single group or interest, but we all sought the best programs for the Nation as a whole. And that is the approach we should continue

I remember, as many of you do, the fears that were often expressed about fears that were often expressed about social security in those early days. We were told the system would bog down in red tape and staggering administrative costs. But today the administrative costs are amazingly low—only 1.8 percent of contributions. Fears also were expressed that the system would were expressed that the system would hamper individual initiative and busi-ness enterprise. But today individuals hamper individual initiative and business enterprise. But today individuals have provided for themselves, in addition to social security, more economic protection than ever before—through increased savings bonds, savings accounts, insurance, home ownership and other methods. And there has been an encouraging growth in company pension plans, many of them negotiated by workers and employers as a supplement to social security benefits. Some 13 million workers are now covered by private pension plans, and almost 1 million retired persons are drawing benefits from these plans—about twice as many as four years ago. Workers and employers should cooperate to extend and improve private retirement plans.

And I remember a third fear expressed at the outset of social security. And I remember a third fear expressed at the outset of social security. Our opponents said political pressures would increase benefits sky high, all out of line. The fact is that when this Administration took office, we found benefits were too low. They had failed to keep pace with wage increases and living costs. So President Elsenhower recommended and Congress approved last year a far-reaching series of improvements. Protection was extended to an additional 10 million persons, so that 9 out of 10 workers are covered today. Benefits were increased. A revision of the benefit formula and an increase in the wage base provided more equitable treatment for the industrial and trade worker. Again, I had the pleasure of working with labor leaders and others on these amendments.

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We have made great progress in social security over the years because we have been willing to change to meet changing conditions. We look forward to continued improvements, we low forward to continued improvements, with extension of coverage to the few groups who are still excluded and other steps which can be taken soundly at this time. On the other hand we should remember that the social security system has remained sound because Congress has rejected proposals that might weaken it. We must always be Congress has rejected proposals might weaken it. We must always be especially careful that proposals for new benefits are actually in keeping appears of our new benefits are actually in Reeping with the changing aspects of our times, that they do not run counter to trends in population, work habits, and our social life. We know, for example, that the life span is increasing and our aged population is growing rapidly. More groups are urging better job opportunities for older persons and more flexibility in retirement so that more flexibility in retirement so that workers can choose between retire-ment or continued employment. Furment or continued employment. Further, in considering social security benefits and the taxes to pay for them, we should carefully avoid tax increases that might undermine or weaken popular support for the system in the future. We should remember there is a limit to the social security taxes the people may be willing to pay to support the program in all the years shead ahead.

Despite our increasing efforts toward conomic security, we know that in our complex society there will always be some who need help in meeting their basic human needs. Local, state, their basic human needs. Local, state, private, and Federal agencies should provide necessary assistance, efficiently and fairly, with warm consideration for the individual. In our welfare programs we should emphasize services which help the person receiving assistance to rebuild toward self-sufficiency and a more satisfactory life. We need which help the person receiving assistance to rebuild toward self-sufficiency and a more satisfactory life. We need more research into the causes of individual want; we need more trained workers; and we need further study and demonstration to develop methods for helping people cope with personal distress. distress.

The principle of prevention—of constructive action for the future—has been applied with dramatic benefits in the field of health.

The first line of attack in promoting better health is research into the prevention and treatment of disease Scientific discoveries over the years have virtually eliminated, or greatly reduced, some of the diseases that once plagued mankind—smallers reduced, some of the diseases that once plagued mankind—smallpox, diphtheria, and typhoid. In the past 10 years we have seen the death rate drop 90 percent for influenza and 73 percent for tuberculosis and acute rheumatic fever. This year, the rate of paralytic pollo among several million vaccinated children has been reduced an average of about 75 percent. A single discovery now prevents blindness in about 1,000 newborn children every year.

But today we find other cripplers

But today we find other cripplers and killers are increasing—heart dis-ease, cancer, and arthritis, for example. And so now we must strengthen our research efforts in these and other fields. Further, we must increase our

speed and efficiency in applying the fruits of research to the treatment of patients and to broad public health programs to prevent disease. Few expenditures bring such great rewards as medical research in preventing or relieving suffering and in helping people to a happier life.

Despite all our effort, of course, illness and disease will strike, often bringing great economic strain as well

ness and disease will strike, often bringing great economic strain as well as personal tragedies. I believe strongly in expanding and improving voluntary health insurance programs to provide the people with better protection against the mounting costs of medical care. This is one of the major goals in our pattern of preventing human want. want.

advances are being Well over 100 million persons are now covered by some voluntary health insurance, and policies are constantly being improved. But we must speed this

surance, and policies are constantly being improved. But we must speed this
process of expansion, and we must
close some of the gaps in protection.
One of the big opportunities lies in
coverage of especially severe or prolonged illness, often called "catastrophic illness." Under too many policies, benefits are exhausted long before cies, benefits are exhausted long before major costs are met; family savings are wiped out and many are forced to turn to public aid. It is encouraging to see the insurance industry is begin-ning to move into this field now, and several large companies and their ning to move into this field now, and several large companies and their workers recently have negotiated insurance plans to cover catastrophic illness. I met with your Social Security Committee this morning and was pleased to have them tell me of several plans which have recently been nego-tiated in this field. My hope is that catastrophic coverage will spread rapidly in the next few years.

rapidly in the next few years.

There is also a great need to increase protection for older people against the cost of medical care. Many of them find it difficult or impossible to retain health insurance policies. I think it would be a sound insurance principle—for the company and the individual or group—to add a few cents to premiums in younger years and thus provide coverage for older people, including retired

Further, there is a gap in coverage in rural areas, due partly to higher ad-ministrative costs. Special types of poli-cles are being developed to meet this special need.

I believe by working together at the problem with the principles I have men-

problem with the principles I have mentioned—with imagination, practical thinking, and willingness—we will make great new strides in health insurance over the next few years.

As health insurance expands and improves, we must also provide adequate hospitals and other medical care facilities. The Federal-State program of hospital construction has brought a high mark of progress in this field throughout the nation and should be extended.

Our efforts to assure the purity and safety of foods, drugs, and cosmetics as they reach consumers should be increased. We are taking steps in this direction, with the benefit of a survey and the recommendations of a special advisory committee.

When sickness strikes the wage earner, the first need is to provide continued income. Many workers—two-thirds or more in some industrial states—also are covered by plans which provide some income during sickness or disability not the contract of the cont income during sickness of disability not connected with their employment. Workers and employers should cooper-ate in expanding and improving sick pay insurance plans. In the tax revision of 1954, recommended by this Admin-istration, sick pay benefits up to \$100 weekly, after the first week, are tax

Another great opportunity for relievanother great opportunity for reflev-ing personal tragedies lies in programs for restoring disabled workers to use-ful employment. It has been estimated there are now approximately 2 million persons needing vocational rehabilita-

tion.

Over 850 thousand disabled persons have been restored to useful work be the Federal-State program—almost 60 the Federal-State program—almost 60, 600 during the past year alone. This Administration has recommended and Congress has approved a continuing major increase in Federal funds. Most of the states have responded with matching funds, but others need to do more. We must continue to advance this work that brings such big dividends both from an economic and humanitarian reint of view. from an ecopoint of view.

point of view.

In the pattern of prevention we have been discussing, education is basic. For a strong system of free education, help-ing all our children develop to their ll our children develop to their capacity, provides the corner-of economic success, individual opportunity, and a richer life for all

opportunity, and a richer life for all.

It is significant, I think, that the birth of the labor movement in America, which is usually placed in the late 1820s, was marked by its dedication to the principle of free schools. The workers of that period realized that our democracy, as envisioned by the founders, could not endure and prosper unless each child had a fuil and equal right to an education. And so labor has been in the forefront along with many others in the long struggle that has produced our American educational system of to-day—a system which provides a higher level of education for a larger proportion of the people than any country in the world. world.

However, we are all aware of grave school needs. Every 10 minutes, new classrooms of children are reaching school age. Every 10 minutes, a new teacher and a new classroom are needed. This continuing increase in school age However, population, plus an accumulation of needs from past years, has created cri-tical shortages of school facilities and personnel. A weakness in education in any part of the country is a concern to all.

To help solve these problems, President Elsenhower called for the first White House Conference on Education in American history, concluded last week. Even before this meeting, a half million interested citizens and educators met in more than 4,000 state and local conferences throughout the country. And so we have seen a great national awakening of public interest in schools, Nothing is more basic to overcoming current problems and helping avoid educational shortcomings in the

future. You in labor have had a large part in this rekindling of public interest. You have made a valuable con-tribution to the local, state, and na-tional conferences. Your contribution to tional conferences. Your contribution to increased public support of education can be even greater in the future. Acting as individual citizens in your communities, and through your local and state federations, you can be a most potent force to see that our public schools are not neglected.

The President has said the lack of school facilities can no longer be al-lowed. This Administration has been at work continuously for many months, developing a plan of Federal assistance to help erase the nation's deficit of classrooms. I am confident we will pre-sent to Congress a broadened and improved program to help build thousands of schools for our children. At the same time, we believe strongly that states and local communities must continue to and local communities must continue to increase their efforts. And I hope you in labor will continue to use your influence for further expansion of state and local support of schools.

This Administration also believes firmly that Federal assistance, while benefiting all states, should be distributed according to need. We executed.

uted according to need. We accomplish the most good for our total school sys-tem by giving more aid where the needs are greatest. It is perfectly possible, I am sure, for the Federal government to help build schools for our children without in any way endangering the free-dom of local school systems.

We have also decided to recommend

to Congress a major expansion and imto congress a major expansion and improvement in educational research and statistics under the Office of Education. This program will help all of us understand more definitely just what the problems are, where future problems may be developing, and what needs to be done about them.

be done about them.

The health, education, and welfare of the American people will yield best to progress, I believe, if we pursue vigorously a policy of prevention and elimination of need—of striking hard at the root causes of need instead of the surface symptoms.

root causes of need instead of the surface symptoms.

We have reached a point in our social and economic development where tomorrow must be a part of today's thinking and planning. With prudence and wisdom we can, within certain bounds, shape our future.

There is no Federal activity in health, education, and welfare which does not directly affect the interests of labor—and, hence, the individual worker and his family. At the same time, there is no labor activity which does not have some bearing on the health, education, and welfare of the country. We have, therefore—you in labor and we in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare—a mutual responsibility, a concert of interests.

In acting together, through foresight and planning, we do not seek economic gain or creature comforts for their sake alone. We seek these things as a means—as a means for each person of the human spirit. To this end, you in labor and we in government are dedicated.

Thank you very much.

dedicated.

Thank you very much.

93 AFL-CIO

PRESIDENT MEANY: In behalf of the delegates in this Convention, I wish to express my sincere appreciation to Secretary Folsom for his visit here this morning and for the very instructive talk that he gave us on the work of a department in which we have a prime interest. I am sure that I express your wish to him by saying to him, thanks very much for being with us, Secretary Folsom.

INTERNATIONAL LADIES GARMENT WORKERS MOBILE HEALTH CENTER

PRESIDENT MEANY: At this time I would like to make an announcement which I think is appropriate at a time when we are talking about health and medical care. I am sure you are aware of the tremendous interest in this subof the tremendous interest in this subject, not only on the question of taking care of people when they are sick, but also in the field of preventive health service. A number of our unions throughout the country have built health centers and any number of our unions are interested in the mainte-

nance of hospitals.

However, I want to refer to a new development in this field that was created by the International Ladies Garment Workers Union—a mobile health service for members. Outside the door of this Convention Hall, you will find a Mobile Health Center—in other find a Mobile Health Center—in other words, a health center on wheels that the International Ladies Garment Workers Union has stationed there and that they will keep there throughout the remainder of this Convention. This mobile unit is designed to bring diagnostic health care work directly to the doors of the garment shops in the areas that are beyond the reach of stationary health centers.

I would also like to point out, with a great deal of pride as a trade union ist, that this unit, standing outside of our door here this morning is the only one of its kind that was put at the

of its kind that was put at the ice of the State of Pennsylvania n the great floods hit the Strouds-Delaware Water Gap areas and ed so much loss of life and so heaffaring lest August service burg-Delaware caused

much suffering last August.

Generating fast August.
Generating its own power it ran a
3-day mission of mercy to thousands
of those sufferers, and in particular
they administered anti-typhoid shots
to all of the people who desired them
in this particular area. It was able to
push through to small communities in
the flood-stricken area, where doctors
and medical care were not fully availsble. able.

In recognition of this splendid ser-ce at the time of this great catas-ophe the International Ladies Garvice at the time of this great causa-trophe the International Ladies Gar-ment Workers was awarded the high-est honor in the State of Pennsylvania by Governor Leader, of that state, a Medal of Merit that had only been issued once previously, and that was when it was given to Dr. Salk, the man who discovered the polio serum.

This Mobile Health Center should be of great interest to all of the representatives here who may have similar

problems of health, perhaps, in smaller

communities

communities.
On behalf of the International Ladies Garment Workers, I invite all of the delegates at this Convention to inspect this unit which, as I said before, will be in front of this hall on 34th Street for the remainder of the Convention.
At this point Rev. Raymond A. McGowan was escorted to the platform.

PRESIDENT MEANY: As I told you yesterday, the Arrangements Committee for this Convention arranged for talks by leaders of the various religious groups. We had the first of these addresses yesterday when Dr. Goldstein addressed us.

I now take a great deal of pleasure in presenting to you one who has had a long interest in the work of the trade a long interest in the work of the trade union movement, one who was for many years National Director of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, one who is known personally to practi-cally all of the delegates in this hall. I am very happy to present to you the Rev. Father Raymond A. McGowan.

REV. RAYMOND A. McGOWAN National Catholic Welfare Conference

For the benefit of the record, let me that about midnight last night I disgusted with what I had written

For the benefit of the record, let me say that about midnight last night I got disgusted with what I had written some two or three weeks ago and spent an hour in the early morning rewriting the talk. That I am saying not only for the record but also for the past. It is not that what I had decided to say two weeks ago was wrong or that what I decided last night about midnight was right. Every day makes its own record, and that is the truth.

I like the merger of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations primarily because I liked both of them when they were separate. Now that they have come together I can like them all the more. I like not only the American Federation of Labor but also the Congress of Industrial Organizations, and, believe you, at one time it was a great difficulty to try to keep from liking both of them. Feople would say to me, "How can you like the American Federation of Labor and also like the other?" Or vice versa. Now I can like both of them. Now I don't have any such difficulty of explanation. Now I can simply say I like the hyphen.

I like the hyphen for a number of reasons, but I think the main reason is that because to my mind it can do the work that the two organizations did and can do it, I believe, more effectively. That work was a good work. It was fundamentally down the lines of my own thinking. But because I couldn't do anything as a priest except talk to people, I was delighted to meet people who went out and tried to work directly around the bargaining table or by striking or whatever other method was necessary to obtain the things I wanted.

Fundamentally what I wanted and rundamentally what I wanted as mentally in economic life. Fundamentally use people wanted the same thing and you still want it. You want

a good living for the people in industry. You want also to share in the increasing productivity of our times, to which you are entitled. You want also such a division of income as will provide steady employment.

I think those are all matters of moral obligation. Because I think they are matters of moral obligation. I have been all the more taken by the labor movement and I have come to look upon the labor movement as primarily an arm for effective economic morality in the United States.

That is a big thing. I think. It is an

That is a big thing, I think. It is an extraordinary element in American life. If we didn't have a great body of men and women organized and primarily and women organized and primarily dedicated to the establishment of mor ality in economic life, we would be indeed a deplorable country. would be

were a deplorable country when We were a deplorable country when the labor movement began to weaken back in the 20s. We were a deplorable country, as was proven by the fact that 1929 came. With the coming of 1929, there came also a depression far deeper than anything we have seen in this country and a depression that this country and a de lasted longer and longer.

Let's get back to that first thing. Let's get back to that first thing. To me it is the first. It is whether or not a great body of people in the United States, especially the working people, will realize that there is such a basic thing as morality in economic life and will go off and try to get it put into

They would think, as I think, that a man having the right to enough to support himself is a very basic thing. They will think, as I think, that people have the right to share in the increasing productivity of our time. They will also think that there should be such a set-up as to the division of incomes as will provide steady employment, as far as incomes alone will do so.

There are a body of men who look on this as something that is neces-There are a body of men who look upon this as something that is necessary to be obtained directly and deliberately and consciously. They do not follow that old idea, which told us and still tells us that if we all just live in some kind of a jungle of economic anarchy these things will come sooner or later anyway. That idea is still held by some people, but it is not held by me any more. The working people of the United States have never held it, and as they became more conscious of the United States have never held it, and as they became more conscious of their needs, more conscious of their possibilities, more conscious of their lignity, more conscious of their broth-rhood, they went into labor unions.

They went into unions to try to put into effect precisely the things that I think have to be put into effect as a crimary matter of moral obligation.

into effect precisely the things that I think have to be put into effect as a primary matter of moral obligation. Thinking that way, they joined you. It was a difficult thing to do. You know it better than I do, some of the older among you, although I have older among you, although I have talked at great length with younger men who were battling on the picket lines and who spent weaks. men who were battling on the picket lines and who spent weeks and months in jail simply to effect the right of labor organizations to exist, the right of themselves to organize. Those par-ticular days have gone in most parts of the country. The labor movement has done an extraordinary thing.

Another thing I like about the labor movement—and it is implicit in what I have said before—is that the labor have said before—is that the labor movement in many countries over the world has been attracted by the idea that if there were some gigantic employer hiring everyone, that is to say, the government, everything would be perfect. They wanted to turn their consciences, their rights, their responsibilities over to the great employer—gov-

The American labor movement has never thought that way. They never thought that way back before Russia approved the plan and found that it was wrong. They held on to the more basic thing, which is the direct and immediate and conscious demand of basic thing, which is the direct and immediate and conscious demand of people to make things right here and now and not in some future economic Utopla, either the Utopla of the old class of economists or the Utoplans who believed in turning everything over to a gigantic government.

Relieving this way, acting this way, the American labor movement has al-ways been, to my mind, right down the alley of my own beliefs, right down the alley of my own thinking. I thought that when the two of you were separate organizations. Now that you are stronger, now that you have merged, I think so all the more.

I think so all the more because there I think so all the more because there are many opportunities for you in this country. There are opportunities of organizing that you know much more about than I. There are opportunities of getting better legislation; and, may I add, better administration of whatever add, better administration or whatever legislation exists. May I add also better state legislation, because our states have lagged far behind the Federal laws in the protection of the right of labor to organize and in the protection of wages and working and working and working and warding. wages and working conditions.

These are possibilities before you now In greater measure than they were when you were separated. For those reasons, I am in favor—very much in favor—of the merger, and I think that you will have a future before you that will far exceed your present anticipations

tions.

There is another reason that this is down the alley of my own thinking. Some years back the American Federation of Labor issued a program called "Industry's Manifest Duty." More recently the Congress of Industrial Organizations has developed a program called "Industry Councils." I think if you will read over these two programs you will find that they are identical in principle. There has been difficulty in putting either of those two principles into effect, although I think they are one principle, when you were separated, when you had the competition and the personal and other difficulties that are bound to exist between people of different organizations. It has been difficult for you to put them into effect. I for you to put them into effect. I think you have more of an opportunity of doing so now, and I hope that you will be able to take advantage of the opportunities.

There is still another reason. A number of years back the American Feder-

AFL-CIO

ation of Labor, like the American people, were not very much engrossed in the foreign relations of the American people and with the foreign relations of the American labor movement. I say that, in spite of the fact that Samuel Gompers, back after World War I, was primarily instrumental in bringing into existence the International Labor Organization. But in recent years there has been much more interest and much more activity by the labor movement has been much more interest and much more activity by the labor movement in its foreign work. That part of it is not only a matter of helping to bring into existence a Free Trade Union International, it has, to my mind, not only been helpful in drawing the lines against Communist encroachment and against Communist encroacement and invasion; it has been helpful in still another way, too. It has been helpful in organizing the unorganized in foreign countries. And far more important, it seems to me in the long run is this; the American labor movement is counteracting some of the propaganda of some of our Americans in their work and life abroad. This propaganda has been directed toward the notion, in many a country, that about all that was necessary was for those countries to imitate the United States, and that the United States was still a 19th century country in its economic setup and construction. That of course is not true. But American businessmen and their propagandists abroad have often laid it But American businessmen and their propagandists abroad have often laid it out, and I know from personal experience, they have often laid it out that the United States is a country dominated by businessmen of the 19th century variety, unaided and unprotected by their own trade associations, unaided and not dealing with American and not dealing with American tions. They have given that imunaided unions. pression.

In some other countries, and I know In some other countries, and I know of this from personal experience, in some of the countries some of the people have said, well, that kind of 19th century economic set-up is wrong. The only alternative then is communism. And they have been going somewhat in despair at the idea of trying to make internal changes in their own countries, internal changes in their own economic life that would advance their industrialization that is so necessary and would also advance social justice in their country. their country.

I have found that in some Latin American countries, and I have found that in a couple of European countries, and I think the American labor move-ment has done and I think the American labor move-ment has done an extraordinarily good job in part way anticipating this prop-aganda and also in answering It, once the propaganda seed has been sown.

the propaganda seed has been sown.

There are many, many other things that I can speak of that make me happy about this merger now. I have been for it for a long time. Now that I am in somewhat semi-retirement, I can't do as much work in the labor movement nor for the labor movement nas I used to. But believe me, whatever I will be able to do from now on will be done in far better spirit than it was done in the past, because I will be thinking that you are not two separate organizations now. You are one organization. You have a great future before you.

When George Meany received When George Meany received the special award from Notre Dame University a short time back, I took pleasure in sending him a telegram saying that I thought the American labor movement was a providential agent in the world for both our country and for social justice. I thought so then when you were two organizations, because I thought then of the American labor movement being divided into two labor. thought then of the American labor movement being divided into two labor parts. I think so now, now that you

are one organization.

May God bless you in your work;
may God help you with His providence
so that you will take these principles
and get the right policies and applications from them; so that you will be
able to run your unions honestly and
with integrity, and so that you will be
able to organize more people; so that
you will be able to influence the Federal Government and especially the
state government to pass better and
more sound legislation, and to get better action on the laws that are best.

All these things lie before you. There
will be many difficulties. There are alone organization. ay God bless yo

All these things lie before you. There will be many difficulties. There are always difficulties in cases of this sort, but the difficulties I think you can overcome, and I hope you will overcome them. May God bless you during the rest of this Convention and all the rest of your lives.

PRESIDENT MEANY: I am sure we all appreciate this very fine address from one who has been a real friend of the trade union movement for many, many years. In your name, I would like to express to him our very sincere thanks for coming here today and giving us his thoughts on the very important question of ethics and morality in the labor movement. Thank you very much Father McGowan. Father McGowan.

much, Father McGowan.
At this time it is my pleasure to give you one of our own, the head of the world's labor organization of free men. I think it is significant in this connection that today, December 7th is Pearl today, proceeding the control of the control world's labor organization of free men.
I think it is significant in this connection that today, December 7th is Pearl
Harbor, day, a day in which we recall
to memory the entrance of our country into World War II, which was precipitated by the attack made on our
forces in Pearl Harbor on December 7.
1941. It was on that day that all of
America laid aside whatever differences
existed between various segments of
our people and concentrated with one
mind and one heart to defend our way
of life, to defend the way of life that
makes it possible for free men together, one with another, to form trade
unions in order to advance the standards of life and of work for all.
Out of that conflict, delayed a
fyears, however, there came into being
the organization which we know as the
International Confederation of Free
Trade Unions, an organization dedicated to the basic philosophy of the
trade union movement in every coun-

union movement in every coun-

trade union movement in every country in the world.

It is with a great deal of pleasure—and I ask your very close attention—for me to present to you, the President of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, also the General Secretary of the International Transport Workers' Federation, the friend of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, Brother Omer Becu. Omer Becu.

MR. OMER BECU

President, International Confederation of Free Trade Unions

I have often had the pleasure of attending gatherings of American trade union friends, but never has my satisfaction been keener than on this momentous occasion when we celebrate the merging of these two great organizations, the AFL and the CIO.

You know that I bring you greet-ings and good wishes as President of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. Both the AFL and the CIO have been staunch members of the CIU nave been staunch members of the ICFTU since its inception. Indeed they took no small part in its formation, and we have always looked upon them as twin pillars of support of the International.

It therefore gives me great pleasure and certainly of all of us in ICFTU the profoundest satisfaction that these two stout pillars have now become one. For we are firmly convinced that standing together they will be immensely stronger they will be in To speak of the

stronger than standing apart.

To speak of the AFL and the CIO as pillars of support of the International is not a mere figure of speech. The importance of these organizations to the ICFTU is so great, the implications of their fusion affect us so closely, that I feel justified, Brother President, in going slightly beyond the immediate assignment of the fraternal delegate, and, in conveying to you the heartlest and sincerest wishes and felicitations of the International, to dwell a little on how your great experiment in labor unity is seen by fellow trade unionists in other countries.

Please do not think that I wish to encroach on your domestic affairs. But such is the import of the event—not only to the American trade union and labor world, but as a living demonstration of something that is of transcendent value—that I am sure you will not regard my remarks as interference.

The significance of this merger to The significance of this merger to the American workers cannot be overestimated. American labor has already achieved a standard and a way of life which is the wonder of the world. No doubt, this high standard is in the first place the result of the stupendous advance of science and technology and of their application to the production and distribution of wealth.

But there is no doubt either that this progress in the economic sphere would not have been possible without a parallel development in the social sphere, without the emergency of an enlightened working population able and willing to play its part with the other factors of the community in bringing about the new society.

about the new society.

I see no reason why the process should stop, why the interplay of economic and social forces should not continue to bear fruit in the form of a constant rise in material standards. I cannot help feeling that the consolidation of labor unity being consecrated today marks another phase in the process. The fifteen million members of the AFL-ClO represent a force whose right to a square deal is well-nigh irresistible.

The especially important thing about your merger is that it means an increase in the internal as well as the external strength of American labor. The increase in the external strength of such a constructive force as the AFLCIO is already a good thing. The increase in internal strength is no less important. important.

Important.

In a trade union movement so continental in scale as the American, complete harmony and tranquility cannot prevail all the time. It would be very peculiar if they did. The split which occurred in the early thirties is still vivid in our memories. It was not so much over a question of high principle as over the best form of organization. There was no disagreement about the objective: to serve the best interests of labor; only as to the best way to reach it.

objective: to serve the best interests of labor; only as to the best way to reach it. At the time it seemed all-important to choose between the industrial and the craft form of organization. Today I think it is recognized that there is great merit in both, that the two can well exist side by side, and that the really all-important thing is not so much to choose one form or the other, but to utilize both for the best advantage of labor and for the speediest attainment of the objectives of social justice and human rights.

The dualism which we witnessed in the American labor movement in the intervening years has been anything but fruitless. It has resulted in a testing of two alternative methods which has brought out the value in both, in a vigorous rivalry of endeavor which has brought much advantage to labor. Great credit is due to the clear-sightedness of the leaders who saw the need for experiment and transition and again for their vision today in seeing the need to bring it to a close and to build a united movement based on the experime which has been gained.

The fact, then, that there is controversy, spirited controversy, in the American trade union movement is only normal. It would be serious if differences were allowed to undermine

The fact, then, that there is controversy, spirited controversy, in the American trade union movement is only normal. It would be serious if differences were allowed to undermine and finally destroy the fundamental unity of the movement. This merger, however, is a living demonstration that this is precisely what is not going to be allowed to happen. It is proof sufficient that the American workers and their leaders understand that there is a time to argue, but also a time when argument must cease.

As long as there is this basic recognition: that there comes a point when men must compres their differences and pull together towards a common objective; then there is little danger in continuing discussion on matters on which minds are still divided.

This is how I see the AFL-CIO

This is how I see the AFL-CIO merger: as a structure within which there will be a variety of views on many issues; but on the crucial ones there will be unanimity of outlook and unity of purpose. There will be recognition of a simple yet great truth.

Inside the AFL-CIO all sections can pool their resources and work for common ends under common policies. Inside the AFL-CIO, too, all sections can retain their own individuality and go their own way, as long as they respect the common interest. This, I feel,

Brother President, provides a sure foundation for one of the greatest advances in trade union history. Difficulties there will be; it is from a serious facing up to them that the inspiration and the energy must come for the realization of ever greater unity and

realization of the strength. This merger, I have said, is if possible, of even greater significance to world labor than it is to American labor itself. For the following reasons:

Firstly, it shows world labor the strength of the strength

bor itself. For the following reasons:
Firstly, it shows world labor the
lesson which has to be learned from
American labor. It is a lesson often
taught in theory, but here is taught
by practical demonstration: that in
unity lies strength; that unity is possible on matters on which the issue is
clear without prejudice to matters
which are still in dispute; that centralization and concentration can be
achieved at the top, without stifling
development and individuality at the
base.

base.

If this lesson can be widely learned and applied by free labor, if it is understood elsewhere that it is quite realistic to reach agreement and coperate in one sphere, while continuing to differ in another; that, to be more specific, differences on inter-sectional or inter-union levels need not obstruct unity on national and international levels, the way is clear for a big step forward by free trade unionism as a factor in world affairs.

The second reason why American

forward by free trade unions as factor in world affairs.

The second reason why American labor unity is of world import, is quite simply, that labor in other countries, that is, in the underdeveloped countries, looks to you for support and guidance. This is a theme I have developed on many occasions. You can look at it in two, maybe there ways. It is a dictate of common humanity to help the weaker brother. The appeal of this kind of view to the American mentality is very strong. The other is that two diametrically hostile ideologies struggle for possession of the brother. If he is to be a brother, and not an enemy, we may not let him fall victim to the false ideology.

And while talking of the stronger helping the weaker and about ideologies hostile to labor, I must call your attention to two areas of dangerous tension and grave peril to our hope for peace.

When we adopted the slogan "Bread, Peace, and Freedom" in 1949 we did

to two areas of dangerous tension and grave peril to our hope for peace.

When we adopted the slogan "Bread. Peace, and Freedom" in 1949 we did not do so with the intention of playing with words. To us of the ICFTU, this is not a soapbox slogan, It is far more than the battle cry of an army of propagndists. To us, "Bread, Peace, and Freedom" is a flag. It is a program of action. As I think of this call to action, I think of the crisis now gripping Berlin. The Kremlin warlords have ordered their East Zone puppets to prepare the ground, to move step by step, for blockading Berlin anew. They want to rob the heroic people of Berlin of all "Bread, Peace, and Freedom". That's exactly what a Communist blockade of Berlin is not a small skirmish. It is not a local action. The battle for Berlin is a battle for the bread, peace, and freedom not only of the besieged Berliners. It is really a fight for the preservation of the Federal German Republic, which is the home of fifty

million free Germans, more than six million of whom are free trade unionists. Therefore, what comes out of this fight will greatly affect the bread, peace, and freedom of all of us in this historic convention, of all whom we have the honor and the responsibility to defend, of every

and the responsibility to defend, of every nation on earth.

The Kremlin wants to grab all Berlin because that would hasten and practically insure its seizure of all Germany. The Kremlin wants all of Germany, because that would really assure its seizure of the rest of the continent of Europe. The Kremlin wants to grab all of Europe, because that would enormously facilitate its conquest and Communist englayement of the world.

rachitate its conquest and communist enslavement of the world.

I am confident that the democracies will, in 1955 and 1956, meet and beat a Communist blockade of Berlin, at least as effectively as they did in 1948. The free world then showed its humanitarianism, courage, and devotion to democracy by organizing the great and inspir-

ing airlift. It know I voice the hopes and convictions of all my colleagues in the ICFTU when I say to you that world free labor and liberty-loving people everywhere will give their fullest support to an "Airlift For Bread, Peace, and Freedom," in order to beat a Communist blockade of Berlin, in case it is ordered by Moscow. We have the will to be free. We have the strength to be free. Berlin shall be free, so that we may all be free.

It has been said that the best defense of freedom is the practice of freedom. That is entirely correct. But to practice freedom, one must first believe in it. More than that we can't build an alliance of the free by encouraging, helping and trusting those who detest freedom and destroy the free me and I know I voice the hopes and convic-tions of all my colleagues in the ICFTU when I say to you that world

ing and trusting those who detest freedom and destroy the free men and women of the country.

I wonder why the indecent haste to smuggle or sneak into the U.N. Franco Spain and the Muscovite puppets of Albania, Buigaria, Hungary, Roumania and Outer Mongolia. I can see why totalitarian Russia wants them in the U.N. But I can't for the life of me see what the free nations have to gain by getting into the U.N. these totalitarian puppets. these regimes imposed on the peopets.

ting into the U.N. these totalitarian pup-pets, these regimes imposed on the peo-ple by Russian rifles and tanks. The mere fact that some people call it a package deal should fool nobody. We think it would be a terrible mistake for the U.N. to repudiate its previous deci-sions to exclude these regimes which have been imposed on the people by dictatorial forces. If there is room for Franco and the Communist totalitarians in the U.N.,

the Communist totalitarians in the U.N. there is no room for freedom or the ideals of the United Nations Charter.

We of the ICFTU have great faith in the U.N. We are counting on its becoming a mighty instrument of peace and freedom. But no one can build the U.N. into such an instrument of peace and freedom by adding to it more enemies of freedom and by encouraging and rewarding the Communist aggressors to organize more subversion and to try to grab still more loot.

I warn you, my friends, against the

I warn you, my friends, against the timebomb hidden in the so-called package deal for Franco and the Communist

Another consideration is that already American living standards are far

ahead of those of the rest of the world. There is danger in a situation in which one country builds up ever higher standards, while others lag behind and become, comparatively, more and more under-developed. From this point of view also it is a matter of common interest and self-interest to bring about as even as possible a development in the world. world.

the world.
So, on all counts the practical and the ethical approach mutually reinforce one another. The title of the democratic forces to the maxim, "All for one and one for all!" is as good as, nay, better than, that of the totalitarian forces.
The consolidation of the AFL-CIO union is thus seen not only as a strengthening of American labor as a force in home affairs; it means also that American labor can play an ever bigger role in the world at large.
As President of the ICFTU these prosessions are supposed to the control of the control o

ican labor can play an ever bigger role in the world at large.

As President of the ICFTU these prosects cannot but give me the keenest satisfaction. All your friends in the ICFTU will watch your great experiment with tense interest and warm sympathy, both for your sake and their own. May those called upon to guide it find the wisdom and the vision, may they also find all the loyalty and support which they will need for their task. In conclusion, let me extend once more to this historic gathering the heartiest good wishes for success and achievement of the many millions of workers all over the world who make up the great brotherhood of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Thank you very

PRESIDENT MEANY: Thank you very much, President Becu, of the ICFTU. Let me assure you of the continued cooperation and support of this good organization which we have brought together here this

REPORT OF RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE—(Continued)

Committee co-Secretary Curran submitted the following resolution:

ETHICAL PRACTICES

The democratic institutions of the United States of America were established on the foundation of honesty, integrity, responsibility. The free and democratic labor movement of our country similarly rests upon the foundations of brotherhood, honesty and integrity.

Any departure from the most exacting ethical principles is harmful not only to the people directly affected but to the whole fabric of our civilization. The American labor movement has ever been quick in its denunciation of public officials who betray their trust. We have been equally critical of businessmen who have used corrupt methods and bribery to gain their selfish, acquisitive ends. We must be equally quick to recognize and condemn those instances of racketeering, corruption, and disregard for ethical standards when they occur inside our labor movement. movement.

The vast majority of labor union offi-cials accept their responsibility and trust. They endeavor honestly to carry

out the democratic will of their members and to discharge the duties of their office. Yet the reputations of the vast majority are imperiled by the dishonest, corrupt, unethical practices of the few who betray their trust and who look upon the trade union movement not as a brotherhood to serve the general welfare, but as a means to advance their own selfish purposes or to forward the aim of groups or organizations who would destroy our democratic institutions. cratic institutions.

By the adoption of the constitution the American Federation of Labor-By the adoption of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations, the American labor movement has clearly accepted the responsibility for keeping its own house in order and to protect the movement "from any and all corrupt influences and from the undermining efforts of Communist agencies and all others who are opposed to the basic principles of our democracy and free and democratic posed to the basic principles of our de-mocracy and free and democratic unionism." Only by their wholehearted dedication to this constitutional objec-tive can labor unions meet their obli-gations to their memberships. Failure to meet these responsibilities can only result in governmental assumption of what are properly trade union func-tions. Reliance on the agencies of gov-ernment for keeping our movement free from the infiltration of racketeers, crooks, Communists, Fascists and other enemies of free democratic unionism would constitute a threat to the inde-pendence and freedom of the entire movement; now, therefore, be it

movement; now, therefore, be it RESOLVED, 1. The First Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO calls upon all its affiliated national and international unions to take whatever steps are necessary within their own organizations to effect the policies and ethical standards set forth in the constitution of the AFL-CIO. When constitutional amendments or changes in internal administrative procedures are necessary for the affiliated organizations to carry out the responsibilities incumbent upon autonomous organizations, such amendments and changes should be undertaken at the earliest practicable time.

practicable time.

2. This First Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO pledges its full support, good offices, and staff facilities of the AFL-CIO Committee on Ethical Practices to all national and international unions in their efforts to carry out and put into practice the constitutional mandate to keep our organization "free from any taint of corruption or Communism."

COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY CUR-AN: I move the adoption of the RAN: resolution.

PRESIDENT MEANY: You have heard the resolution on Ethical Prac-tices. The motion is to adopt and the motion was seconded. For discussion the Chair calls upon Vice President Carey.

VICE PRESIDENT CAREY: Mr. President and delegates, the concept and the function of ethical practices in a great democratic labor movement cannot be wholly negative. That is to say, ethical practices do not consist merely in our putting ourselves on

record against "corruption and Communism.

Ethical practices are not merely "against" something; they are "for" a certain kind of attitude and behavior. Ethical practices, in short, comprise a positive code of conduct. And an ethical practice code requires of the labor movement and its leaders the highest moral standards in conducting union discharging our official and responsibilities.

It is possible, I think, that too often we take for granted one exceedingly important area of trade union operation where ethical practices are probably more essential than anywhere else.

I refer to our handling of union rev enues and funds, and particularly to the kind of accounting we give to our members of the way in which those revenues and funds are maintained or

There is general agreement, I believe that those instances of corruption and malfeasance which we deplore and which have sometimes shadowed the reputation of democratic unionism have all been made possible, even been en-couraged, by the absence of full finan-cial reports to union members.

More often than not malfeasance and illicit diversion of funds have occurred behind a dark curtain of ignorance, of carefully cultivated obscurity. But behind a dark curtain of ignorance carefully cultivated obscurity. But wherever union members are given the opportunity of scrutinizing regular—and I emphasize regular—comprehensive financial reports, the incidence of corruption drops enormously.

It follows, therefore, that the best of all possible insurance against unethical practices in the labor movement is to provide our union memberships with full and detailed accountings of what happens to their money.

Needless to say, I mean much fuller and much more detailed accountings than are required by Federal law. Union members should regularly receive comprehensive reports not just on the organization's general fund but on such moneys as those in the defense or strike fund, building fund, welfare and insurance funds.

Union members, moreover, should receive these reports not as a matter of privilege and condescension but as a matter of right. It is a union's sacred obligation, I feel, not merely to handle every bit of revenue and every expenditure with the utmost scrupulousness; it is the union's obligation also to acquaint the union member with the full facts concerning receipts and disbursals.

Such practice is, of course, a fundamental aspect of democratic unionism. We hold that not only does democratic unionism require the membership's familiarity with its organization's financial affairs; democracy in union life also requires that the members participate to the practicum parts to estable in pate to the maximum extent possible in making financial decisions.

This has been a guiding principle throughout the brief, six-year history of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers. We have been proud of our annual financial reports prepared by an independent auditing firm, Main & Company. These reports, as comprehensive as we can make them, reflect all accounts, receipts and expenditures under the jurisdiction of the IUE's International Officers. Such reserves as the IUE's defense fund and a fund for erection of our international headquarters, erection of our international headquarters, the Philip Murray Building, are given detailed consideration.

the Filip Murray Building, are given detailed consideration.

We are proud, also, of the regular reports provided to our members by the IUE's International Trustees, who are elected officers and who also review all aspects of the Union's fiscal policies and operations. In this way the IUE maintains a triple-check on its own financial functions—reports by an independent auditing firm, review by the International Trustees, and, finally, scrutiny by the membership.

Because we do take pride in this financial frankness with our members, the IUE wants today to be the first affiliate of the AFL-CIO to file a full financial statement with Secretary-Treasurer Bill Schnitzler.

Brother Schnitzler, I am sure you will find this a comprehensive and candid accounting of the IUE's fiscal status and its future prospects.

President Meany and Brother Schnitz-

President Meany and Brother Schnitz-ler, I take great pride in presenting the full and complete financial audit of the financial affairs of the IUE—AFL-CIO.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Is there any further discussion?

If not, those in favor of the motion signify by saying aye; those opposed,

no.

The motion is carried and so ordered.

INDUSTRIAL UNION DEPARTMENT CONVENTION

PRESIDENT MEANY: I would like to announce that this afternoon at the conclusion of the session, just as early as we can get through, there will be the first Constitutional Convention of the Industrial Union Department early as we can get through, there will be the first Constitutional Convention of the Industrial Union Department Convention of the AFL-CIO. This convention will be under the temporary chairmanship of the President of the AFL-CIO. Delegates who are eligible to affiliate and whose credentials are approved by the temporary Chairman, acting as the Credentials Committee, will take part in the formation of this Department of the AFL-CIO. We have here at the platform application blanks to be filled out by any organization desiring to affiliate and to be presented sometime prior to the close of our session this afternoon so they can be acted upon in time for the convention to meet and do its business.

At this time the Convention stands adjourned until 2 o'clock.

(At 12:15 o'clock p.m., the Convention recessed, to reconvene at 2 o'clock p.m.)

THIRD DAY—WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

The Convention was called to order by President Meany at 2.10 o'clock. PRESIDENT MEANY: The Chair recognizes Committee co-Secretary Soder-strom to continue the report of the

Resolutions Committee.

Report of Committee on Resolutions (Continued)

Committee co-Secretary Soderstrom submitted the following:

PHYSICALLY HANDICAPPED

Every year hundreds of thousands of Americans are born with physical handi-caps or acquire them because of industrial, automobile, and other accidents, or as the result of crippling diseases. Today, an estimated 30 million of our fellow citizensmen, women and children—suffer from some degree of permanent disability.

While about three million handicapped While about three million handicapped citizens are now employed, an estimated ten million others could be rehabilitated and usefully employed instead of being forced to remain an economic burden on their families, on their communities, and on the nation. To eliminate this economic discrimination, we must create the rehabilitation services and employment opportunities which are required to restore America's handicapped to useful citizenship, integrate them into the activities of our economic and social life, and give them the dignity which is the birthright of all mankind. mankind.

As the first step, the Federal and state governments must assume their full respon sibility. Despite fairly recent Congressional action to increase federal funds for vocational rehabilitation and to encourage the

action to increase federal funds for vocational rehabilitation and to encourage the construction of rehabilitation centers, an additional expansion must be undertaken if the rehabilitation of millions of citizens is to be achieved. Secondly, management and labor must assist aggressively in the process of integrating the physically handicapped into the labor force.

Unfortunately, the facilities of both public and private rehabilitation agencies are so limited that more persons are being permanently disabled each year than are now rehabilitated. Leadership in a comprehensive and vigorously administered rehabilitation program, nation-wide in scope, is a major responsibility of the federal government. The federal program and coordinated state program must encompass adequate medical services, special educational aids, income maintenance, vocational training and employment services.

Rehabilitation must be closely coordi-

tional training and employment services. Rehabilitation must be closely coordinated with workmen's compensation and disability programs to provide income for the disabled and their families during periods of unemployment and to insure prompt referral of each case to the proper rehabilitation agencies. Rehabilitation services must begin immediately after injury or at the onset of illness. Continuity of treatment must be planned through convalescence. Training or retraining in useful, suitable, and remunerative vocational skills must follow. Finally, restoration of the individual to employment at his highest attainable skill must be accomplished.

No program to secure employment of the handicapped can succeed without wider support from management and labor. While some employers have learned the value of the handicapped as productive workers, too many still discriminate against them. While unions are working diligently to encourage employment ties for the disabled, more needs to be done.

Organized labor has been represented on the President's Committee on Employment of the Physically Handicapped and has participated actively in its work, as have many labor representatives who are serving on similar governors committees in the various states.

in the various states

The federal government is urged to conduct a census of the handicapped, and to bring together and expand all of the federal services for the physically handicapped in a new and vigorous administrative bureau in the United States Department of Labor, now, therefore, be it

in the United States Department of Labor, now, therefore, be it RESOLVED, I. The problems of the nanation's handicapped are the problems of all Americans. We commend our affiliates for the activities in which they have engaged on behalf of the handicapped citizens of our nation and urge that the efforts of our local unions, central labor bodies, and international unions be expanded to meet this tragic and growing need.

2. We urge the establishment within the United States Department of Labor of a centralized agency that would bring together the rehabilitation functions that are now scattered among many federal agen-

gether the rehabilitation functions that are now scattered among many federal agencies, and give leadership to the rehabilitation services in the respective states.

3. While we applaud recent Congressional action to raise federal contributions for vocational rehabilitation and to construct rehabilitation centers under the Hill-Burton Hospital Program for the first time we urge further expansion of these time, we urge further expansion of these federal grants-in-aid programs so that millions of disabled citizens not now reached by them will be served.

Committee Committee co-Secretary Soderstrom moved the adoption of the Committee's

report.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

Amalgamated Meat Cutters-**United Packing House Workers**

PRESIDENT MEANY: I would like to read a telegram which has just been received and which is of considerable importance.

December 7, 1955

New York, N. Y. George Meany, President, AFL-CIO. 71st Regiment Armory, New York

The Unity Committee of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen and the United Packinghouse Workers of America in meeting during this historic convention unifying the American labor movement and stimulated by the spirit of unity and dedication to the advancement of the interests of the working men and women of the nation are happy to advise you that we have reached an accord which we are certain represents the basis for an early merger of our two organizations.

RALPH HELSTEIN, President, G. R. HATHAWAY, Secretary-Treasurer, UPWA, AFL-CIO, EARL W. JIMERSON, President, PATRICK E. GORMAN, Secretary-Treasurer, AMC and BW, AFL-CIO.

PRESIDENT MEANY: The Chair recognizes Committee co-Secretary Curran, who will continue with the report of the Resolutions Committee. I would ask that strict attention be paid to this report on the very important subject of foreign policy.

FOREIGN POLICY

Committee co-Secretary Curran submitted the following:

The United American Trade Union movement, in common with labor everywhere, has the greatest stake in the preservation of peace and the promotion of freedom. Approaching the international crisis as patriotic citizens and free trade unionists, we have the highest interest in building a world free from all dictatorship, poverty and war.

The free trade union movement cannot thrive, or even live, without democracy. In view of the enormous Communist threat to democracy, we of American labor face new significant tasks. At this critical juncture of his tory, we are in duty bound to help our country meet its heavy responsibilities as a powerful force for the attainment of lasting world peace, freedom and human well-being.

of instruction of the united American labor movement—the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations—have three main areas of activities in our efforts to aid our country in the fulfillment of its new historic role. These are: (1) Through our trade union strength and political actions, help build an ever hetter and stronger America, a prosperous and progressive land free from economic and social inequity and all racial and every other form of discrimination. (2) Through democratic processes, help our nation evolve and execute an effective democratic foreign policy. (3) Through cooperation with and a-sistance to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, to aid free labor everywhere in becoming a most powerful force for furthering social justice, national and human freedom, economic well-being and world peace.

On the threshold of the atomic age, the readiness and ability of the unified American labor movement to fulfill these basic tasks are especially important for the security, welfare and liberty of the entire American people and the international free trade union movement. The policies and the practices of the AFL-CIO can also be a source of great hope for the peoples behind the Iron Curtain and in the economically underdeveloped countries aspiring to national independence and human freedom and dignity.

At the "Summit Conference" in Geneva in July 1955, the leading democratic powers demonstrated their determination and readiness to secure international harmony and lasting peace. But at the Geneva Conference of the Big Four Foreign Ministers, November 1955, the Soviet Union demonstrated that it was willing to do little or nothing to remove, or even reduce, the causes which have produced the acute international tension of the last decade.

The II S.S. P. has categorically re-

international tension of the last decade. The U. S. S. R. has categorically rejected German national reunification in freedom—the holding of internationally-supervised free elections throughout the Soviet Zone and Berlin as well as the Federal German Republic. The latest reaffirmation of Soviet opposition to adequate international inspection and supervision has dealt a severe blow to the prospects for effective disarramement.

Soviet insistence on the dismantling of N.A.T.O. and the W.E.U. as well as on the withdrawal of American defense forces from Europe shows clearly that Moscow is not interested in security for the weaker nations but is maneuvering to render defenseless the remaining free countries of Europe.

maining free countries of Europe.

Despite its "Big Smile" and big talk about removing the barriers to communications, Moscow is as unrelenting as ever in its opposition to any arrangement for free travel of individuals between the Soviet orbit and the free world. It is no less hostile to the reciprocal distribution of foreign books, newspapers, periodicals, and radio programs in the Soviet Union. This Soviet talk has been fully exposed at Geneva as having but one aim: The elimination of all barriers to the Moscow-Peiping Axis securing from the western democracies the latest technical knowledge, strategic materials, and up-to-date machinery it so sorely lacks. The Communist bloc desperately needs such vital assistance in order to ease the terrible armament burdens behind the Iron Curtain and to facilitate its building of a most modern and even more massive war machine for aggression.

Indeed, at the very moment that the Foreign Ministers were negotiating at Geneva, the Kremlin brought to a head one of its long-cherished and carefully prepared plans to provoke an armed conflict between Egypt and Israel and promote aggravated tension throughout the Near East. Mastery of this pivotal region is essential to the ultimate and unalterable aim of Communist imperialism—Soviet world domination.

Unlike preceding international crises, the present struggle between the Communist dictatorships and the free world is not a collision between two power blocs, in the old nineteenth century sense, but between two conflicting ways of life—democracy (despite all its imperfections), and Communist totalisarianism with its all-embracing program of world conquest and transformation. Soviet imperialism seeks to subvert and conquer the free world and remoid all society in line with its Communist preconceptions of a new social order. This vital difference between the old imperialisms and the

new Soviet imperialism accounts for the continuous character of the present crisis as distinct from preceding ones.

The AFL and the CIO have notable records of opposition to world Communism and Soviet imperialism. Both have also resolutely opposed Fascism, Nazism, Falangism, Peronism and every other form of dictatorship. The united organization that has grown out of the merger of the two American trade union centers will not slacken in that opposition.

Fortunately, the American labor movement has not limited itself to verbal assaults on Fascism and Communism and rhetorical affirmations of democracy. It has been in the forefront of many constructive undertakings to aid the cause of free trade unionism everywhere. We have also in the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, a practical instrumentality for engaging and defeating the totalitarians in the fields and factories, on the ground where they have made their greatest bid for the allegiance of the peoples of the world.

The main objectives of sound American foreign policy are: (1) to foster good relations with other nations in order to preserve and promote enduring peace and freedom and (2) to encourage mutually advantageous trade and other relations with other nations—in order to advance their common economic stability and social well-being

In every country, there is a close inter-relationship between foreign and domestic policy. Neither our government, nor any other government, can consistently pursue a genuinely democratic foreign policy, if it pursues a reactionary domestic policy. No government which wages war against its own people at home—by denying them their rights and liberties and by depressing their standards of life and labor—can be truly peaceful towards the peoples abroad and be worthy of their trust. A government guilty of aggression against its own people tends to be aggressive against its neighboring and other countries; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, Conscious of our responsibilities at this crucial period, the AFL-ClO herewith declare their support of the following guiding principles for an effective American democratic foreign policy and sound international labor relations.

labor relations.

1. Effective foreign policy cannot be improvised and piecemeal. It must have a clear and definite orientation and be consistent, sustained and vigorous in its application. Its motivating and paramount aims must be the mobilization of all our moral and material resources for developing a system of international relationships to maintain peace, protect freedom and national security, and enable a growing population to enjoy a rising standard of living.

2. Integration of our foreign political and economic policies is essential, if the great technical resources and mighty industrial potential of the United States are to be geared to increasing the productivity, raising the purchasing power, and improving the

living standards especially of those economically underdeveloped countries which are devoted to human liberty and peace.

and peace.

3. Undeveloped and underdeveloped continents and regions, where many hundreds of millions nurse their grievances and their hopes—constitute a fertile field for Communist operations. In dealing with rudimentary human problems the world over, we must be concerned primarily with two immediate needs—the need for food, health and irrigation in the underdeveloped countries, and the burning desire for independence and equality. By ministering to such fundamental needs we will be on firmer ground as we seek to win new adherents to the free world.

4. We know that Communism is a false solution; we believe that democracy is the true solution. Commusism is weakened when democracy is strengthened. The representatives of democracy must go out into the underdeveloped regions with specific plans, programs and projects to help raise living standards, for helping to end all colonialism, for winning these peoples as equal members of the free world community. Thus we will make it possible for them to have a stake in the defense of a civilization worth defending.

5. Our country has done some of this. UNRRA was a beginning. American labor supported the Marshall Plan because it was conceived and largely administered in this spirit. Point Four was an imaginative gesture in the same direction but tragically all too little. Towards the same end, the Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development (SUNFED), provides real possibilities for developing and expanding worthy projects for the fundamental improvement of the economic conditions of the needy peoples. Our responsibilities include, but are not limited to, a firm and effective military defense of established positions against Communist subversion and aggression. Positive measures for social and economic betterment are an indispensable part of the program for the defense and victory of the free world.

and victory of the free world.

6. Categoric rejection of any idea of imposing our form of government or economic system on any other nation and relentless opposition to the efforts of any power to impose its political or economic system on our country. Support for free peoples who resist attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures on their free institutions is vital.

7. While Communism is currently the main totalitarian threat to freedom and peace, we must be equally opposed to every other brand of dictatorship (Falangist, Fascist, Nazi, Peronist, Titoist) as reprehensible foes of human dignity, decency and liberty.

8. Welcome as our allies self-reliant, independent nations held together by binding principles and cooperating for peace, freedom, and human well-being. Satellites or vassals herded together by fraud and force cannot serve peace and freedom. A common purpose, sense of urgency, and machinery for permanent cooperation are indispensable to the

collective security of the allied free peoples. The struggle for peace and freedom demands not only military strength sufficient to deter and defeat aggression but the development of the alliance into an association of free peoples for positive political and economic cooperation and mutual assistance.

9. Rejection of all colonialism—the old declining western as well as the new rising Soviet colonialism—should be cardinal to our nation's foreign policy. In line with our national traditions, positive steps should be taken to help all peoples aspiring to self-government or national independence under conditions which will enable them to assume equal status among the free peoples of the world. All peoples—in Europe no less than in Asia or Africa—who have been subjected to the yoke of allen despotism should be encouraged in their efforts to regain the right of self-determination which will enable them to choose the form of government they desire and enjoy national sovereignty and the fundamental human rights proclaimed in the Charter of the United Nations.

ter of the United Nations.

10. While never shutting the door to negotiations with Moscow, our country and its allies must build up their political unity, economic power, and adequate military strength. Readiness to negotiate is not appeasement. It takes courage to meet aggression. It also takes courage to seek patiently and persistently for peaceful and acceptable settlements. Appeasement of the demands of any expansionist power, however, only encourages and invites aggression. Hence, our government should never assume as settled and final any conquests the Kremlin or any other totalitarian regime made through direct military aggression, threat of armed intervention, Communist subversion, aggression by proxy, or any combination of these methods.

combination of these methods.

11. In its efforts to lessen international tension and eliminate the vestiges of war bitterness, our government should make the strongest effort to hasten the release of all hostages forcibly detained by Moscow—either as war prisoners, fighters for democratic rights, or as striking workers imprisoned after the Soviet armed suppression of the June 1953 revoit in the Soviet Zone of Germany and in any other satellite areas.

12. Maximum efforts to seek gradual effective disarmament through adequate international inspection, control and supervision, backed by provisions for strong non-vetoable sanctions against all violators—with a view of ultimately assuring abolition of the atomic and all other weapons of mass destruction.

13. Until such time as an adequate system of world disarmament has been attained, the security and freedom of our country call for the build-up of sufficient actual and immediately available military strength to deter and, if need be, defeat aggression. The defense efforts should be meshed with non-military economic efforts into a common program for assuring social as well as national security. Only a prosperous and progressive, as well as powerful, America can make effective

and sufficient contributions to world peace, freedom and human well-being.

14. Invigorated efforts to promote international cooperation for enabling all mankind to share the benefits of the peaceful utilization of atomic energy and technique. To assure the people's sharing equitably in the benefits of the atoms for peace program, the free trade unions should be represented in the planning and setting up of such projects.

15. It is imperative that there be a marked expansion of cultural, political, and economic relations among the nations of the Western Hemisphere with a view of raising living standards, strengthening democracy, and enabling the entire New World to play a unified and greater role in the preservation of peace and the furtherance of freedom. An intensified effort to reinvigorate democracy is urgent in view of the recent defeat of Peronist totalitarianism in Argentina and the Communistalnted regime in Guatemala.

16. In an effort to lessen world tension and remove dangers to world peace, the U.N. should adopt a universal policy of the holding of free elections in all divided and strife-torn areas with a view to employing peaceful means rather than war for establishing legitimate governments which are to enjoy full sovereignty. Despite continued Soviet opposition, the U.N. must persist in advocating free elections in the satellite states as well.

17. Particularly in view of the continued to the continue

tions in the satellite states as well.

17. Particularly in view of the recent grave developments in the Middle East, our country and its allies in concert with the United Nations should take positive steps to prevent aggression in the Middle East, to improve the economic conditions of its people and to promote peaceful relations among its various peoples—based on mutual recognition of each other's national existence and territorial integrity. Towards this end, the AFL-CIO urge the United States, Britain and France to re-affirm their Tri-Partite Declaration of 1950, and to implement it by enabling the Republic of Israel to obtain arms and all other means necessary for the maintenance of its territorial integrity and national independence. The best interests of our country and the needs of world peace and social progress demand that our government enter into a Mutual Security Pact with the Republic of Israel. Such a pact would be strictly defensive in character and would not be aimed at any neighbor of Israel. Such an American-Israel Mutual Security Pact might well serve as the model for similar accords between our country and the Arab lands, thus paring the way for a Middle East Mutual Security Treaty Organization embracing all the nations in this pivotal area, within the framework of the U.N. and dedicated to the furtherance of world peace and human well-being. Adequate economic, technical and military assistance should be made available only to those governments supporting these aims and prepared to cooperate in the peaceful solution of such pressing problems as the plight of the Arab refugees and the undisturbed use of the Suez Canal. American labor greets the Histadrut as the dynamic

force in the building of Israeli democracy. We further pledge ourselves to aid the development of free trade unions throughout the Middle East as the most effective instruments for advancing social progress, human freedom and stable peaceful relations among all the nations of this vital area.

18. American labor supports the U.N. and its Specialized Agencies and believes that efforts to build the U.N. into a more authoritative and effective instrument for maintaining world peace and promoting the fundamental human and promoting the fundamental human rights proclaimed in the Charter of the United Nations should be redoubled. It is our firm belief that the specialized agencies of the U.N. have aided the peoples of the underdeveloped countries by bringing to them the benefits of health, sanitation, and technical knowledge. These agencies have proven their worth to the cause of freedom and peace. We of the Americal benefits of the American large of the American large authorized the provent and peace. cal knowledge. These agencies have proven their worth to the cause of freedom and peace. We of the American labor movement pledge our continued support to ILO; WHO, UNESCO and other specialized agencies of the United Nations. Our government should firmly adhere to the policy of variabilities the design into the UN. of the United Nations. Our government should firmly adhere to the policy of prohibiting the admission into the U.N. of any regime which (a) has been imposed on any nation by a foreign power, (b) which exercises effective control of the country only through denying its people the fundamental human control of the country only through denying its people the fundamental human control to the fundamental human control of the country only through denying its people the fundamental human control of control of the country only through de-nying its people the fundamental hu-man rights specified in the U.N. Charter and (c) which is engaged in war or has been found guilty of aggression against the U.N.

against the U.N.

19. In accordance with our traditional stand, we favor cultural relations with the peoples behind the Iron Curtain—a curtain which we have always sought to lift and the maintenance of which the Kremlin continues to enforce. We are firmly convinced that if it were possible to have such an exchange of ideas and information among the peoples of both sides of the Iron Curtain, it would always work to the advantage of the democracies. It is not we but the totalitarian regimes who have every reason to fear any contrast between the free world and the plight of the peoples under dictatorships. cultural rela

tatorships.

20. The AFL-CIO rejects, as a matter of principle, the idea of free labor sending delegations to any country which prohibits free trade unions, outlaws all free trade union activities, and penalizes workers for advocating free trade unionism—whether such free trade unionism—whether such country be Communist or Fascist or any other totalitarian hue. We oppose the Moscow-Pelping Axis maneuver to have free trade union delegations visit the Soviet slave orbit as a vital phase of the sinister Big Smile strategy calculated to confuse and divide the democratic camp. Moscow wants free trade union delegation visits to lend moral respectability and legitimacy to its regime which has robbed its people of every fundamental human right, keeps millions of its subjects in slave trade unionism-ry be Communist of every fundamental human right, keeps millions of its subjects in slave labor camps, and denies the workers the right of freedom of association and organization, the right of genuine collective bargaining, and the right to strike. 21. In view of the intransigent So-

viet opposition to German national re-unification in freedom and the restora-tion of the national independence of the satellite countries, speedy action should be taken to make the West Eu-ropean Union "a focus of European integration." We should seek to fur-ther European unity through economic aid and technical assistance to spe-cific projects for free European inte-gration, such as the establishment of a free Europe Authority to construct and operate continental oil plelines; unify rail, water, and air transport systems; co-ordinate atomic energy, electricity and waterpower resources along the lines of the present Iron and Steel Community. The free trade unions of the co-operating countries should be drawn into the policymaking bodies of drawn into the policymaking bodies of such projects in order to assure the great mass of the people sharing equi-tably in the benefits thereof. This imgreat mass of the people sharing equitably in the benefits thereof. This implementation of the London-Parls Accords should be combined with a program to enable NATO to fulfill not only its primary purpose as a military defense body but in addition as an organ for greater according. gan for greater economic and political cooperation in advancing peace, hu-man rights, and improved living standards.

22. United American labor—the AFL-CIO—realizes the urgency of strengthening the organization and enhancing the influence and prestige of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), and of ORIT, the Regional Organization to which we belong. We urge our affiliates to join and participate actively in the work of the various International Trade Secretariats. The ICFTU will (1) become increasingly effective in promoting the economic interests, as well as the larger aspirations of labor, regardless United American laboreconomic interests, as well as the larger aspirations of labor, regardless of race, nationality, color or creed; of race, nationality, color or creed; (2) defeat the Communist attempts to subvert and destroy the free trade unions; (3) play an increasingly effective role in aiding the working people of the underdeveloped countries to ple of the underdeveloped countries to establish strong free trade unions which shall play an ever more decisive role in improving the conditions of life and labor and in advancing the cause of national freedom and democratic rights of the people; (4) and in developing into a most powerful force for building a world free from the perils of poverty, the terror of all despotism and dictatorship, and the horrors of war.

In this spirit, we shall encourage a greater knowledge of and a greater interest in international affairs among our membership, toward the end that the wage earners' great stake in our country's foreign policy will be more clearly recognized and reflected in its formulation and conduct.

COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY CURRAN: Mr. President, I move the adoption of the resolution.

... The motion to adopt the resolu-tion on Foreign Policy was seconded and carried unanimously.

IMMIGRATION

. . Committee co-Secretary Soderstrom presented the resolution on Immigra-tion as follows: In 1952 the Congress of the United States passed, over the veto of President Truman, the McCarran-Walter Act, regulating the conditions under which immigrants may come to this country, either temporarily or for permanent residence. The Act established many new restrictions on immigration, and provided new grounds on the basis of which persons who have been admitted may subsequently be deported. At the time of its passage, fears were expressed that the Act might be unfair in its treatment of immigrants and in its treatment of immigrants naturalized citizens.

Nearly three years of operation of this law have shown critical deficien-cies in the law. To the extent that our immigration policy does not fully re-flect democratic and humanitarian tra-ditions of the nation, we suffer in our own self-esteem and forfeit the support of the three democratic patterns. of the other democratic nations.

Experience with the existing immigration quota system, in particular, has pointed up the need for amending the pointed up the need for amending the law. This system divides the total allowed immigration among the various countries on the basis of the national origin of the American population in 1920. Experience has shown that some countries send far fewer immigrants to the United States than their quota allows, while others—frequently those where there is the greatest desire for immigration—are able to send only a few of those who want to come few of those who want to come

the Administration recom-In 1953, the Administration recommended, and the Congress passed, the Refugee Relief Act, designed to permit the entry of some 214,000 refugees from Europe on a non-quota basis. In the main, it was sound and desirable legislation. However, this law has been so administered that only a limited number of refugees has in fact been admitted. Furthermore, only a year remains before the Act is scheduled to expire expire.

We believe that admission of reas-onable numbers of immigrants is of benefit to this nation; and that a fair benefit to this nation; and that a fair and humanitarian immigration policy can be effected which would not under-mine the employment opportunities of American workers. We assert the need for humanitarian treatment of those who, having borne the burdens of eco-nomic mistortune and war, now seek a new home and new opportunities within our borders; now, therefore, be

RESOLVED, 1. We urge that the McCarran-Waiter Act be revised and liberalized, to reflect the democratic and humanitarian traditions of our country and to provide an immigration policy attuned to the present requirements of our own nation and of the entire free world.

2. The Congress should remove technical and restrictive provisions from the Refugee Relief Act so that there will be no further delay in admitting the full number of refugees authorized by the law. The present expiration date of the Refugee Relief Act should be extended if necessary to assure that at least the full number of immigrants presently authorized by that Act may be admitted.

Committee co-Secretary Soderstrom moved the adoption of the report.

The motion to adopt the resolution was seconded and carried unanimously.

PRESIDENT MEANY: At this time I would like to present the President General of the American Flag Foundation, Inc., Mr. Arnon L. Squiers, who will make a presentation.

PRESENTATION OF CITIZENSHIP AWARDS

MR. SQUIERS: Mr. Meany, Mr. Reuther, Mr. Schnitzler, officials, delegates and distinguished guests at the Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations: I am here as the President of the Flag Foundation of America to present, on behalf of our organization, citizenship awards to your distinguished leaders, Mr. George Meany, Mr. Walter Reuther and Mr. William Schnitzler. Schnitzler.

Schnitzler.

The Flag Foundation is primarily an educational organization for the preservation of the United States fiag as a symbol of the United States of America and the defense of the principles and ideal for which it stands, a bulwark of strength at home and a beacon light of hope and freedom abroad; to promote the principles of representative government, freedom, morality, truth and justice, and to advance the cause of civilization and peace, both in the United States and elsewhere in the world. world.

When President Eisenhower addressed this Convention on Monday, he said, and I quote, "Your new national organization, as well as your constituent organizations, have a great opportunity of making your meetings the world's most effective exhibit of democratic processes. The American philosophy of labor if adopted globally, could bring about a world prosperous at peace, sharing the fruits of labor with justice to all men." When President Eisenhower

As President General of the Flag Foundation of America, I am happy to present this citizenship award to Mr. George Meany, the President of this great organization. Some years ago great organization. Some years ago a similar award was presented to the late great President of the American Pederation of Labor, Mr. William Green. We congratulate Mr. Meany on behalf of our organization and on behalf of American citizens everywhere, because by his statesmanlike leadership, and that of your other leaders, he has brought about a union of the great labor forces of this country. That theme of unity in America should be carried further so that all Americans can work further so that all Americans can work together to keep this country strong and prosperous as a bulwark against all foes, internal and external.

Mr. Meany, it is my pleasure to pre-

Mr. Meany, it sent this to you:

"CITIZENSHIP AWARD PRESENTED TO GEORGE MEANY BY
THE FLAG FOUNDATION OF AMERICA AS ITS HIGHEST HONOR FOR
OUTSTANDING LEADERSHIP IN THE
CAUSE OF GOOD CITIZENSHIP."

It is signed by the President General.

. . . The award was presented to Mr.

Meany.

MR. SQUIERS: Before I present the next award I would like to read from the precepts of the Flag Foundation of America, and I would ask you to give to me your close attention because it is on a subject dear to the hearts of all of us. It is entitled "The Flag Speaks."

THE FLAG SPEAKS

Born during the nation's infancy, I have grown with it, my stars increasing in number as the country has grown in size: the domain over which I wave expanding until the sun on my flying folds now never sets.

Filled with significance are my colors of red, white and blue into which have been woven the strength and courage of American manhood, the love and loyalty of American womanhood.

Stirring are the stories of my stars

and stripes.

I represent the Declaration of Independence.

I stand for the Constitution of the United States.

I reflect the wealth and grandeur of this great land of opportunity.

I signify the law of the land.

I tell the achievements and progress of the American people in art and science, culture and literature, invention and commerce, transportation and industry.

I stand for peace and goodwill among the nations of the world.

I believe in tolerance.

I am the badge of the nation's greatness and the emblem of its destiny.

Threaten me and millions will spring to my defense!

I am the American Flag!

It is my pleasure to present to the Vice President of your great organization, Mr. Walter Reuther, on behalf of the Flag Foundation of America, the citizenship award, and he now becomes the third recipient, along with the late William Green and President George Meany, for his distinguished, statesmanlike leadership on behalf of American labor.

, . . An award similar to that presented to President Meany was presented to Vice President Reuther.

MR. SQUIERS: Now it is my pleasure to present a third award to Mr. Willam Schnitzler, Secretary-Treasurer of your united organization. I will say that there is no more important post to be filled with ability and with energy than that of the Secretary-Treasurer of this organization.

Mr. Schnitzler, it is my pleasure to present you with this citizenship award. ... An award like that presented to President Meany and Vice President Reculter was presented to Secretary-Treasurer Schnitzler.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Thank you, Mr. Squiers, and may I, on behalf of Vice President Reuther, Secretary Schnitzler and myself say to Mr Squiers that I feel

that this citation on Citizenship Award from the Flag Foundation of America is really given to the AFL-CIO rather than to individuals, and also to say to him that I am sure this organization will always fulfill its obligation to our government and to the citizenry as a whole, so that we can merit this award given to us today.

Thank you very much, Mr. Squiers. At this time I would like to present the Chairman of an outstanding American organization with which the trade union movement has had a close relationship, especially in times of great emergency, such as we witnessed here a few months ago in the devastating floods in the northeast section of our country. At that time the CIO and the AFL both gave full support to this organization and to the local authorities in alleviating to some extent the distress and suffering caused by those catastrophic floods.

I take great pleasure in presenting to you the Chairman of the American Red Cross, Mr. E. Roland Harriman.

MR. E. ROLAND HARRIMAN

Chairman of the American Red Cross

Mr. Meany, Mr. Reuther, ladies and gentlemen of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations:

The eyes of the world have been on your convention this week because your two great labor organizations have given a magnificent example of what we most need in human society—unity,

Millions of people have watched with admiration the good will, the understanding, and the harmonious teamwork that have brought together the AFL and the ClO.

It is a special privilege to be with you on this historic occasion. Only one simple reason brings me here—to thank you for all that you have done to further the work of the American Red Cross.

In many ways we have grown together. In all of the 10 service programs of the Red Cross—from service to the Armed Forces to first ald training, and from our water safety work to the blood services—you have strengthened us by your support. You have enlarged and extended our ability to carry out the public duties laid upon the Red Cross by tradition and by law through the lending of tens of thousands of helping hands to Red Cross in times of stress and strain.

You have done this in the true Red Cross spirit of neighbor helping neighbor, because you know that the Red Cross serves people without regard to race, color or creed. In thus aiding the Red Cross to be always on the job you have both helped your own members and your fellow-man in time of need.

It is an old axiom that when you want something done you call upon busy men and women to do it. Time and again the members of organized labor have demonstrated this truth. You have donated your blood for American servicemen and for the civilian sick and injured; you have made

your own job and that of others safer by promoting the Ked Cross First Aid program; you have joined in our Annual Campaigns for members and funds; you have given of yourself in disaster operations. But in the Eastern States floods this year you served beyond the call of duty.

While the waters were still raging you joined your fellow citizens to do the rugged, back-breaking work of rescue, evacuation and emergency relef. And, when the time came to put the victims back on their feet, from all over the nation you answered the appeal of the Red Cross for disaster funds. More than \$1,000,000 from your unions poured into our relief fund; and the total would be far higher if we added what came from individual union members. So, labor demonstrated in no uncertain terms that, when the chips are down, we are one nation, one body of citizens, one brotherhood of man.

This is most gratifying because it speaks well for the future—a future in which your organization and the Red Cross have one goal in common: greater advancement of the welfare of the public we both are pledged to serve.

Toward this end we have been fortunate to have had in our councils Mr. Meany and Mr. McDonald on our national board and a host of your other leaders on our chapter boards all over the country.

We look forward over the years to a strengthening of the ties between us in our determination to serve our fellowman.

Mr. Meany, in appreciation of the generous assistance we have already received from the AFL and CIO, it is my great pleasure to present this certificate with the following citation;

THIS CITATION
IS AWARDED TO
THE MEN AND WOMEN OF THE
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS IN GRATEFUL RECOGNITION OF THEIR OUTSTANDING CONTRIBUTION

TO THE PEOPLE OF THIS NATION THROUGH THEIR DEVOTED SUPPORT OF AND PARTICIPATION IN THE HUMANITARIAN WORK OF THE AMERICAN NATIONAL

RED CROSS
(Signed) ELLSWORTH BUNKER,
President
E. ROLAND HARRIMAN, Chairman

PRESIDENT MEANY: I wish to express the thanks of the Convention and of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations for this citation which, I wish to point out, is a citation awarded to all of the men and women of the Amercan Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations

in recognition of their contributions to and cooperation with the American Red Cross.

Thank you very much, Mr. Harri-man.

Will the Committee escorting Mr. Thurgood Marshall kindly come to the platform?

. . . Mr. Thurgood Marshall was escorted to the platform by the Escort Committee.

PRESIDENT MEANY: May I ask that you give the speaker I am about to introduce your undivided attention. I am quite sure that he has a message for us which is important, not only to the members of our Union, but important to all the American people, dedicated as we are to the simple, fundamental values of equality that are written into the Constitution of the United States.

This man is well known, I am sure, to all of you. I am not going to try to list his accomplishments. I am mere ly going to say that he is the Special Counsel of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and that he, as the Special Counsel of that organization brought to a successful conclusion 20 months ago a long campaign to end segregation in the public schools of America.

I give you Mr. Thurgood Marshall, Special Counsel of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

MR. THURGOOD MARSHALL

Special Counsel, National Association for the

Advancement of Colored People

Mr. Meany, officers and friends: On behalf of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and those we represent, I want to say that it is more than a pleasure and a privilege to be here this afternoon. I have condensed what I want to say on paper for a very simple reason: that is the only way I know to get something over in short fashion. I hope you will bear with me in reading, because I for one consider this one of the most important periods of our lives insofar as the actual practice of the survival of democracy is concerned.

We in the NAACP salute the merged AFL and CiO as an example of further consolidation of forces seeking justice for all Americans. The additional strength from this merger will most certainly be used for the benefit of the country in general. A large measure of the success in the fight for human dignity that has come about has resulted from the recognition by organized labor of the need of extending labor's fight from inside the plant to the community in general. So, those of us in the fight for justice for Negro Americans can now depend upon an even stronger support from this new consolidated arm of organized labor.

While great progress toward removing racial injustice from American life has been made in the past two decades, we have found that the real task is and will be the job of bringing established principles of law into everyday practice in local communities. Experience during the past two years has made it clear to everyone concerned that real opposition to law and order is being built up in areas of the South. This opposition is being built up on the local level.

In backward areas of the South, the so-called "good people" of these states have banded themselves together in organizations such as the White Citizens Councils of Mississippi and other similar organizations. These local groups have grown during the past six months into state organizations and will, in short order cross state lines. While these organizations are set up for the ostensible purpose of "using every lawful means" to preserve racial segregation and other forms of discrimination including the denial of the right to vote. In truth and in fact these organizations are creating the type of atmosphere which now makes it possible to run Negroes out of business, to discharge Negroes from employment and even to threaten and murder poor defenseless Negroes in Missispip. Of course, the White Citizens Councils deny any responsibility for these murders. However, they cannot deny that they have created the atmosphere of disregard for the established law of the land. This atmosphere makes it possible for murderers to go free and unpunished. This atmosphere of lawlessness must be changed.

The murder of Rev. G. W. Lee in Belzoni, Miss., for insisting on his right to vote, the murder of Lamar Smith for insisting on the right to register and the unprovoked murder of little Emmett Till has focused nation and worldwide attention on Mississippi. These murders and other forms of intimidation point up but definitely the complete absence of protection of civil rights for minority groups in the South. Of course, those of us who have been in this fight for any period of time have known of this lack of protection for Negroes along with similar lack of protection of the rights of organized labor in many areas of the South. It is a sad commentary to realize that many of us require cold-blooded murders in order to rally us to action. The whole vicious program against Negroes in the South will without doubt lead to further violence and pressures against organized labor. One of the biggest jobs ahead for this consolidated bloc of labor leaders is to organize the unorganized in the South. Recent developments of lawlessness and opposition to voting and desegregation of education makes it clear that organized labor must insist not only on organizing in the South but must insist that it be done throughout the South on a completely integrated basis without any compromise in the slightest detail to the segregated policies prevalent in areas of the South.

The Negro in the South has refused to compromise on the question of racial segregation in public education and other public facilities. Organized labor must refuse to compromise in its or-

ganizing even in the South. Between the two, we can rally other good forces of the South to the end that justice will prevail.

However, the inability of the United States Department of Justice to bring to justice those guilty of denying constitutionally protected rights to Negroes in the South points up the need for adequate Federal legislation to protect all of us in the exercise of our rights throughout the South. In other words, we must have Federal protection of the right to live, to speak out, to organize, and to insist upon our constitutionally protected rights. States such as Mississippi have demonstrated their unwillingness as well as inability to protect these rights. Therefore, we must use our combined strength to secure from Congress adequate anti-lynching legislation, anti-poll tax legislation and astrengthening of the Federal Civil Rights Statutes as a bulwark against unprovoked violence in our every day work. We must, in addition, insist upon strong FEPC legislation and necessary safeguards in Federal appropriations in schools, housing and other facilities which will prevent Federal money from being used to continue segregation in opposition to the law of the land.

It should also be noted that this victous anti-Negro program extends to white citizens who dare to speak out for justice for Negroes. It is highly significant that in many areas of the deep South organized labor is being bracketed in the same position as the Negro.

In this great expansion program of bringing great industries into the South, organized labor has a more important task than ever before in seeing to it that the plants involved are not only organized on a completely non-racial basis but that the communities surrounding these plants are run in a democratic fashion which today means, according to the law of the land, the absence of racial segregation. Anything short of this will merely mean that the expansion program in the South will become a further example of extended racial discrimination on an even larger scale. At this late date, it goes without saying that organized labor has a terrific stake in vigorously opposing racial segregation in community life whether it be in the North or South.

Despite all of the organized opposition to desegregation, it is important to remember that the solid South is broken for the first time on the question of race. As of today, twelve of the seventeen Southern states are now admitting Negroes to graduate and professional schools. Some thirty-odd private universities of the South have opened their doors to Negroes and it is just a short matter of time until all will be opened up.

It is also worthy of note that on the elementary and high school levels portions of either of the seventeen Southern states and the District of Columbia have moved toward integration of public schools and this has been accomplished in less than two years. This is the type of progress that has solidified the unreconstructed areas which

are now more determined than ever to do everything possible to prevent integration of public schools.

In the latest drive toward desegrega-tion as a result of recent Supreme Court decisions we have found that the good people of the South are either afraid or unwilling to oppose the pro-segregationist groups. We find that most of the Southern press is against integration of public schools. We find that church organizations for the most part will go no further than to merely adopt innocuous resolutions in favor of desegregation. desegregation.

If the desegregation job is to be done, it will have to be done on the local level. If we are to be successful in this task we will need more than ever before the support of organizations such as those here represented who are in a position to transform resolutions into action programs on the local level. the local level.

The type of diehard opposition now being built up in the South will not disappear overnight and we cannot blow it away. It will only be removed by intelligent cooperative leadership of those Americans who have more at stake than others. Together we can do the job.

the job.

PRESIDENT MEANY: In your behalf
I wish to thank Mr. Marshall for his
address this afternoon and to express to
him the opinion that the organized labor
movement of this nation will be able to
more effectively carry out its tradition of
non-discrimination and of civil rights for
all, and that through this merged organization we will be able to carry on the
principles both organizations in the past
have adhered to, and implement those
principles much more effectively than we
have in the past. have in the past.

Thank you very much, Mr. Marshall. I understand there is a very distinguished visitor who has dropped in to see us, and I am going to ask him to just say hello to you.

... At this time the Hon. G. Mennen Williams, Governor of the State of Michigan, was escorted to the platform.

PRESIDENT MEANY: A very progressive gentleman of a great State, the Hon. G. Mennen Williams.

THE HON. G. MENNEN WILLIAMS Governor of the State of Michigan

Mr. President, Brother Reuther, distinguished guests, members of the new AFL-CIO organization: Congratulations on the wonderful achievement of labor unity. I know this means greater opportunities and greater responsibilities. From my own experience, I know that you are going to meet this challenge to the great benefit not only of your own members, millions and millions of them, but to all of the people of the United States.

So I say to you, God bless you, keep on building.

Thanks a million.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Thank you very much, Governor Williams. I am very happy you found the chance to drop in and see us.

REPORT OF RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE (Continued) CIVIL RIGHTS

... Committee co-Secretary Curran presented the resolution on Civil Rights as follows:

The AFL and the CIO have always believed in the principle and practice of equal rights for all, regardless of race, color, creed or national origin. Each federation has separately played a distinguished role in the continuing struggle to realize for all Americans the democratic rights promised to all by the Constitution of the United

The AFL-CIO is similarly pledged and dedicated to promote and defend the civil rights of all Americans. Its Constitution declares that one of its objects and principles is:

"To encourage all workers without regard to race, creed, color or na-tional origin to share in the full benefits of union organization."

Another such object and principle of the new Federation is:

"To protect and strengthen our democratic institutions, to secure full "To protect democratic institutions, to scene recognition and enjoyment of the rights and liberties to which we are justly entitled, and to preserve and perpetuate the cherished traditions of our democracy

Our Constitution likewise provides for a "Committee on Civil Rights" which:

"Shall be vested with the duty and responsibility to assist the Executive Council to bring about at the earliest possible date the effective implementation of the principle stated in this constitution of non-discrimination in accordance with the provisions of this constitution." sions of this constitution.

Thus the AFL-CIO stands dedicated no less than its predecessors to bring about full and equal rights for all Americans in every field of life.

Discrimination in Employment

Both the AFL and the CIO have been pre-eminent in the campaign to secure equality of employment opportunity to all workers. This campaign has several different facets.

Both federations have in the past repeatedly supported and urged the enactment of Federal fair employment practices legislation, to prohibit discrimination in employment because of race, creed, color or national origin.

During the past year several states and municipalities have enacted fair employment practice laws or ordinances, but year after year the threat of filibuster by Dixiecrat Senators has prevented fair employment practices legislation from receiving any real consideration by the Congress. This determined minority has been able to impose its will upon the Congress because Senate Rule 22 invites filibuster by making cloture virtually impossible. The authority vested in the Rules Committee in the House of Representatives has likewise sometimes enabled that Committee to act as a roadblock to progressive legislation.

In 1953, President Eisenhower established the President's Committee on Government Contracts, a revival of a similar committee which had functioned under President Truman. The Committee's function is to coordinate and assist the federal departments and agencies in the enforcement of the clauses prohibiting discrimination in employment which all government contracts are required to contain. Representatives of the AFL and the Clowere appointed and are serving as members of this Committee.

This Committee has developed a

members of this Committee.

This Committee has developed a strengthened non-discrimination clause, which specifically prohibits discrimination by government contractors in all phases of the employment relationship, including hiring, placement, training, promotion, tenure of employment and compensation. Since a large percentage of business firms have contracts with government agencies, this clause, if vigorously enforced, can do much to eliminate discrimination in employment. Already, on the initiative of the eliminate discrimination in employment. Already, on the initiative of the labor members of the Committee and with the cooperation of the international unions involved, the Committee has made limited progress toward eliminating discrimination in a number of industries and areas where heretoindustries and areas where hereto-re discriminatory practices had prevailed.

Discrimination in employment, promotions or lay-offs because of race, color, religion, or national origin violates both the legal and moral rights of those who are discriminated against. Already substantial progress in ending Aiready substantial progress in ending discrimination in employment has been made by the negotiation and diligent policing of non-discrimination clauses in collective bargaining agreements. By giving full support to these clauses our affiliates can make a notable continuity of the tribution toward the elimination of dis-crimination in a large sector of Amer-ican industry. By creating appropriate ican industry. By creating approprinternal machinery, our affiliates assist in realizing these objectives.

of Segregation in

Removal of Segregation in Public Facilities

One of the most notable triumphs for democracy in recent years is the progress which has been made toward ending segregation in public schools. In 1954 the Supreme Court of the United States unanimously, and in clear and unequivocal language, declared that segregation in the public schools violates the United States Constitution. A year later it reiterated this decision, and ordered that those localities where segregation in the public schools still exists proceed with "all deliberate speed" toward its elimination. In response to these decisions of the nation's highest tribunal, a number of states and localities have already ended segregation in their public schools. The experience of these areas, and particularly of the District of Columbia with its large Negro population, has shown that there is no insurmountable obstacles anywhere to complying with the requirements of the nation's Constitution. stitution.

Unfortunately, however, some states and localities have sought to delay the end of segregation, and even to perpetuate it indefinitely, by a variety of

flimsy and discreditable subterfuges and devices. We are confident that the courts will rebuke these tactics as rapidly as the cases come before them. Still worse, in one or two states the forces of racism and reaction are using the segregation issue as a railying point for the creation of Ku Klux Klan-type organizations, such as the White Citizens Councils which seek by the vilest and most brutal methods to deny all political and civil rights to America's Negro citizens.

to America's Negro citizens.

There is every reason to expect that the Supreme Court will apply the doctrine of non-segregation to other types of public facilities, including all those which are supported or aided by federal or local taxes. It has already taken such action in the case of public parks. There have already been several lower court decisions to this effect, and even in the absence of such decisions, progress has been made in many communities in the elimination of racial barriers in trains and buses, public housing, public parks, and theatres and restaurants. The ICC has recently prohibited segregation on the nation's railroads and their facilities. In only a few years all branches of the Armed Forces have shifted from almost complete segregation to almost complete segregation to almost comcomplete segregation to almost com-plete integration. Despite dire predic-tions of disaster, this change has been accomplished smoothly and without in-cident; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, 1. The AFL-CIO declares its strong support for an effective and enforceable fair employment practices act. We urge the enactment of similar legislation by all states and cities that do not now have such laws on their

enactment of civil rights legislation, and particularly of a fair employment practices act, we urge that the rules be so amended that the will of the Congress may not be stultified by a realcitrant minority. Rule 22 should be changed to permit a majority of Senators present and voting to limit and close debate.

Our affiliates should see to it that overs with whom they deal who 3. Our affiliates should see to it that employers with whom they deal who hold federal contracts adhere to the letter and spirit of the non-discrimina-tion clause required in government contracts. In addition, our affiliates should seek to have non-discrimina-tion clauses included in every collec-tive bargaining agreement they nego-tiate. tiate.

The AFL-CIO wholeheartedly sup-the decisions of the Supreme 4. The AFL-CIO wholeheartedly supports the decisions of the Supreme Court outlawing segregation in the public schools. We urge all of our affiliated state and local bodies to work with other liberal forces in their communities to facilitate a peaceful and effective transition to an unsegregated American educational system. We urge the Administration to utilize the full powers of the federal government to frustrate and punish unlawful attempts to block implementation of the Supreme Court's decision.

preme Court's decision.

5. We urge the Congress to enact legislation making lynching a federal crime, and to invalidate state laws requiring the payment of a poll tax as a prerequisite to voting.

COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY CUR-RAN: I move the adoption of the resolution.

You have rec-PRESIDENT MEANY: You have heard the resolution on Civil Rights. The motion is to adopt. The Chair recognizes Vice President Carey.

CAREY VICE PRESIDENT VICE PRESIDENT CAREY: Mr.
President and delegates, I rise in support of the resolution. All of us, I am
sure, are exceedingly grateful for this
inspiring address by Brother Marshall.
In one sense, however, Vice President
Willard Townsend, Vice President A.
Philip Randolph and I can feel that we
were the victims of discrimination, because doubtless everything that we cause doubtless everything that we were going to say in addressing our-selves to this question of civil rights was splendidly covered by Thurgood Marshall's remarks.

Therefore, I ask permission of President Meany and the Convention to place in the record the statement I have prepared to give.

I hope everyone will subscribe to this resolution so ably presented by the Resolutions Committee and co-Secretary Joseph Curran.

PRESIDENT MEANY: You PRESIDENT MEANY: You have heard the motion and the request that Vice President Carey be permitted to put his full intended remarks in the record. Is there objection to that? Hearing none, we will vote on the motion with that understanding.

. . , The motion to adopt the resolu-tion on Civil Rights was seconded and carried unanimously.

Vice President Carey's complete remarks are as follows:

VICE PRESIDENT CAREY: Chairman, I rise in support of the Resolution before this Convention.

The issue of Civil Rights was high on the agenda of the basic principles that concerned the AFL-CIO Unity Commit-tee during its negotiations leading to this historic convention. This issue this historic convention. This issue has been high on the agenda of public discussion and political controversy for the last decade,—a decade marked by substantial progress, undreamed of a few years ago. Also, this progress has produced the paradoxical situation that finds many persons' civil rights being finds many pe

We, as a labor movement, have moved We, as a labor movement, have moved forward to carry out the principles enunciated in this Constitution. The majority of the organizations comprising the AFL-CIO have always believed in the principle of equal rights for all. The labor movement has always played a distinguished role in the continuing struggle to realize for all Americans the democratic rights promised by the Constitution of the United States.

The AFL-CIO is similarly pledged and edicated. We are constitutionally dedicated. We are constitutionally bound to encourage all workers without bound to encourage all workers without regard to race, creed, color or national origin to share equally in the full benefits of union origanization. However, being practical men, we also recognize that worthy ideals and principles are inadequate, unless we create machinery to implement and translate these ideals into reality. Therefore, we established constitutional machinery which we sin-

cerely believe provides the necessary tools. In view of our experiences and traditions, we believe the most practical kind of machinery for the implementation of this non-discrimination policy is a constitutional committee carefully drawn from a cross section of the new Federation.

This kind of machinery proved effective in the CIO. In 1942, we created the CIO Committee to Abolish Racial Discrimination which was succeeded by the CIO Committee on Civil Rights. We discovered shortly after the creation of CIO that enunciating a principle in a constitution was not enough. To put that principle into effect required machinery and concentrated effects quired machinery and concentrated ef-fort. Without machinery, this principle would have remained a plous hope in-stead of becoming one of our finest traditions.

We found our next task creation of similar machinery in our affiliated international organizations and state and city bodies. Today, many of the former CiO unions have devel-oped functioning machinery within oped functioning machinery within their own organizations, constantly working to extend these principles to the local plant and community level. The next step was to recommend that our affiliated unions include anti-discrimination clauses in their contracts with management. This is where discriminatory patterns generally begin—at the hiring gate, which in most instances, is management's sole responsibility. sibility

stances, is management's sole responsibility.

Looking back, Important milestones can be identified. One of the early milestones was the end of wage differentials based on race. This issue was fought out by a CIO union, aided by the CIO Committee to Abolish Discrimination, to a successful conclusion before the old War Labor Board.

We joined the AFL at the end of the war in lending our experience and resources to President Truman's Committee on Civil Rights. Boris Shishkin and I, working as a team, were successful in having many of the concepts that guide the labor movement accepted by this group of good citizens. The results of our efforts are reflected in the final report accepted by the American people entitled, "To Secure These Rights". Following publication of this report, the Supreme Court began to reach individual into decisions that report, the Supreme Court began to translate the Federal Government's responsibility to preserve the civil rights of each individual into decisions that are changing the patterns of Amercan life. The Supreme Court in 1948 declared that racially restrictive covenants were no longer enforceable in the Federal Courts. The Supreme Court banned discrimination in eating places in the District of Columbia. In a series of decisions in the field of education the framework of segregation was narrowed. These decisions eloquently resiftened that our Constitution can and should be color blind.

In retrospect, we can now see that these decisions were just a prelude to the important one. On May 17, 1954, and again in May, 1955, the Supreme Court unanimously and in clear unequivocal language, declared that in the field of public education, segregation has no place, that it is a denial of the equal protection of laws. This his-

toric declaration promises our children a greater and more equal share in our democracy than we experienced. Moreover, the Court lost no time in applying the doctrine of non-segregation to other Federal and local tax-supported institutions and facilities. We have associated ourselves with this point of view and have implemented it with every means at our command. In this struggle, although the NAACP has taken the leadership in forging the law into an instrument of social precision to accomplish these objectives the labor movement has always been closely associated and identified with the NAACP financially and by filing amicus curiae briefs before the Supreme Court in this series of cases. But more important, we began utilizing our resources to implement these decisions through our machinery on the sions through our machinery local level.

At the same time, we were working to put our own house in order. Our General Counsel and also a member of the Committee on Civil Rights, recommended we issue a directive that has proved to be prophetic and historic. We directed all state and city bodies to abolish segregated facilities in rest rooms, drinking fountains and other facilities. We banned separate meetings and functions on our property. This directive preceded the latest series of Supreme Court decisions declaring segregation in public facilities unconstitugation in public facilities unconstitu-

We next initiated a campaign to take the race tag off jobs. Working with one of our major unions, we began to develop a program designed to permit any worker, regardless of his color, to be promoted to any job which his seniority and skill entitled him to ocupy. As this campaign has succeeded. we have developed tools and techniques available to other unions. This campaign marked the first time that the problems of discrimination in an entire industry had been attacked simultaneously.

industry had been attacked sinutane ously.

We are confident that with the added strength and enthusiasm our new Federation will bring to this struggle, the advances of the last decade can be accelerated. We believe we can bring greater vitality to the task of completing democracy's unfinished business. We know in so doing we will immeasurably strengthen the American labor movement.

measurably strengthen the American labor movement.

In view of the nature of its task, the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Committee must be regarded as the agency in the new Federation responsible for the formulation of policy in this vital area. Broadly speaking, the committee should recommend policies and programs for our new Federation. It should develop procedures and programs for the consideration and acceptance of our International Unions and state and city bodies. The committee should be the spokesman with governmental agencies, for our new Federation. It should have the responsibility of maintaining appropriate relationof maintaining appropriate relation-ships with approved private organiza-tions working in this field. The resources and skills of the com-mittee will always be available to our

International Unions in working out the practical day-to-day problems that constantly arise as they seek to breathe life into our ideals. We must have faith—faith enough to dedicate ourselves to the realization of these values.

values.

Also, we must clearly recognize that this task cannot be accomplished in a vacuum—it cannot be accomplished within the confines of the labor movement without, at the same time, fighting for the extension of these principles in the local communities in which we live and work.

We must constantly seek to strengthen those civic and community forces whose ideals and convictions and pro-

en those civic and community forces whose ideals and convictions and programs of action are consistent with ours. We must continue to support, plan and work with the NAACP, the National Urban League the Jewish Labor Committee, and the many other organizations with which we share common ideological convictions.

mon ideological convictions.

The recent wave of terror and denial of constitutional rights in Mississippi and other Southern states must enlist our grave concern. They not only do violence to the rights and dignity of the victims but they do violence to you and me. Our constitutional rights are also attacked. The emergence of the "White Citizens Councils" in Mississippi, the "States Rights in North Carolina" the "Tomnessee Society to Maintain Segregation" and other similar organizations represent a new type of Ku Klux Klan.

We must realize that a more terrible.

We must realize that a more terrible, a new and more powerful type of Klan is attempting to rise in the South to-day than the Ku Klux Klan which followed the first World War. This time it is more dangerous, because it is lowed the first world war. This time it is more dangerous, because it is ultra-respectable and does not hide be-hind sheets. This time it is openly led by prominent citizens, many of whom are elected local and state officials. This are elected local and state officials. This time it counts among its members and supporters: bankers, lawyers, powerful industrialists and plantation owners. It counts among its supporters state Governors, United States Senators and Congressmen.

Remember its birth! The White Citi-

Remember its birth! The White Citizens Councils came into being shortly after the 1954 decision of the Supreme

after the 1954 decision of the Supreme Court outlawing segregation in public schools. Its organization was inspired by a speech made by Senator Eastland. While this movement was organized on the surface to mobilize public opinion to delay and prevent the enforcement of the U. S. Supreme Court decisions outlawing segregation in the schools, the real purpose behind this movement is to use the desegregation issue to stop economic and social progress in the South.

movement is to use the desegregation issue to stop economic and social progress in the South.

There is substantial evidence that the movement is directed at trade unions. This fear stems from the AFL-CIO announcement that we will launch an effective organizing campaign among the working people of the South. This can be demonstrated by the fact that among the leaders of this new subversive movement are a number of individuals active in the anti-labor organizations who succeeded in securing enactment of "right-to-work" laws in our Southern states. Southern states.

AFL-CIO

On October 23, 1955, they merged into a Southern Confederation of Prosegregationists, under the name of the "Federation for Constitutional Government", directed by John U. Barr, who has been a spokesman for the manufacturers' associations in the South, a leader in the Dixiecrat Party of 1948, and a leader in all of the anti-labor organizations created in recent years. In Charleston, South Carolina, a successful organizing campaign, conducted

In Charleston, South Carolina, a successful organizing campaign, conducted in a rubber fabric plant by the United Rubber Workers, came to an end when the local unit of the White Citizens Councils applied economic and social pressure on the white members to withdraw from the union, because it included both white and Negro workers on an equal basis. Other examples can be cited.

Every area of the South, where these councils have been organized, and have become a political and economic power the normal process of justice has been diminished. At the same time, this diminished. At the same time, this campaign of terror and intimidation is showing its effect among prominent Southern liberals who are silent and lonely and have not spoken out against this menace. Many of the large Protes-tant church denominations have gone on record as approving the abolition of cial segregation as a public policy. However, when the local ministers attempt to put their religious beliefs into practice, they are immediately threatened and intimidated by these White Citizens Councils.

Organized labor constitutes the only other group which has economic and political influence in these major industrial centers of the South. Unless we of trial centers of the South. Unless we of
the trade union movement and like
minded community groups develop a
program to expose this type of subversion, our liberties and future union organizing campaigns will be jeopardized.
Equally important, unless we act
promptly and decisively, our local
unions risk being infiltrated by these
organizations with their totalitarian
philosophy. Such a situation could well
sound the death knell to our efforts to
bring the benefits of trade union organization to Southern workers.

This development has underscored the

ganization to Southern workers.
This development has underscored the need for Federal legislation which will arm the Department of Justice to protect the civil rights of each citizen. More than one hundred civil rights bills were introduced during the last session of Congress. Not one was debated or voted upon,—a negative record consistent with that of previous Congressional sessions. The Administration continued to exercise no leadership in bringing any of these bills out of committee. Moreover, this negative performance of Congress is a total repudiation of the platforms of both parties, which have repeatedly pledged support of civil rights legislation.

The reign of terror in Mississippi, where three Negroes have already been killed under lynch law conditions, has dramatized the helplessness of the Federal government in protecting the civil rights of all Americans. Thus the United States, which has protested brutality and violence throughout the world, now stands mute and helpless when brutality and violence are used This development has underscored the

against United States citizens. This condition is the more tragic for these condition is the more tragic for these citizens were only seeking to exercise their right to vote and to enjoy other rights guaranteed under the Constitution. This cynical disregard of pledges by both major political parties will continue to leave our Government helpiess, until we convince our elected representatives that there is a widespread demand and need for Congressional action on civil rights in the coming sessions of Congress, As President Meany has said, we must answer this challenge by increased political action.

Probably the most important event

113

has said, we must answer this chairings by increased political action.

Probably the most important event in the long history of the American labor movement is occurring in this historic convention. I am completely convinced that a united, democratic convinced that a united, democratic labor movement of 16 million Americans can be the greatest single force in our society for the swift expansion of civil rights and liberties in every sphere of

society for the swift expansion of civil rights and liberties in every sphere of our national life.

For the same reason our new merged labor movement should be more effective in organizing the unorganized, in legislative activity and politics because of its greater dedication and numerical strength. Our new movement must be more effective in both the quantity and quality of its efforts in the fields of civil rights and anti-discrimination.

Merger can be the threshold of a new future . . a new future for the nation; working men and women, for the underprivileged and for minorities. Basically a unified labor movement inspires this hope!

The report of the Committee was

The report of the continued, as follows: of the Committee was

CIVIL LIBERTIES AND INTERNAL SECURITY

. . . Committee co-Secretary Soderstrom presented the resolution on Civil Liberties and Internal Security, as follows:
This Federation is proud that the labor unions of America have traditionally stood in the forefront of the fight for the preservation and expansion of individual civil liberties. We are proud. for the preservation and expansion of individual civil liberties. We are proud, too, that the unions comprising this Federation were among the first to point out and take steps against the dangers to our freedom and security posed by international Communism.

dangers to our freedom and security posed by international Communism. The fight to protect this nation against Communist aggression must be carried on with vigor and determination. But the Communist threat must and can be met without endangering our traditional liberties or implinging upon the freedoms guaranteed by the Bill of Rights. International Communism is a menace to the United States and to democratic nations everywhere because, as an instrument of Soviet aggression, it is backed by the armed might of the Soviet Union. To meet this threat we and our Allies need military forces sufficiently strong to deter and resist any attack which may be launched by the Soviet Union or its allies or puppets. Our nation's security and freedom must not be offered up on the altar of a balanced budget.

anced budget.

We do not believe that the Communist movement in this country poses, absent armed Soviet aggression, any serious threat to overthrow our government. Nevertheless, it does serve

as a recruiting ground for traitors. as a recruiting ground for traitors, spies and perhaps saboteurs and its adherents are making every effort to obtain the nation's most guarded secrets. These dangers call for vigilant counterintelligence work, and for vigorous enforcement of the criminal laws and for an effective security system. They do not call for us to adopt the methods of our totalitarian foes, or to ourselves weaken the liberties we seek to protect.

to protect.

Developments over the past year on the civil liberties front afford considerable ground for optimism. This is the first time in several years that this has been so; and we are gratified at the important role the AFL and the CIO played in promoting increased concern for the protection of individual rights. We note with genuine satisfaction these advances for civil liberties:

1. Improvements have been made in he procedure of Congressional Committees.

For several years a major threat to our American system of government has come from persons who, under the has come from persons who, under the cloak of professed anti-Communist zeal, have violated the fundamental rights of the individual which are the core of our democracy. While some Congressional investigations, without endangering civil liberties have effectively exposed the extent of Communist infiltration in American institutions other lossely conducted Congressional tions, other loosely conducted Congres-sional investigations were used to investigations were slonal investigations were used to spread unfounded accusations and un-proven charges. Those accused were given no adequate opportunity to face their accusers, or to answer allegations made against them. Often these investigations seemed more concerned with punishing particular individuals, or with enforcing uniformity of opinions and stifling the traditional American and stifling the traditional American right to dissent, than with any proper legislative purpose.

During the past year this picture has perceptibly brightened. There has been increased public realization of the extent to which some Congressional investigations have infringed on individual rights and freedoms, and a growing revulsion against the manner in which some investigations have been conducted. In Congress this revulsion found expression in the Senate's vote of censure against Senator McCarthy, and in the adoption of codes of fair procedure for committees by the House of Representatives and by several of the individual Senate Committees. In the country as a whole, this popular reaction has led to a renewed appreciation of the values of individual liberties and a renewed determination to defend them.

It is also true that while codes of fair procedure for Congressional com-mittees can deter abuses, they can never be the whole answer to the problem of, securing fairness in committee hearings. Necessarily these codes set only minimum standards, and depend for their effectiveness upon the self-restraint of the Congressional committees. The election of fair-minded Congressmen, and continued public vigi-

lance against any resurgence of Mc-Carthylsm remain vital necessities.

2. During the past year there has been increased public realization that, through the present security screening programs, the government is dealing harshly and unfairly, and sometimes tyrannically, with many of its citizens. There has been increased and well-merited public concern over certain arbitrary and unfair procedures employed in the government's personnel security programs, and over the ever-broadening-scope of these programs.

The Administration itself has shown little willingness to clean its own

little willingness to clean its own house. When faced with public outcry house. When faced with public outery against the manifest injustice done in a particular "security" case, as when it penalized a man for his mother's past political beliefs, the Administration has shamefacedly backtracked in the particular case. But it has made only grudging, piecemeal and belated efforts to correct the flagrant abuses which characterize its security programs, and which have led to injustice in individual cases.

cases.

Congress, on the other hand, has shown an increasing concern as to whether the national security is advanced by the personnel security programs the government is now operating. During the past year several Congressional committees conducted hearing. During the past year several Congressional committees conducted hearings in which the deficiencies and unfairness of the various security programs were canvassed. And the Congress, with virtual unanimity, adopted Senator Hubert Humphrey's proposal to establish a bipartisan public commission to investigate the whole subject of personnel security investigation and adjudication. This measure was supported by both the AFL and the CIO. Conversely, the Congress failed to act on the so-called Defense Facilities Act by which the Administration sought carte blanche authority to establish a personnel screening program for workers in private industry. Both the AFL and the CIO opposed the enactment of this bill because it contained no provision to insure that its tests or procedures would be fair. cedures would be fair.

sion to insure that its tests or procedures would be fair.

3. The Congress again failed to give the Administration the broad authority it has sought to tap private telephone wires. There is considerable support in Congress for a bill to authorize wiretapping in cases where the national security its involved, subject to proper safeguards, such as the securing of a court order. The Administration, however, continues to ask for authority to tap wires at the discretion of the Attorney General. In consequence, it has met with well-deserved Congressional rebuff and has secured no legislation; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, 1. We declare our determination to preserve and defend American democracy from any and all enemies, within or without. We state our conviction that our form of government can and must be defended without infringement on the individual liberties which are the core of free government.

2. We express our gratification that

ernment.

2. We express our gratification that improvements have been made in the procedures of Congressional commit-

tees, but urge both the Congress and the public to be alert against any re-surgence of abuses which previously have characterized certain committee have characte investigations.

3. We commend the Congress for enacting the Humphrey resolution for investigation of government security investigation of government security programs by a bipartisan public commission. We urge the Commission which has recently been appointed that it inaugurate its study without delay. We suggest that the Commission devote special attention to the problem of industrial security. The Commission should include representatives of both labor and management in its discussions of this issue. In addition, the Commission should consider:

a. The scope of present and proposed security programs. We urge that the Commission give particular attention to determining whether security screening is necessary for Jobs which do not involve policy-making decisions or access to classified information.

formation.

formation.

b. The criteria employed in the programs. We are persuaded that more precise and definite criteria could and should be employed.

c. The procedures utilized in the programs. We believe that all charges against individuals should be as concrete and meaningful as possible, not merely vague allegations. We suggest that the commission review the entire question of the wellow the entire question of the procession. view the entire question of the use of information received from confi-dential informants. The Commission should also investigate the possibility that those charged with security violations should be confronted by

any au. The adverse witnesses. 4. The issues involved in wiretapping legislation are referred to the Executive Council for study and appropri-

ate action.

COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY SODERSTROM: I move the adoption of the
Committee's report.

PRESIDENT MEANY: You have

STROM: I move the adoption of the Committee's report.

PRESIDENT MEANY: You have heard the report of the Committee on Civil Liberties. The motion is to adopt that report. The Chair recognizes Delegate Mazey of Detroit.

DELEGATE MAZEY, United Automobile Workers: Brother delegates, I rise to suport the motion. I believe the preservation of civil rights is vital to the progress of the people of our nation and to the labor movement. We cannot hope to achieve our full goal and objectives unless we can maintain free speech, free press, free assemblage, and the basic freedoms guaranteed to us under the Bill of Rights.

At the present time these basic rights guaranteed to us by our Constitution are under serious attack in our nation. Slander, gossip, rumor, guilt by association, guilt by kinship, have too often and too frequently replaced due process of law. The right to think, the right to debate, the right to differ, are necessary in order for us to make the greatest possible progress in the achievement of happiness and a fuller life for the people of our nation.

greatest possible progress in the achievement of happiness and a fuller life for the people of our nation.

The Eisenhower Administration cannot be accused of discriminating in its application of the security program, because this big business Administration has accused just as many people

of being security risks because of their association with their mothers as they have of being security risks because of association with their fathers. In fact, an attorney who had a client who was accused of being a security risk because of his association with his mother advised his client that he ought to plead that he was a bottle-fed baby. The facts are that this process that is currently sweeping our nation is repugnant to our concept of free and fair play, and I am quite certain that if the American people raise their voices loudly enough and do everything they can to protect the people who are being defamed by these processes that we can put a stop to the tactics violating our Constitution that are currently taking place.

The big business Administration is

being defamed by these processes that we can put a stop to the tactics violating our Constitution that are currently taking place.

The big business Administration is also trying to silence the voice of labor on the question of political action. This coming Monday, December 12, in a Federal court in the City of Detroit the Auto Workers Union will be on trial and accused of violating the Federal Corrupt Practices Act. The specific charges that we are accused of are that we spent \$5,980 for some television shows in order to bring political issues to the attention of our members in the nation because we have candidates seeking federal office on this program. I am confident that we will win the right of free speech and free press not only for our union but for the labor movement as a whole in this trial that is coming up next Monday. We will not be intimidated we will not be coerced: we will not be frightened by these attempts to silence our voice. We believe that we have done nothing to violate our basic civil liberties and civil rights guaranteed us by our Constitution, and that this court action will not stop up our voice. We will continue to fight more aggressively, if possible, than we have in the past to maintain and protect these rights. I want to speak out against the action of Senator Eastland of Mississippi, who this past week, in speaking before a Regional White Supremacy Committee urged that a Regional Commission be established and authorized to use public funds to maintain segregation and promote white supremacy. The same Senator is Chalrman of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, and I say that in my judgment Senator Eastland is unfit to chair a committee that has before it the principal job of protecting the basic rights of the citizens of our nation. The program of encouraging segregation, makes him unfit to be a United States Senator. It therefore respectfully urge that our Congress, our united states Senator has been in the news recently. There has been in the news recently. There has been i

remove Senator Eastland from office because he has violated his oath of office. The State of Mississippi has been in the news recently. There has been a great deal of discussion as to how we established democratic governments in various sections in the world. I would also like to suggest to our United States Congress that when they reconvene in January they give serious consideration to Federal legislation that would place the State of Mississippi under a Con-

gressional trusteeship until the Bill of hights, the rights of all the citizens of that state, are assured and guaranteed. It seems to me that if we are going to make democracy work, not only in the world, but in our country, we have got to take some positive steps to implement this democracy.

These questions, as I stated initially, are important, and they are basic to the progress of the labor movement and free

people everywhere.

I want to urge this Convention to do everything it can to help pass necessary Federal and state legislation to implement our democratic practices and to do everything we can to protect the rights of our citizens and protect the rights of the entire nation that are guaranteed to us through the Bill of Rights.

Thank you very much.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Is there further discussion? If not, we will proceed to vote. All those who favor the motion please signify by saying aye; contrary minded, no.

The motion is carried and it is so ordered.

At this time I have the pleasure of presenting to you another visitor who just dropped in to say hello. Will Governor Roberts please come to

the platform? ... At this time the Honorable Dennis J. Roberts, Governor of the State of Rhode Island, was escorted to the speak-

er's platform. PRESIDENT MEANY: I would like to present to you the Governor of the great big State of the East, the Governor of Rhode Island, Denny Roberts.

THE HON. DENNIS J. ROBERTS Governor of the State of Rhode Island

Honorable George Meany, President of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, distinguished Vice Presidents, delegates in Convention assembled, ladies and gentlemen: I am extremely grateful for the opportunity that has been permitted me today to be presented to your Convention on this historic and distinguished occasion. My gratitude goes to Mr. Birthright of the International Barbers and other distinguished labor leaders throughout the country and your distinguished president.

I merely want to bring to you the

I merely want to bring to you the congratulations, the appreciation and the gratitude of the people of Rhode Island for the great contribution that you have made to the welfare of our people and the welfare of the people of the United States.

We of Rhode Island have confidence in the leadership of organized labor. We have an appreciation of its direction, its assistance and its cooperation in the welfare of our country and its people in the past, and we are certain that under the leadership of this great organized movement today the United States and our people will rise to greater heights and prosperity, will enjoy a greater security and will have for themselves the opportunity of fulfillment of their attainments that they make a contribution to our common welfare and our common greatness. welfare and our common greatness.

I am extremely grateful and appreciative to your president and your officers for this opportunity, and I wish to you God's blessings for greater attainment, greater opportunity and greater prosperity in the future.

Thank you.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Thank very much, Governor Roberts, for drop-ping in to see us.

At this time the Chair Secretary-Treasurer Schni recognizes Schnitzler some announcements and messages.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

SECRETARY SCHNITZLER: Atten-SECRETARY SCHNITZLER: Attention of the delegates is called to a new book entitled "Organizing the Teaching Profession." This book is now available at the AFL booth here. It tells of the fight made in the last 40 years to help teachers work through our trade union movement for our children and our schools. The book is of practical value to every delegate interested in every delegate interested in our nation's schools.

PRESIDENT MEANY: I told you this morning, at the conclusion of the aftermorning, at the conclusion of the afternoon session we are going to hold a
meeting of the unions that have applied for membership in the Industrial
Union Department which is set up in
accordance with the Merger Agreement
and in accordance with the Constitution
of the American Federation of Labor
and the Congress of Industrial Organizations that meeting will take place
immediately after adjournment.

At this time the regular business of the Convention having been caught up for the day, I have a motion to suspend the rules and adjourn until 9:30 o'clock tomorrow morning.

If there are no objections the motion is carried.

7, 1955, the Convention recessed until 9:30 o'clock, A. M., Thursday, December 8, 1955

First Constitutional Convention

of the

American Federation of Labor Congress of Industrial Organizations 1955 Proceedings

New York, New York, December 8, 1955



Report of

FOURTH DAY—THURSDAY MORNING SESSION

New York, New December 8, 1955

The Convention was called to order by President Meany at 9:30 o'clock.

PRESIDENT MEANY: The invocation this morning will be given by the Reverend James H. Robinson, Senior Pastor of the Church of the Master.

INVOCATION

Reverend James H. Robinson, Senior Pastor of the Church of the Master

Pastor of the Church of the Master
O, God, Thou mightlest worker of the
Universe, Source of all strength and
Author of all unity, we pray Thee for
our brothers, the workers of this commonwealth. As their work binds them
together in toil and danger, which puts
all of us in their debt, may their hearts
be knit together in a strong sense of
their common interests and so fulfili
the law of Thy love by bearing the
common burdens. Grant the organization of these two great bodies quiet
peace and prudence in all negotiations.
Give wisdom and strength to all the
leaders who have been raised up by
the men in the ranks. Give them large
hearts, able minds and grace to follow

wise counsel. Bless all classes and groups of this Republic and build up a greater body of workers strong of limb, clear of mind, glad to labor, striving together for final brotherhood of all men, that this land blessed with the fruits of their work may return them their just rewards in full mea-

Come Thou and be our guest and give this great meeting Thy blessing-Amen.

COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Schnitzler read the following communications: Japanese Federation of Trade Unions (Sodomei)

To the AFL-CIO Amalgamation Meet-

On the auspicious occasion of the amalgamation of the AFL and the CIO. allow us to offer our respects on behalf of the 50,000 workers under the Japanese Federation of Trade Unions ("SODOMEI") to those present at this meeting as delegates, the leading members of the combining organizations and all the workers concerned. concerned.

It is indeed a matter for our hearty congratulations that the two major labor organizations in the United States

have realized their long-cherished aim of amalgamation, bringing 15,000,000 workers under a single leadership. We sincerely hope in this connection that your new organization will so heighten the labor cause that all free and demoratic labor union activities may be much encouraged.

Our Federation under the difficult

Our Federation, under the difficult political, economical and other circumstances, has fought for the heightening pointeal, economical and other circumstances, has fought for the heightening of our living standards, always holding to the principle of sincerity and friendship. This old basic principle of our Federation was originated in the "Yuai Kai" (or Friendship Society) organized under the leadership of the late Mr. Bunji Suzuki in 1913 as the forerunner of the present Federation. Since that time on, the same principle has been pushed in its original form, under which our labor movement has progressed steadily. The Federation is now adding to its importance as the central group of the democratic labor unions in Japan. We wish that our relations with your new organization will become closer as time goes on through the ICFTU's slogan "Bread, Peace and Freedom," and pray at the same that the historic meet-

pray at the same that the historic meeting will be a great success.

YONEKICHI KANEMASA

President, Japanese Federation of Trade Unions

of Trade Unions
SEN KOGA
Secretary General
We, Japanese Trade Union Congress,
express our hearty congratulations and
respect to the biggest organization in
the free world to be born anew here.
We well know the brilliant and important contribution which both organizations gave not only to American la-

portant contribution which both organizations gave not only to American labor but to the world trade union movement in the past.

All the more, we believe this amalgamation will increase our power to an immensurable extent in the common movement to protect and develop free-

movement to protect and develop ireedom and democracy.

Extending our deep thanks for the
heart-warming friendship and kindest
intentions shown ever since in all cases,
we, Japanese Trade Union Congress,
earnestly hope that through this colossal organization all workers of both
countries be bound tightly by good
Samaritanism striding over the Pacific
Ocean.

M. TAKITA, Chairman Japanese Trade Union Congress

December 6, 1955

San Jose, C. R.

AFL-CIO 71st Armory, New York
For two and a haif decades I have
followed with devotion the development of the American labor movement.
I admire the courage and foresight of
for your leaders, past and present, and
the faith of your workers. You have
given a large contribution to three
different accomplishments of the American economy; raising the standard of different accomplishments of the American economy; raising the standard of living, broadening the market, and gradually creating a system of regulated free enterprise or mixed economy, which embodies the old ideals of socialism and capitalism.

At the present time there is a growing recognition of the advantages of large economic units or corporations.

This calls for large labor organiza-

This calls for large labor organizations as well.

The historic labor reunion that you are effecting now is one more demonstration of the statesmanship of your leaders, and a tribute to the basic ability of Americans to get together among themselves and with the rest of the

JOSE FIGUERES. President of Costa

Rica. New York, N. Y.

JOSE FIGUERES, President of Costa Rica.

New York, N. Y. Dec. 7, 1955
George Meany, Pres., American Federation of Labor, 71st Regiment Armory.
New York.
Assembly of Captive European Nations
Free Voice of Silenced Peoples of Albania,
Hungary, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland and Romania sends warm greetings to the historical convention which has brought about unification of the two great American labor organizations. Merger of AFL and CIO will be encouraging message to Soviet enslaved peoples, for they are well aware of firm support these two movements have always lent to cause of freedom and justice everywhere. In ame of these peoples assembly extends sincere congratulations to the distinguished leaders whose wisdom and statesmanship has forged unity of American labor movement and expresses to convention best wishes in the great task ahead for unified organization. In thanking you, Mr. President, and all your associates for steadfast support you have given in past to just cause we are serving, assembly is confident that unified American labor movement will continue with renewed strength to spearhead worldwide struggle against forces of evil and injustice and for a world in which freedom from fear and want shall no longer be a mere distant goal.

VILIS MASENS, Chairman.

December 6, 1955

President George Meany, the Inaugural convention of the AFL-CIO, 71st Regiment Armory, New York.

Kindly accept our sincerest congratulations and best wishes for merging
AFL-CIO.

KU CHENGKANG.
President of Asian Peoples Anti-Communist League, China Chapter, Taipei, Free China.

AFL-CIO 71st Armory, New York

December 7, 1955 Valparaiso

Sincere congratulations on unity of great trade union centers.
Union, Licensed Officers,
Merchant Marine, Chile.
To: George Meany and Walter Reuther

Esteemed Brothers:

Thank you for your kind invitation to be present at the fusion convention which will bring the organizations, that which will bring the organizations, that you so worthilly represent, into one single trade union movement I really appreciate the honor you have shown me by this invitation and I wish it were possible to be present at this historic event for the Labor movement of the United States and the entire world, but unfortunately the press of my own work in Mexico obliges me to remain here at this time

here at this time
The Confederation of Labor of Mexico
In no way wishes to fail to be present

AFL-CIO

at this great event. We have therefore designated three of our outstanding trade union personalities to represent us and to bring you, in the name us and to bring you, in the name of all of us, our warm greetings to Labor in your great country, and particularly to yourselves. The three are: Francisco Perez Rios, member of the National Executive Committee and Secretary of International Labor Relations; and Mr. Alfonso Sanchez Madariaga, of the National Canchez Madariaga, of Altonso Sanchez Madariaga, of the National Committee and member of the Federal Congress of the United States of Mexico; and Mr. Leonardo Rodriguez of the National Executive Committee of the Electrical Workers of Mexico, and also a member of the Federal Congression. Congress.

Please excuse my not being able to come personally, and accept the most sincere congratulations of the entire Mexican Labor movement for your having achieved the unification of American

Labor.

Sincerely and fraternally, For the National Executive Committee of the Federation of Labor of Mexico Fidel Velazquez, General Secretary.

INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION CHRISTIAN TRADE UNIONS 148 Rue de la Loi, Brussels, Belgium

The Executive Board of the Interna-tional Federation of Christian Trade Unions, as well as the Christian trade union movement in its entirety, bring their fraternal greetings to the Amer-ican workers on the occasion of their Unity Convention.

Those Christian trade unionists who have had contacts with the American trade union movement have been impressed by the high esteem in which the American labor movement—like the Christian trade union movement—holds spiritual value. Christian trade union movement—noids spiritual values. This common respect of the worker as a human being possessing both body and soul undoubtedly foreshadows an ever increasing degree of mutual comprehension between the

of mutual comprehension between the American trade union movement and the Christian trade union movement. May the years to come bring about a greater degree of cooperation between your unified movement and Christian your unined movement and Christian trade unionism. May your unified trade union movement defend ever more successfully the interests of all American workers in accordance with your great tradition of the respect of the human person, its integrity and its dignity. More than American trade union governments. May the American trade union move-ment continue to participate ever more actively in the international field so that the unceasing efforts of free workers may triumph over the forces of oppression.

G. TESSIER, President.
A. VANISTENDAEL, Secretary-General.
December 7, 1955

New York, N. Y.

New York, N. Y.
Mr. George Meany, President AFL-CIO,
71st Regiment Armory, New York.
As a fraternal organization of seventy
thousand members and their families
that has always considered itself and
considers itself now as an integral part
of the American labor movement we
send our heartiest greetings and best
wishes to the historic merger convention of AFL and CIO. We hope that
this merger will strengthen the labor

movement in the interest of its mem-bership for an America of freedom and welfare, a world of peace and democ-racy for all. Our sincere wishes for success.

National Executive men's Circle.

JACOB T. ZUCKERMAN, President.
NATHAN CHANIN, General Secretary.
Czechoslovak Free Trade
Union Federation,
29 W. 57th Street, New York 19, N. Y.
December 3, 1955.
Delegates to the First AFL-CIO Con-National Executive Committee, Work-

Delegates to the Firstitutional Convention. Brothers and Sisters:

Brothers and Sisters:

We are bringing you, on this historic occasion, the sincerest congratulations and wishes of every success on behalf of the Czechoslovak trade unionists living on both sides of the Iron Curtain. Your convention creating the largest trade union organization in the free world will have undoubtedly profound long-range effects in the United States and abroad, and will affect also the trade unionists in Czechoslovakia and other Communist-dominated countries.

trade unionists in Czechoslovakia and other Communist-dominated countries.

We know very well—and we are transmitting this knowledge on every occasion to our brothers behind the Iron Curtain—that free trade unionists are stout defenders of the democratic principles and ardent opponents of Communism. We are glad to be able to say on this occasion that the leaders of the American trade union movesay on this occasion that the leaders of the American trade union movement stand in the first row of the unified front against the Communist plans for world domination. The refusal of Brother Meany and of other American labor leaders to accept the invitations to send labor delegations to the USSR and to satellite countries gave encouragement to our brothers in Czechoslovakia, flooded by the official Communist

reports and propaganda about Western delegations visiting the Soviet orbit. There is no doubt in our mind that the unified labor movement of the United States will intensify the struggle ted States will intensify the struggle against the Communist conspiracy, and will lend its support to the cause of the freedom-loving people behind the Iron Curtain. With your support and help, sooner or later, the Czechoslovak trade unionists will be able to rejoin the big family of the free labor.

With fraternal greetings,
FRANK CIFKA, Secretary General.

December 6, 1955

Los Angeles, Calif. United Convention, American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Or-ganizations, 71st Armory, New York. Greetings and best wishes for a suc-sessful convention. We hope that the

sessful convention. We hop United American Trade Ur ment will lead eventually of social justice for humanity. Union Move-y to a world

Workers of J. Spector Co., 127 East 9th Street, Los Angeles, Calif., Members of International Ladies Garment Workers Workers Union, Ann Sherman, Shop Chairman.

December 6, 1955 Independence

George Meany, President.

AFL-CIO Seventy-first Regiment Armory, New York. New

SS Independence Crew congratulates you, the unity committee and convention delegates on achievement of uniting labor.

We are proud that our President con-tributed to this historic action. If given the opportunity we feel certain that his exceptional ability will prove of even greater value to you in solving problems on unity yet to face you.

Joe Curran has consistently worked to unite all seamen. We applaud his tireless, sincere efforts to achieve this goal. We assure you and President Curran of our wholehearted support in this great work.

PAUL J. DOOLEY, Ship's Chairman.

December 5, 1955

Roma

Roma
American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, Statler Hotel. New York.
Today's unification marks historic event. I send warmest wishes to newly merged federation, which is a cornerstone in the advancement of labor in your great democracy.
GIUSEPPE SARAGAT.

December 6, 1955

San Jose, C. R.

George Meany, Walter P. Reuther. AFL-CIO Convention 71st Regis

George Meany, Walter P. Reuther.
AFL-CIO Convention 71st Regiment
Armory, New York, N. Y.
I am honored by your kind invitation to the historical convention. Unavoidable obligations in Costa Rica
prevent leaving. I will be with you in
spirit, fully realizing the importance
of the event. May I remind you the
great collaboration in favor of democracy and social justice in America that
the North American labor movement
has rendered. Now merged in a single
block the beneficial repercussions of
its ideals and action will be even more
decisive. The workers throughout the
world feel increasing hopes. Fraternally, LUIS ALBERTO MONGE.

December 6, 1955

Scranton, Pa.

Scranton, Pa.

Convention Chairman, AFL-CIO, 71st
Regiment Armory, New York.

On behalf of its members the Executive Committee of the Ukrainian Workingmen's Association fraternal and beneficial
society of the American working men
and women of Ukrainian descent,
wishes your historic convention successful deliberations. We believe the
efforts of your united labor organization will be beneficial not only to the
welfare and well being of the American working men and women but also
to all laboring people in the world.
The AFL-CIO will also be a leading
factor in the struggle of all freedomloving people behind the Iron Curtain
including the Ukrainian working men
and women in their fight against Russian communistic dictatorship for a
free labor and democracy. free labor and democracy.

ANTHONY BATIUK, President, and THEODORE MYNYK, Recording Secretary.

PRESIDENT MEANY: The Chair recognizes co-Secretary Curran, of the Resolutions Committee.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESO-LUTIONS (continued)

Committee co-Secret co-Secretary Curran sub-

VETERANS

There is at present in the United States a veterans' population of over 22,000,000. With the continuation of the Selective Service System, and with other induction laws remaining in operation, it is anticipated that each year an additional 1,000,000 veterans will be added to this already large segment of our American population. our American population.

our American population.

Many of these veterans, or members of their immediate families, are members of our affiliated unions. These veterans share with the rest of the nation an interest and concern in the general economic and social conditions which determine whether we have jobs or unemployment, decent standards of living or privation, social legislation and medical care or avoidable illness and disability, adequate housing or slum tenements.

slum tenements.

Any veteran being discharged from service faces problems of readjustment. Organized labor has always recognized that the returning veteran is entitled to full restitution and protection against the loss of any of his rights, benefits and opportunities of which he may have been deprived as a result of his absence from civilian life.

The demands of these veterans jobs, security, housing, education and a decent standard of living are identical with the demands of the labor move-ment; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, The AFL-CIO pledges its RESOLVED. The AFL-CIO pledges its complete, active and renewed support to aid the veterans of our nation through legislation and contract negotiations to accomplish the following program:

- program:

 1. The AFL-GIO shall continue to take such action as is found necessary to insure proper re-employment rights and reinstatement rights for all returning veterans, including persons entering upon active duty for limited periods of training. These rights should include an absolute guarantee that such veterans and trainees will receive full credit for all accumulated employees' benefits to which they would have been entitled if they had not left their employment to enter the armed forces.
- 2. To make the GI Bill of Rights and the Veterans' Readjustment Assistance Act of 1952 more fully effective in the protection of veterans by recommending and supporting legislation providing the following; pensions for all disabled and their dependents, taking into account the increased cost of living conditions; more liberal and effective provisions for direct loans to veterans for the purchase of homes, businesses and farms; improvements in veterans' unemployment compensation; and an increase in Veterans Administration's Impartial Appeal Committees, to review and act upon the great backlog of veterans' claims for compensation and pension entitlements.
- 3. The AFL-CIO shall continue its efforts to have Congress enact into law legislation which would make possible a housing program calculated to assure immediate large-scale housing construction of decent low-cost homes,

with no increase in the present GI four and one-half per cent interest rate.

- 4. We shall recommend such en-largement of Veterans Administration largement of Veterans Administration hospital facilities and services as are necessary to meet fully the medical care to which veterans are entitled, and care to which vecerains are entitied, and the continuation of out-patient treat-ment and dental care for persons pres-ently returning from the armed forces identical to that granted World War II
- 5. The AFL-CIO will constantly and vigorously work for fair and equal treatment for all citizens subject to the draft under the Selective Section 1. the draft under the Selective Service Act as amended, or similar laws, through the elimination of preferential treatment to any occupational group under these laws or their administragroup tion.
- call upon each affiliated union 6. We call upon each affiliated union to establish a veterans committee for the purpose of cooperating with our Committee on Veterans Affairs, to protect the interest of our membership in the Selective Service processes, in the armed forces, and in their readjustment to civilian life following their service to their country.
- 7. We cooperate with the forward-looking forces of all existing veterans' organizations to aid veterans' rehabil-
- 8. We ask for a complete review of the present outmoded and antiquated "court martial system" of the armed forces. Every effort should be made to bring about the necessary revision of bring about the necessary revision of this system to correct the many injus-tices committed, under the present pro-visions, and to insure fair and equal treatment of our men and women while under the jurisdiction of the military, and thereby insure the justice fundamental to our democratic prin-

Committee co-Secretary Curran moved the adoption of the the resolution.

irried unanimously.
Committee co-Secretary Soderstrom sub-

mitted the following:

MILITARY MANPOWER POLICIES

Organized labor has a direct concern with military manpower policies since the methods adopted to select indi-viduals for service in the armed forces have a direct impact on the effective-ness with which the civilian economy functions.

functions.

Labor is also concerned that the nation's program for service in the armed forces be equitable and fully consistent with our democratic heritage.

We recognize that it is essential today for the United States to maintain its armed forces at adequate strength to defend ourselves against military aggression as well as to aid our allies around the world.

The past year has witnessed a further reduction in the size of the nation's military forces. This continuing decline raises a serious question in our minds: Does the nation now have sufficient forces to meet the country's inficient forces to meet the country's in-

ternational commitments around the globe

With these reductions in the armed With these reductions in the armed forces, the work of the Selective Service system has eased, although at the present time, the Selective Service is being utilized to supplement volunteers being utilized to supplement volunteers for the U. S. Navy as well as for the U. S. Army. We think it important that the nation continue to rely on this equitable method of selecting individuals for military service to maintain the desired strength of our armed forces.

The problem of maintaining sufficient military forces involves questions of the reserves as well as the standing forces. The problem of reserve policy has proved a particularly troublesome one. Until this year service in the reserves has been completely voluntary. serves has been completely voluntary. An individual who had completed his active duty training was not required to engage in any reserve training. to engage in any reserve training. During the past year, however, Congress passed, in response to demands from the Administration, a law which drastically changes the basis for service in the reserve forces. The new law makes reserve service obligatory for all those entering the armed forces after August 9, 1955. The number of years of reserve duty will vary with the individual's larget the forces after forces. 9, 1955. The number of years of reserve duty will vary with the individual's length of service in the active forces. The normal total military obligation is six years—at least two in the active forces and the rest in the reserve.

A special program, however, permit-ng shorter active service combined ting shorter active service combined with longer reserve service, is available to young men under 18½, to a maximum of 250,000 men a year. They are permitted to volunteer for a total of eight years' service, which would be made up of active duty of but three to six months and the rest in reserve training.

Organized labor will be watching carefully developments under this Act. We will be watching particularly to find out whether the Defense Department revises its outmoded reserve find out whether the Defense Department revises its outmoded reserve training program and institutes a more energetic and effective training procedure for reservists. We also want to make certain that passage of this law does not lead to a full-scale system of Universal Military Training. The adoption of compulsory military training would be contrary to the traditional American way of life. It would disrupt family life and educational opportunities. It would turn over to the military control of the nation's youth at a time when young men are in a very formative stage; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, 1. The AFL-CIO urges the Defense Department to develop an adequately conceived and effective re-serve training program under the Armed Forces Reserve Act of 1955 to supplied for the armed forces of the United States

We strongly support continuation of the Selective Service system as long as this is needed to maintain the strength of our armed forces against the threat of Communist aggression.

3. We oppose the adoption of any program of Universal Military Train-

Committee co-Secretary adoption of the resolution. . . . The motion was se moved the seconded and carried unanimously.

AFL-CIO SONG

PRESIDENT MEANY: At this time I am going to present a member of the Rubber Workers' Union who is also a member of the Musicians' Union and a composer, who is going to render a new song he has written especially for this occasion. I introduce to you Enother Log Sleen for this occasion. Brother Joe Glazer.

MR. GLAZER: We wrote this song couple of days ago on the floor of e Convention, and I had the able sistance of Harry Fleischman and H. H. Bookbinder.
. . . The song is as follows:

ALL TOGETHER (A new song in honor of the AFL-CIO Merger)

All together, all together, we are stronger every way, AFL-CIO We will build together, work together for a better day, AFL and CIO

Together we'll build and together we'll stand,

Together we'll make this a happier land. work and we'll sing and we'll march hand in hand

And build our union strong.

All together, all together, we are stronger every way, AFL-CIO We will build together, work together for a better day, AFL and CIO

matter your race, no matter your creed It's justice for all that we want and we need.

United in brotherhood, we will succeed And build our union strong.

All together, all together, we are stronger every way, AFL-CIO We will build together, work together for a better day, AFL and CIO

If you are afraid when your hair's turning

They'll open the gates and cast you

Then join with your brothers and demand fair play And build your union strong.

All together, all together, we are stronger every way, AFL-CIO every way, AFL-CIO
We will build together, work together for a better day, AFL and CIO

"What's good for America," we're proud to note, "Is good for labor," and this you may

So ring those bells and get out the vote To build our country strong.

All together, all together, we are stronger every way, AFL-CIO We will build together, work together for a better day, AFL and CIO

Music from an old hymn—"There is Power in the Blood." Words by Joseph Glazer, Harry Fleischman and H. H. Bookbinder

PRESIDENT MEANY: At this time I would like to present a representative of the International Labor Press which has been meeting here all this past week, representing labor papers, union house organs, both AFL and CIO. This gentleman wants to say a few words and file a report for the record.

I present to you Brother Lew Herrmann of the Typographical Union.

Brother Herrmann.

ANNUAL REPORT OF INTER-NATIONAL LABOR PRESS OF AMERICA LEWIS M. HERRMANN

Fraternal Delegate

Mr. President and delegates: I have been designated by the International Labor Press of America to present its annual report to this Convention as a fraternal delegate from the Labor-Press group.

group.

I have prepared a report that would probably take ten or twelve minutes to read, but I know that we are all waiting to hear some very prominent guests here this morning. The Committee on Resolutions has a pile of resolutions still to present, which will probably take two or three hours.

So, Mr. Chairman, providing this will be entered in the minutes of this Convention as of today, I will file this report so that you can read it at you relisure instead of listening to me for the next fifteen or twenty minutes.

Brother Herrmann. The report will ap-pear in the record of today's proceed-ings.

... The report submitted by Frater-nal Delegate Herrmann follows:

To the Officers and Delegates of the AFL-CIO: The International Labor of the AFL-CIO:
The International Labor Press of America, founded in 1911 by the revered Samuel Gompers, has just completed its 44th year of service to the American labor movement, with the largest and most successful convention in its history. One of the major issues under consideration during the 3-day meeting in this city, December 2, 3, and 4, was the proposed merger of ILPA with its CIO counterpart in the field of labor press journalism, developed during the past 20 years.

Now that organic unity has been achieved by the two major labor groups of America, it is inevitable that the leadership of the united labor movement give serious thought not only to the need of consolidating the two labor press factions, but what is more important, to reassess its relationship and revise its attitude toward the American

portant, to reassess its relationship and revise its attitude toward the American labor press. The need for a careful study of this vital problem is self-evident, and has been a subject of discussion at labor press conventions for the past decade.

During its 44 years of existence the labor press has practically grown up

like "Topsy," with only passing interest in its problems by the organized labor movement. Often we have heard severe criticism leveled at our labor publications from leaders of our movement. However, if our labor press has been afflicted with imperfections we submit that at least part of the blame for such shortcomings rightfully befor such shortcomings rightfully belongs at the door of the labor movement itself.

ment itself.

For many years those of us in positions of leadership within the ILPA have pleaded for creation of a standing committee by organized labor, for the express purpose of helping to keep out of the labor journalistic field certain elements that have brought embarrassment to our member papers and the former American Federation of Labor. The ILPA has used every means at its command, including the expenditure of thousands of dollars contributed by our own members, to combat the evil of thousands of dollars contributed by our own members, to combat the evil of alleged "labor papers" which paraded as the editorial voice of the AFL Frankly, we have been carrying a burden that rightfully should be assumed by this merged organization. Nevertheless, we've made considerable progress, as the record will show.

It is, therefore, gratifying to report that the officers of this merged labor movement have evinced keen interest in the establishment of a closer and more effective lission between AFL-

in the establishment of a closer and more effective liasion between AFL-CIO headquarters and the administrative officers of the labor press, so that the full potentialities of this important segment of the labor movement may be properly utilized.

segment of the labor movement may be properly utilized.

The labor press is the right arm of the labor movement, which must blaze the way for our unions if they are to make real progress. Experience has shown that we cannot depend for a fair presentation of our problems upon the general daily press, which instinctively plays the game of the greedy reactionary forces of our country.

A strong labor movement must have a militant, loyal and powerful labor press. The realization of this objective is now in the hands of the leaders of this great federation of trade unions. It is significant that our organization has had as its guiding lights over the years such outstanding leaders of the labor movement as Matthew Woll, who served as President for more than 40 years; and the late J. Scott Milne, head of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. Those chosen at our recent convention to lead us for the coming year, are:

Gordon H. Cole, editor. "The Machine

cent convention to lead us accent leads to lead to waukee Law-California "State AFL Daw-California "State AFL Daw-California "Federation Klass, editor, Chicago "Federation News": Paul Phillips, "The Paper Maker"; Richard A. Estep, editor, "Labor Temple News". Peorla, Ill. Peter Terzick, editor, "The Carpenter"; Robert Gerhart, editor, "The Carpenter"; Reading, Pa.; Leon Stein, editor, ItGWU "Justice"; Mrs. Brownie Cuthbert, editor, "The Labor World", Chattanooga, Tenn.; Richard Howard, Chairman, Railroad Brotherhoods Labor Press; Wallace Reilly, editor, "The Dallas Crafts-

and Fraternal Delegate to IO Constitutional conven man"; and Fraterns AFL-CIO Constitut Lewis M. Herrmann

JOURNALISTIC AWARD CONTEST
—One of the major contributing factors which has brought about the improvement of the American labor press in recent years, has been our annual "Journalistic Award Contest", which we have conducted successfully for the past nine years. This friendly competition has been a strong incentive for international journals, as well as local labor papers, to modernize and streamline their publications. This year's winners, selected by the University of Wisconsin, School of Journalism faculty, acting as a Board of Judges, included the following publications which received the traditional "Award of Merit" plaques this past Sunday at our annual plaques this past Sunday at our annual awards banquet:

INTERNATIONAL UNION PUBLICA-TIONS:

Class 1-A Editorial Excellence (mag-azine Format), First Award—"The Electrical Workers' Journal". Second Award—"The Butcher Workman". Class 1-B Editorial Excellence (News Format). First Award—"Seafarers Log". Second Award—'' Justice''

GWU). (ILGWU).

Class 2-A Best Front Class 2-A
tic Excellence (Magazine Format).

First Award—"American Pressman".

Second Award—"Maintenance of Way
Employes' Railway Journal".

Class 2-B Best News Front Page
(News Format). First Award—"The
Government Standard". Second Award

"The American Teacher".

That Single Editorial. First

Government Standard". Second Award
—"The American Teacher".
Class 3 Best Single Editorial. First
Award—"Catering Industry Employee".
Second Award—"Glass Horizons".
Class 4 Best Original Cartoon. First
Award—"Justice" (ILGWU). Second
Award—"Seafarers Log".
Class 5 Best Feature Article. First
Award—"Building Service Employee".
Second Award—"Justice" (ILGWU).
Class 6 Best Community Project.
First Award—"The Butcher Workman".
Second Award—"Justice" (ILGWU).

LOCAL UNION PUBLICATIONS:

Class 1 Editorial Excellence (News Format). First Award—"Detroit Labor News". Second Award—"Milwauke Labor Press". Class 2-A Best Front Page—Pictorial Excellence (News Format). First Award—"Northern Calif. Teamster" (San Francisco). Second Award—"Engineers News-Record" (Los Angeles). Class 2-B Best News Front Page (News Format). First Award—"The Detroit Teacher". Second Award—"The Detroit Building Tradesman" Class 3 Best Single Editorial. First Award—"Oregon Teamster" (Portland, Ore.). Second Award—"Pederation News" (Chicago).

Ore.). Second News" (Chicago)

News" (Chicago).
Class 4 Best Original Cartoon. First
Award—"San Francisco Labor". Second
Award—"Detroit Teacher".
Class 5 Best Feature Article. First
Award—"Oregon Teamster" (Portland,
Ore.). Second Award—"Detroit Teacher".
Class 6 Best Regular Special Column. First Award—"Oregon Labor
Press" (Portland, Ore.). Second Award
—"Colorado Labor Advocate" (Denver).

Class 7 Best Community
First Award—"Sacramento Valley
Union Labor Bulletin". Second Award
—"Electrical Union World" (N. Y. C.).
This is the ninth consecutive year
that an outstanding American University has accepted this exacting task as
a service to the labor press. ILPA is
happy to announce that we have already secured the services of the
School of Journalism at the University
of Washington, to act in a similar
capacity for our contest in 1956.
State of the labor press—That the
American labor press is rapidly maturing and developing greater reader interest among the average unionist can
be proved by the comments of such
experts in the art of mass communication as Prof. Ralph Nafziger, of the
University of Wisconsin, who said
after examining the entries of the Class 7 Best Community

cation as Frof. Ralph Nafziger, of the University of Wisconsin, who said after examining the entries of the labor press in the 1955 journalistic award contest, that "almost all of the entries in the contest were outstanding examples of journalism."

Among other compliments paid the labor press during the past year was that of the Wall Street Journal of Commerce, published by Harvard University, which rated the labor press far above the efforts of the so-called house organs of management, which house organs of management, which fail to impress the workers as much as their own local labor papers. Aside from this type of praise regarding the real progress shown by our papers in recent years, many illustrated feature articles have been devoted to telling the story of the labor press development in America by some of our international union journals and magazines of general circulation. These are symp-

of general circulation. These are symptoms of steady progress.

Not so long ago, while touring Europe, we made a careful survey of the labor press in England, Germany, France, Belgium, Italy and Switzerland. Our investigation showed that nowhere on the continent has organized labor developed what might be termed a labor press than can be compared to that serving the American trade union movement. This is particularly true regarding the local field of journalism. Today we have almost 200 such local labor papers and, with the advent of our united trade union movement, still greater progress may be expected in this sphere of our activities.

During the past year ILPA cooperation with President George Meany and
Secretary-Treasurer William Schnitzler
has helped greatly in protecting the
interests of both our members' publications and the AFL against unethical
publications. The news, feature and
photo-mat service placed at the disposal of our papers and magazines by
the AFL has been considerably improved and enlarged.

proved and enlarged.

Because of these improvements, the labor press of today is a far cry from the early days of our movement, when the average labor paper did not occupy a very high position, either in journalistic circles or among labor leaders. We may well be proud today of counting among our membership international union magazines and local labor papers. Which compare favorably with some of which compare favorably with some of the best publications to be found in

the general press of this country.

Nevertheless, with all of the progress recorded since 1911, when our organization was founded, there are still many fields to be conquered, in order to make our press a still better editorial weapon with which to bring the story of labor, not only to the 16,000,000 members and their families within the AFL-ClO fold, but to counteract the poison propaganda against labor being constantly fed to the general public by the daily press.

Political education—With the 1956

Political education-With Political education—With the 1956 Presidential and Congressional elections already beginning to take form we intend to alert all of our affiliates to the end that our vast membership in the merged labor movement may be aroused to militant action at the policities of the policities political policy voted by the AFL convention.

We once again forts to impress with the import again pledge our best efforts to impress the rank and file with the importance of supporting wholeheartedly the political education program of our united labor forces for

the coming year.

Membership-The paid up membermembership—The paid up membership of ILPA reported to our recent convention was 256; with about one-third consisting of international union journals and two-thirds local labor pa pers. There are only a very small num-ber of labor publications in this country which have so far failed to join our

group.

It is logical to expect a considerable increase in our membership as soon as I'.PA completes the current merger conferences being held with its brother editors of the former Congress of Industrial Organizations. These friendly discussions have resulted in considerable progress, which should lead to early consolidation of our two groups.

We Mourn Our Loss—Those of us who had the privilege of being associated for many years in the work of the labor press with our late ILPA President, J. Scott Milne, and our First Vice-President, Frank X. Martel, were deeply shocked by the untimely passing of these two loyal and dedicated leaders of our organization. The tragic death of these respected and beloved brothers is a great loss, not only to the labor press of America, but to the entire labor movement. We sincerely mourn their passing from our ranks and we know that we express the sentiment of this entire AFL-CiO convention in extending our deepest condolences to the bereaved families and their organizations. We Mourn Our Loss-Those of us who

reaved families and their organizations.

Regional Conferences—In order to bring the benefits of our organization to many labor press editors and union officers who find it difficult to attend our annual conventions, ILPA has organized during the past few years several regional labor press conferences throughout the country, which meet periodically to discuss problems of mutual interest and benefit. Among these are the Texas Labor Press Association: the Eastern Labor Press Conference; the Mid-West Labor Press Association; the Iowa Labor Press Union; and the

Missouri Labor Press Association, Annual labor press meetings are also being sponsored by the California State Federation of Labor.

SPEAKERS who addressed our recent STEARERS Who addressed our recent convention in this city included such prominent personages as: U. S. Senators Patrick McNamara, of Michigan, Estes Kefauver, of Tennessee and Clifford P. Case, of New Jersey, besides several AFL and CIO officials.

Case, of New Jersey, besides several AFL and CIO officials.

In concluding this annual report of your labor press, which must of neces-sity touch only the highlights of the many activities carried on throughout the year by our organization, we desire to express our sincere appreciation to the officers of the former AFL and the international union officials, whose help

international union officials, whose help and encouragement made possible the recording of another successful year in our service to the labor movement. As we begin our 45th year of making the labor movement more articulate for both its own membership and the general public, we rededicate ourselves to the task of serving as the voice of labor, fully aware of the great responsibility that goes with the privilege of playing an important role in this, the greatest trade union federation on earth.

International Labor Press of America LEWIS M. HERRMANN. ILPA Fraternal Delegate

PRESIDENT MEANY: The Chair recognizes co-Secretary Curran of the Resolutions Committee.

REPORT OF RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE (Resumed)

Committee co-Secretary Curran con-the report of the Committee as tinued

MANPOWER POLICY FOR FULL MOBILIZATION

Last summer the federal government Last summer the lederal government conducted a test exercise of government operations under a mock atomic bomb attack on the continental United States. This exercise, called "Operation Alert," involved a mass evacuation of Government agencies from the Nation's

In response to this attack, President Eisenhower, at a meeting of the Cabliet in the midst of Operation Alert issued a mock order establishing martial law throughout the United States. He said that if the attack had been real the extent of the damage would have been so great that he saw no other way to handle the resulting chaos and confusion. chaos and confusion.

Yet this declaration served only to add confusion to a complicated admin-istrative problem. The military forces who were given broad and sweeping authority under the mock martial law, authority under the mock martial law, were of course not experienced in such civilian problems as production, manpower, and stabilization. By the end of the exercises, even many government officials were convinced that a better arrangement than martial law would have to be devised. At the present time, a special Cabinet Committee is reviewing the entire problem raised by martial law.

raised by martial law.

This controversy over the possible application of martial law in a national emergency focuses attention on a critical manpower problem: whether in a time of emergency the mobilization of manpower is to be accomplished through voluntary measures or by emphasizing compulsory measures such as national service legislation. On this issue, both labor and management are basically in agreement. Both groups issue, both labor and ma basically in agreement. are represented on the N issue, both labor and management are basically in agreement. Both groups are represented on the National Labor-Management Manpower Policy Committee composed of representatives of major labor and business organizations and co-chaired by the Olice of Defense Mobilization and the Department of labor

Labor.

Over a two-year period, this Committee developed "A Manpower Policy for Full Mobilization," which it submitted to the Director of the Office of Defense Mobilization. This program is based on the conviction that "the way to mobilize civilian manpower is through voluntary measures. The Committee is unanimously opposed to Committee is unanimously opposed to national service legislation and other similar controls." The Committee also stated that even in the event of an attack on the United States, ". the self-improved distribution of the proceed. self-imposed discipline of free men and women facing a situation of ultimate danger can give the nation the stabil-ity and flexibility it must have to sur-

The report specifically recommends that a National Labor-Management Manpower Policy Committee "advise the overall mobilization agency." The the overail mobilization agency. The Committee, according to the recommendation, should have ".. authority and responsibility to participate in all policy developments and recommendations, including the right to initiate the consideration of manpower

policies."

The report did not advocate a man power program in which individualsworkers or employers—are free to act in any way that they wish. There must be government leadership and certain nt penalties worked out government the help o the help of management and labor, even in what is essentially a voluntary

the help of management and labor, even in what is essentially a voluntary manpower program.

In order to be fully prepared for any emergency, it is essential that the National Labor-Management Manpower Policy Committee remain in full operation and that its local and regional structure be kept at least on a standby and semi-active basis, so that some type of organizational arrangements would be available for immediate action in case of a national emergency; now, therefore, be it.

RESOLVED, I. We vigorously oppose the use of martial law as a response to atomic attack. We do not believe that military authorities should be made responsible for deciding questions which are essentially civilian in character. In the event of an emergency, the major responsibility of the armed forces of necessity will be to conduct military operations. They should not be diverted from this primary task to decide issues for which they are normally not responsible. The regular civil authorities, supplemented where necessary by individuals or

groups recruited under the civil de-lense organization, must continue to be responsible for making the major gov-ernmental decisions in the event of a national emergency. There is little to be gained by maintaining an Office of Defense Mobilization to develop pol-icies for national emergencies if mili-tary authority is to be substituted for civilian responsibility when war comes.

2. We reiterate our firm conviction that all manpower planning for mobilization should be based upon the principle of voluntarism. The Office of Defense Mobilization and the Department of Labor should insure that their planning for potential mobilization is based on voluntary principles. tion is based on voluntary principles.

3. The development of manpower mobilization measures should be continued by the Administration through consultation with the National Labor-Management Manpower Policy Committee. The "Manpower Program for Full Mobilization," recommended by the National Labor-Management Manpower Prolicy Committee, should serve as the basis for manpower mobilization planning.

COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY CURRAN: I move adoption of the resolution.
... The motion was seconded and

carried.
... Committee co-Secretary Soderstrom submitted the following:

ATOMIC ENERGY

Developments in atomic science have reached the stage of technologically translating theoretical scientific knowl-edge into increasingly practical peace-ful application. A widening impact on most of industry can be expected soon.

most of industry can be expected soon.

At the Geneva Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy an impetus to early application of many uses was given by broadened declassification of secret atomic information and a freer exchange of scientific discoveries than had existed in many years. Further developments along this line will undoubtedly result from the establishment of an international agency on atomic energy, which is now under active consideration by the United Nations.

To organized laboration.

To organized labor these developments provide an opportunity and a challenge to serve as a public interest force seeking the maximum application of this new science and industry for the broadest beneficial uses for all of mankind. Organized labor must act also to assure maintenance of adequate protection from harmful radiation both for workmen exposed to radioactive materials and for the general public.

public. eral The

erai public. The worldwide importance of the growing application of nuclear science led the free trade unions of the world, through the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, to convene an International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy in Brussels, Belgium last August, just prior to the Geneva Atomic Conference. The ICFTU conferees, while supporting the measures taken by various governments and the United Nations, called especial attention to the need for:

democratic control over the production and use of atomic energy; the association of the free trade unions with such control; the application of all necessary safety measures in plants extracting and producing fissionable materials, producing atomic energy and using its products; the ensuring of high social standations.

producing atomic energy and using its products;
the ensuring of high social standards in plants extracting and producing flasionable materials and atomic energy, with the cooperation of the free trade unions, in the first place by means of collective bargaining; adequate safeguards for the rights and interests of the workers wherever displacement of manpower might result from atomic developments.

ments.

Here in the United States, where the greatest investment of public funds has been made in developing this new technology, action for more rapid and broadened application of peaceful uses of nuclear science must be urged upon the Atomic Energy Commission.

After several years of hesitation, the Commission finally in the past year has been nudged into stepping up the pace of both Government and private development for peaceful purposes, but still is proceeding slowly and, as far as the public is concerned, largely in the dark.

In stimulating a more aggressive pro-

the dark.

In stimulating a more aggressive program of development for civilian uses, the AEC and the nation must remain alert to the danger of commercial monopoly. The Government must vigorously enforce its authority to prevent any firm from using patent rights to gain monopolistic control of any important phase of nuclear development.

A relatively few industrial giants have had the opportunity as contractors for the Government in the military development phases of the atomic program to gain special "know-how" and personnel in this complex field. They must not be allowed to convert their head start or inside knowledge into an unduly favored position or exclusive unduly favored position or exclusive control of any aspect of private application.

plication.

The widening of private activity in this field must take place on a truly competitive basis to bring to the American people the benefits to which their investment in atomic energy entitles them. The Government must therefore encourage participation by as wide a variety of responsible private enterprises as practicable and must assure such enterprises an equal oportunity through appropriate provisions for access to necessary atomic information and resources; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, The AFL-CIO urges the following as fundamental elements in an enlightened United States atomic energy program in the best interests of the American public and the world as

(1) The United States should par-ticipate wholeheartedly in the forma-tion and operation of an International Agency on Atomic Energy adhering to the principles urged upon the members of the United Nations by the ICFTU.

(2) The United States should en-courage, and participate in, regional

agreements under the United Nations Charter to make possible for several countries within the appropriate re-gion to assure mutual availability of capital, technical know-how and equip-ment, as well as to develop common programs in whose benefits all would

share.
(3) Development of peaceful uses of the atom should be promoted as rapid-ly, fully and equitably as possible, to hasten the day when the atom's po-tential is reflected in improved stand-ards of living for all.

(4) The tasks of overcoming technological obstacles and of putting atomic energy into practical everyday civilian use in this country, including the construction of large-scale power reactors, must be carried through both by the Federal Government itself and by expanded participation of private enterprise. vate enterprise.

(5) In encouraging broadened participation by private industry, the Federal Government must not relinquish ticipation by private industry, the Federal Government must not relinquish its responsibility to assure that atomic energy is developed and applied in the public interest and under standards established and maintained to that end. Federal policy must prevent the development of monopoly in any aspect of this new industry.

Full consideration must be given to the probable need for Federal stand-ards to be established either through the licensing power of the Atomic En-ergy Commission or by legislation.

(6) Since expanded peacetime atomic development will have a marked economic and social impact, its likely effects must be weighed carefully in advance and a program must be drawn to meet the human needs arising out of any dislocation of existing indus-

(7) The public must be kept informed fully of the nation's peacetime atomic plans and progress. The program of easing and eliminating secrecy restrictions on nonmilitary technical information must be greatly accelerated.

(8) The growth of atomic energy operations requires that particular attention be directed to the development of:

(a) A sound labor-management re-lations program, with maximum em-phasis on free collective bargaining as an integral part of broadened private enterprise.

(b) Effective health and safety standards to meet the special haz-ards presented in work with radio-active materials.

(c) Provisions for fair compensa-tion for workmen suffering radiation injury.

(d) A voluntary manpower program to assure a necessary supply of competent skilled labor to meet our atomic needs.

(9) A statutory Labor-Management Advisory Committee should be estab-lished to advise the Atomic Energy Commission in developing these pro-

Committee co-Secretary Soderstrom: I move adoption of the resolution.
. The motion was seconded and

INTRODUCTION OF VISITORS

PRESIDENT MEANY: At this time I would like to call attention to a group of visitors present in this hall this morning. We have 80 Protestant and Orthodox clergymen from Greater New York who are present at this morning. Orthodox clergymen from Greater New York who are present at this morn-ing's session of the Convention. Their visit has been arranged by the Na-tional Council of Churches of Christ of America in cooperation with the Prot-estant Council of the City of New York, under the Director of the De-partment of Churches. I wish to call attention to the fact that they are

America in cooperation with the Frotestant Council of the City of New York, under the Director of the Department of Churches. I wish to call attention to the fact that they are here in the balcony on my right and say to them that we are very happy to have them with us this morning. On Tuesday I introduced to you a number of foreign labor representatives who are visiting us here during this Convention. At that time I could not introduce all of them to you because some of them were sightseeing and were not in the hall at the time and others were attending meetings among their own groups. I would like now to present to you the remaining portion of the group of foreign representatives who are attending this Convention.

vention.

President Meany introduced the following visitors: Frank Cifka —

Czechoslovak Free Trade Union Federation in Exile. Konrad Nordahl—Norwegian Federa-

tion of Trade Unions.

Axel Strand—General Federation of Swedish Trade Unions.

Eiler Jensen—Danish Federation of

Eiler Jensei Trade Unions. Anton Proksch-Austrian Federation

Anton Proksch—Austrian Federation of Trade Unions.
Gordon Cushing — Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.
Juan Lechin — Former Minister of Mines of Bolivia, Leader of the Mineworkers of that country and now General Secretary of the Bolivian Confed-

eration of Labor. Wenceslao Moreno-General Secre-tary of the Maritime Workers Federa-tion of Chile and Member of the ICFTU

tion of Chile and Member of the ICFTU Executive Board.
Ignacio Tellechea—Executive Board Member of the Cuban Maritime Union: Secretary of International Relations of the Cuban Confederation of Workers, and President of ORIT.

and President of ORIT.
Facundo Pomar—President of the
Transport Workers Federation of Cuba.
Angel Cofino—Secretary General of
the National Federation of Electrical
Workers of Cuba, and member of the
Governing Body of ILO.
Xavier Boinos—President of the

Governing Body of ILO.
Xavier Bolnos — President of the
Railway Brotherhood of Cuba.
Jose Garcia—Executive Board Member of the Hotel and Restaurant
Workers of Cuba.
Antonio Moreno — Executive Board
Member of the Hotel and Restaurant
Workers of Cuba.
Jose Luis Martinez — Member of
Parliament, General Secretary of the
National Federation of Sugar Workers
of Cuba. of Cuba

Anibal Albarez—Secretary-Treasurer of the Sugar Workers Union. Rafael Gonzalez Villegas — Secretary of Foreign Relations, Sugar Workers

Valdivia - Assistant General Paul member of the ICFTU Secretary and

Secretary and Intensive of the Source
Plantations Committee.
Onorio Herrero — Executive Board
Member of the Sugar Union.
Conrado Becquer—Congressman and
Assistant General Secretary of the

Assistant General Secretary of Assistant General Secretary of Sugar Workers Union.

Alfonso Sanchez Madariaga — Assistant to Secretary General Fidel Velazquez, member of Mexican Congress and Assistant Secretary of ORIT.

Francisco Perez Rios—Secretary of International Relations of CTM, General Secretary of the National Union of Electrical Workers of Mexico.

Leonardo Rodriguez — Member of Mexican Congress, Executive Board

or Electrical Workers of Mexico.
Leonardo Rodriguez — Member of
Mexican Congress, Executive Board
Member of the Union of Electrical
Workers, CTM.
Yusuke Igarashi—Central Executive
Committee, Japanese Federation of

Trade Unions

Trade Unions.

Takehiko Hayashi — Chairman, Fukuoka Branch Committee, Nishi-Nippon Railroad Labor Union.

Shigekazu Nishikawa — Chairman, Kansai Electric Power Workers Union. Yoshimichi Kamura—Chairman, Nagasaki Prefectural Federation, Japanese Federation of Trade Unions.

Hajime Suitsu—Vice President, Nissan Motor Workers Union.

PRESIDENT MEANY: In the name of the delegates to this Convention I wish to tell this group of visiting trade union brothers that we are very happy to have them here and very happy they have had the opportunity to come to this very important Convention, and to wish them well in their work and assure them of our cooperation in the internetional free trade union scene. ternational free trade union scene.

Thank you very much for coming,

gentlemen. . . J. Addington Wagner, National Commander of the American Legion, was escorted to the platform.

PRESIDENT MEANY: happy to present to you our guest speaker for the morning, who comes to speaker for the morning, who comes to us in his capacity as Commander of the American Legion and whom we are very happy to welcome here as a rep-resentative of the millions of Amer-icans who hold membership in the Le-gion and who have fought the good fight in two World Wars in our genera-

tion.

I am also happy to present him as the representative of many thousands of trade union members who are also members of the American Legion. We are very happy to have him here and to listen to what I am sure will be a very constructive address.

It gives me a great deal of pleasure to present to you Mr. J. Addington Wagner, Commander of the American Legion.

MR. J. ADDINGTON WAGNER Commander of the American Legion

Mr. George Meany, Mr. Walter Reuther, Officers of the American Federation of Labor and of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, Delegates to this Convention, and Friends:

I consider it not only a pleasure, but a great privilege and an honor to ad-

dress this historic Convention. I am fully aware of the significance of this moment in the history of the labor movement in the United States. I wish for you, and for all the working men and women in this country whom you represent, a successful Convention, and success in your efforts to make our country a better place in which to live. Less than two months ago, Mr. George Meany honored us by addressing The American Legion's National Convention in Miami. As in other years, he again brought us a message of hope

The American Legion's National Convention in Miami. As in other years, he again brought us a message of hope and of inspiration. He spoke to us in plain unvarnished terms—terms that we, as veterans of the armed forces, are well able to understand. Mr. Meany left us much food for thought. I have studied carefully what he said to us in Miami.

us in Miami.

to us in Miami.

Just as the great organizations gathered here represent a broad cross-section of the American working peopleso does The American Legion represent the very fabric of all of our people. Composed as it is of men and women from every element of our population who have only one thing in common—
pride in their privilege of having served honorably during time of war—and with some 17,000 Posts in communities large and small across the country, the Legion is truly American in every respect.

And because it is a truly representa-tive body, we believe that The Ameri-can Legion expresses a truly representa-tive opinion on those things which are of concern to all of the American people today.

people today.

It is true that we are regards those things which e are partisan as which are of parregards those things which are of particular interest to the veteran population—such as veterans benefits program. We take great pride in the fact that the American war veteran receives more consideration from his government today than a member of any similar group in history. We believe this is the way the American people want it. This broad program of benefits has been created, for the most part, since The American Legion was organized, and to a very great extent

since The American Legion was organized, and to a very great extent through our efforts.

I may say, too, that what we have achieved we do not propose to give up. Perhaps we feel the same way about our veterans benefits program that the great labor organizations feel about the constructive advances they have made during the past generation. There are those who begrudge what the country has done and is doing for its war veterans; apparently they resent the cost in dollars. They would like to have the program modified and restricted. They will not succeed.

We count lebor aways these who

They will not succeed.

We count labor among those who understand and support the veterans benefits program. Labor unions were among the first to realize the tremendous value to the nation of the G. I. Bill of Rights. It is now generally agreed that the cost of this legislation will be many times repaid in the higher level of income and the greater opportunities which it has provided for so many thousands of men and women. This type of productive legislation, along with the compensation and pen-

sion system, and the medical program—the greatest medical care program in the world today—all mean too much to our yearans for up to veterans for us to ever agree to

our veteralisent.

The American Legion is a fighting organization. We qualify for memberorganization. We qualify for membership through honorable service in the armed forces in time of war. We believe that we are at our best when we speak vigorously for the things we believe in. We take pride in the fact that we have never deviated from an unswerving belief in the greatness and unswerving belief in the greatness and the future of our country, and that we have opposed anything which we believe to be un-American or anti-American. That is why Communism became an early target for The American Legion. From the earliest days of the establishment of the Communist dictatorship in Russia, we recognized it in its true and glaring light—and saw in it a threat to America and to the American way of life.

In any discussion involving Communism, two all-important elements of the Communist doctrine must be included.

nism, two all-important elements of the Communist doctrine must be included. These are, first, that Communism is more than a mere political theory. Rather it is a philosophy, providing a way of life as complete in detail as the other philosophies developed by mankind, such as, for example, Christianity. But the Communist philosophy is predicated upon an initial premise of atheistic materialism. And this throws it into direct and irreconcilable conflict with Christianity, which accepts as its atheistic materialism. And this throws it into direct and irreconcilable conflict with Christianity, which accepts as its initial premise the existence of a Divinity, or Superior Being. The second element which must be borne in mind is that the Communist philosophy entertains a conviction that it has amissionary destiny to replace all conflicting philosophies. It considers itself to be the ultimate conclusion in philosophical development, and believes that it must finally be accepted by all peoples everywhere. Further, the Fathers and Prophets of Communism have postulated that the universal triumph of the new Way of Life must and will be accompanied by violence. Now the two factors which I have mentioned explain nearly everything which Communists say and do both here and in other countries. They are the reasons why the Communist Party of the USA has been declared by the courts to be a revolutionary conspiracy rather than a political party.

Likewise, the same two factors provide a basis for understanding the foreign policy of the Soviet Union. They explain all of its tactics in all parts of the world, from India to Morocco to the United Nations. Every move, every action, every word is designed to promote the revolutionary advance of world Communism.

That is why the recent Geneva Con-

the United Nations. Every move, every action, every word is designed to promote the revolutionary advance of world Communism.

That is why the recent Geneva Conference failed of any constructive accomplishments. The American Legion last summer warned that the "Geneva Spirit," with all the smiles and soft talk from Russia. was a tactical maneuver designed to advance the basic Russian strategy of communizing the world. Events have most certainly proved that warning was correct.

We do not claim that this farsighted-

We do not claim that this farsightedness has been our exclusive property.

Many people were equally realistic, I think all of you will be proud, for example, to know that on the occasion of his appearance before our National ample, to know that on the occasion or his appearance before our National Convention in Miami in October of this year, Mr. George Meany made the following comment on the very subject which I am now discussing. I quote: "Through their present strategy, the Soviet rulers seek a period in which the free world will let down its guard and military defenses. They are playing for time in which we will do nothand military defenses. They are playing for time in which we will do nothing—but which they will use for consolidating their gains and grabs of yesterday in preparation for even bigger conquests tomorrow."

ger conquests tomorrow"

Ladies and Gentlemen of this Convention, I want you to know how heartening it is to The American Legion to hear those words from a leader of the labor movement in the United States, and to know that wherever they may have been successful, the Communists have failed utterly in their efforts to capture American Labor. I believe hists have failed utterly in their chorts to capture American Labor. I believe that this failure is the strongest assurance we have of the ability of the American people to resist Communist infiltration. We are all aware of the tremendous efforts which have been the communist of the control of the communist of the communism during the control of the communism during the control of the communism during the tremendous efforts which have been made by Communism during the past twenty-five years to take over the American labor movement. Had they succeeded they would have been well on the way to complete victory in our country, and indeed, in all the world. But they failed. And in their failure is the greatest proof of the soundness and the moral strength of American labor unions in the United States of working men and women, and of America.

America

America.

The free world is now engaged in evaluating, both in the public forum and in the high councils of governments, the international situation which prevails in the light of the Soviet attitude at Geneva, and trying

viet attitude at Geneva, and trying determine where we are now, and hat we should do next. While agreeing that this evaluation necessary, I am unable to refrain om noting that once again it is the une old story—as it has been since ue day we recognized Soviet Russia 1933. The Communists act and we want to the proper state of the property of the state of the property of the state from noting same

in 1932. The Communists act and we react. They move and we counter. They have successfully retained the initiative throughtout the years—and their ability to call the turn has been most profitable to them—and it still is.

If the American Legion has consistently warned against one thing, that thing has been the negative approach which has too frequently characterized American foreign policy since the end of World War II. The record of the past ten years shows a continuing policy of slow withdrawal on our side in the face of the steady advance of Communism. Communism.

The cost of this negative policy has been heavy. I call your attention to the fact that 500 million free souls have disappeared into the Communist

have disappeared into the Communist night since 1945.

We believe that the negative note in our foreign bolicy has contributed materially to the indecisiveness displayed by some of our allies. In the affairs of nations it is given to some to lead and to others to follow. It is our destiny

to lead the free world in this struggle to preserve the fruits of two thousand years of progress. But when we fail to show confidence in our own ability to meet the test, we should not be sur-prised that our less well-favored allies should get panicky and show a lack of

should get panicky and show a lack of taste for the battle.

The American Legion approved of and encouraged the Summit Conference of last summer. We agreed that the United States must never refuse to sit down at a table with anyone to talk peace. However, we were apprehensive of the bad side affects of the "Spirit of Geneva," and we believe that our fears were institled.

justified.

Despite the warnings of our President and the Secretary of State, there were those who succumbed to the attractive fragrance of that well-remembered perfume known as "Peace in Our Time." In the atmosphere which prebered perfume known as "Peace in Our Time." In the atmosphere which prevailed through the summer it did little good to sound the cry of alarm. And, of course, while this wishful, happy spirit of peace and security was spreading through the world, the Red fox was busy in the sheepfold. And even now that the Russians have to all intents admitted that they were not sincere about seeking settlements of international problems, they continue to profit; because it is now more difficult to brace our people to again accept the profit; because it is now more difficult to brace our people to again accept the hard facts of cold war, the danger of new fringe wars, or even the catastrophe of general war. As terrible and unpleasant as are the prospects of such things, it is absolutely essential that the American people remain psychologically prepared to meet and to resist attack, in whatever form it may come. The American Legioh will not shirk its duty to alert the American people to the continuing danger—however unpopular that duty may become. And here the question might be asked: What exactly, do we expect of our government in the face of the exposure of Communist insincerity at a continuing the same of the continuing the saked:

Geneva?

First, there must be recognition of the fact that we cannot hope to win the cold war by negotiating with Comthe fact that we cannot hope to win the cold war by negotiating with Communism. Negotiation proceeds through sincerity and good faith. Communist philosophy holds, and Communist leaders have demonstrated, that they are bound to act in bad faith. It follows that our hope and our efforts must be directed toward the collapse of the Communist movement rather than toward co-existence with it. The Red leaders themselves, from Lenin on, have maintained that their system and ours cannot co-exist: that one or the other must prevail. This much at least of the Communist gospel, the American Government and the American people must acknowledge as true.

Second, The American Legion believes that a policy of greater frankness is in order. I mean greater frankness in speaking to the American people, to our allies, and to the Communists themselves. Instead of attempting to sweeten the bitter failure that was Geneva, the American Government, in our hellef, should tell the people that Tussia has again played us false, and that we have no reason to anticipate any let-un in the struggle between the two worlds.

vo worlds. I believe that America's allies should

be given to understand clearly that each of them is expected to pick up and carry a fair share of the burden of the common defense. The United States is in no position to risk men and supplies in an attempt to defend a nation which does not have the courage to defend itself. We have for too long treated all of our friends. does not have the courage to defend itself. We have for too long treated all of our friends with equal solicitude and generosity—those who have shown the staunchest intention of defending themselves, as well as those who sometimes do not seem sure which side they want to be on. The American Legion submits there should be an end to this sort of thing. In the hard circumstances of the world we live in, it is necessary that everybody determine the path which shall be theirs to follow. In our official conversations with the

In our official conversations with Communists we should make clear that we have not been deceived by their recent tactics. We should not strengthen cent tactics. We should not strengthen Russian propaganda by appearing to accept as fact the obvious fiction of the

Russian motives.

Russian motives.

Another important point concerns the so-called neutrals. In the judgment of The American Legion it is time that we cease to condone the self-serving tactics of those nations which would profit from the cold war by carrying water on both shoulders. We encourage neutralism, as it is sometimes called, by making free-handed grants to countries which have no genuine friendship for us, and which collaborate with our enemies even while accepting friendship for us, and which collaborate with our enemies even while accepting our assistance. I am not reluctant to mention the specific example of India. This country for too long has been neutral on the side of the Communists. Yet it has received 500 million dollars in aid from the United States of America. The American Legion believes that we should stop trying to buy friendship with money. with money.

with money.

My friends of labor, The American Legion has a natural interest in the foreign policy of the United States. Every member of our organization has personal knowledge of war. Many of us would serve again in the event of renewed conflict. Because we know war, we are the last who would promote a policy which we believe would be likely to lead to war. But history proves that no nation can buy peace through compromise with an enemy. And we are presently engaged with the most dangerous enemy in our history. He is dangerous because he has learned the art of making war unremittingly and totally. There is no phase or area of our national life which is exempt from his assault. He strives as intensely to conquer our cities. We say that we must meet this onslaught of Communism with the same relentless determination if we are same relentless determination if we are to survive.

In the battles that are In the battles that are yet to be fought for the safety of our country. The American Legion looks confidently to the American labor movement. You have felt the painful effects of Communist efforts at infiltration. You have cause to know, perhaps better than anyone else, how dangerous the enemy can be. Because of your experience you have much to contribute toward the guidance of our country's future course. The American Legion has enjoyed The American Legion has enjoyed

and appreciated the spirit of cooperaand appreciated the spirit of coopera-tion which has existed between organ-ized labor and organized veterans. We look forward to the continuance and to the growth of that spirit. And for our part, we say that when the chips are down for America, The American Legion will not be found wanting. Again thanking you for the privilege of appearing before this historic Con-vention, I wish for you a most success-ful Convention and a most successful year ahead. Thank you very much.

Thank you very much.

PRESIDENT MEANY: I wish to assure Commander Wagner the labor movement as represented by the AFL-CIO will continue to cooperate with all organizations who have the common objective of preserving our free way of life.

serving our free way of life.

I would like to tell him also that this Convention has already outlined a program of cooperation on veterans' legislation. We are going to seek re-employment and reinstatement rights for all veterans. We have outlined a detailed program to make the GI Bill and the Veterans' Readjustment Assistance Act more effective. Also we are going to seek legislation for more housing for GI's and others in the middle-income groups, with a maintenance of the present low with a maintenance of the present low interest rates for GI loans.

interest rates for GI loans.
We are going to continue to press for
enlargement of hospital facilities for
veterans. We have established as part
of one of the standing committees of
the American Federation of Labor and
the Congress of Industrial Organizations a Committee on Veterans' Affairs. tions a Committee on Veterans' Affairs, and we have by resolution, at this Con-vention, asked all of our affiliates to set up similar committees to cooperate with

committee. Wagner, Commander very much for I thank very much for your appearance here this morning and ask you to convey to your comrades in the American Legion the good wishes and assurances of fu-ture cooperation of this great labor fed-eration

Thank you, Commander Wagner.
. . Dr. Eugene Carson Blake was escorted to the platform.

PRESIDENT MEANY: I now wish to present to you the third of the religious leaders we have scheduled for this Convention. Tuesday, as you know, we heard from Rabbi Goldstein and yesterday from Father McGowan. This morning it is my pleasure to present to you Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, President of the National Council of Churches of Christ of America. Dr. Blake.

DR. EUGENE CARSON BLAKE President, National Council of Churches

First of all I would like to express to you and your officers the appreciation of the National Council of Churches and my appreciation for this opportunity to speak to you on this significant convention marking the merger of the two great bodies representative of organized labor in our country.

great nodies representative of organized labor in our country.

When the founding fathers were establishing the political framework of our democracy, the wisest of them were deeply concerned to construct a society in which there would be both united. in which there would be both unity and

diversity in American life. Unity was necessary if the nation was to survive. Diversity was necessary if men were to be free. They wrote a Constitution and amended it almost immediately with a Bill of Rights which was thus designed to govern a nation both strong and free. That they planned well, our history to this hour is proof enough. After nearly 170 years the nation is strong and Americans are free.

One of the constitutional methods by

After nearly 170 years the nation is strong and Americans are free.

One of the constitutional methods by which the founding fathers accomplished their design was to provide for the distribution of powers and functions among the three branches of government and to reserve to the states and people those powers not expressly conferred upon the National Government. The growth of the powers of the Federal Government by successive judicial interpretations under the pressure of history would have greatly shocked the founding fathers. But they built better than they knew. For it has been the very flexibility of the Constitution which has been a part of its strength. James Madison, one of the chief architects of the nation, made it clear both in public and private papers that one of his hopes for continued freedom was that there should always be a variety of voluntary groups and associations in

of voluntary groups and associations in American society organized around specific interests and purposes—a sufficient variety so that no permanent and uniform majority could be established that would agree upon everything. Madison feared the unrestrained power of any majority. Thus Madison, though a member of the then established Church in Virginia, lent his efforts towards disestablishment, in order that there might be a variety of Churches both strong and free. In the early years of the republic the very fact that the various Churches did not agree either on theology or economics, and that political majorities had always to restrain of voluntary groups and associations in

various Churches did not agree either on theology or economics, and that political majorities had always to restrain themselves in some aspects to remain a majority was a bulwark, as Madison hoped, against the tyranny that a solid ideological majority in a democracy is always in danger of becoming.

The history of the development of our political parties indicates that here too we have been fortunate (or better, under Providential care) that no party has ever quite become a solid majority. To go back no further than this century, we can remember that the long Republican ascendancy depended upon a relatively unstable coalition of the interests of the urban Northeast and the individualistic farmer of the Middle West. And later the period of Democratic ascendancy depended upon the equally unstable coalition of the interests of urban workers of the North and conservatives of the South, Just what the political future of the second half of the century, will be, I am not willing to predict. But I do suggest that, so long as we have a variety of interests and convictions forced to take account of others' interests and convictions, we will be free. will be free.

For the first hundred years of the republic one of the great lacks among the voluntary organized groups of the nation was an adequate labor movement. Americans were free in those years only because of the geographic frontier. of the geographic frontier

which with freedom of movement allowed the oppressed to move westward if they would. With the relative shut-ting down of the frontier in the 20th control with the relative shifting down of the frontier in the 20th Century, American freedom demanded the strengthening of a labor movement, and the climax of its development is marked by this merger convention. There have been some who have looked with apprehension at the increased strength of labor with such a large and unified organization as you now have tyour service. I am not one of those. I congratulate you on this occasion just as I congratulated the Protestant and Orthodox Churches on their achievement of five years ago in establishing the National Council of Churches which represents a constituency of 35,000,000 communicants plus a great many millions more loosely associated.

Now I would be afraid of the National

Now I would be afraid of the National Council of Churches if we all agreed about everything. We have in our constituency capitalists and managers as well as labor leaders and workers, and every Church worthy of the name is glad that this is so.

And that is the reason I am glad that you have invited various spokesmen from the various religious bodies of this nation. Some of you are Protestant, some Roman Some of you are Protestant, some Roman Catholic, some Jewish by faith and some Orthodox. That too is good.

Orthodox. That too is good.

And so I should like to pledge to you the interest and concern of the Protestant and Orthodox Churches in you and in your movement. All our ecclesiastical interests and all your labor interests ought to be neither identical with each other nor allen from each other. On the most important issues of moral concern we ought always to be staunch allies. So also I covet the support of the

So also I covet the support of the Protestant and Orthodox labor leadership in the concerns of your Churches and of the National Council of Churches, which is our national instrument.

Thus I believe and only thus can labor and Church, under the providence of God and remembering our duty to Him, make our rightful contributions to the continued strength and freedom of our nation. In the complex pattern of American life, our strength and unity will be preserved only as we all recognize our duty to God and to our neighbors. Our freedom will be preserved only as we work with all men of integrity and good will whose interests and convictions on many matters differ, but whose loyalty to God transcends the boundaries of the nation and whose loyalty to the nation transcends the boundaries of all special intersections. Thus I believe and only thus can labor and whose loyalty to the nation tran-scends the boundaries of all special inter-

PRESIDENT MEANY: On behalf of all the delegates in attendance, I wish to express our sincere appreciation to Dr. Blake for his visit with us and for his very, very inspiring address.

Thank you very much, Dr. Blake.

REPORT OF RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE (Resumed)

PRESIDENT MEANY: The Chair recognizes co-Secretary Curran of the Resolutions Committee to continue the report.

Committee co-Secretary Curran presented the following resolution:

POWER

There is now general recognition, as organized labor has long advocated, that the expanding economy of the U.S. needs additional power and energy beyond even the most optimistic estimates of the recent past. The best informed sources predict the necessity of increasing the available supply from the present level of 7.7 kilowatt hours per man hour of work in all of industry to 14 kilowatt hours per man hour of work in the need for increased power also stems from the increased use of electrical devices and processes in industry, in argiculture and in the home.

home.

Many new industries use electroprocess methods which require large amounts of electricity. Aluminum and titanium are two new industries in this category. Application of automation in industry generally requires tremendous increases in the use of electric power. The new atomic industry is both a large user and potential source of electric power. This total use of electric power at major AEC installations will increase in the one year from 1955 to 1956 by 20 billion kilowatt hours. Total AEC use of electricity which constitutes 9 percent of sales to consumers in 1955 will in 1956 increase to 12.8 percent of total consumption of electricity in the entire U. S. Part of this increase could be obtained from nuclear power reactors.

tire U. S. Part of this interests be obtained from nuclear power reactors.

There are many new appliances in the homes. As additional power becomes available, more of it is used in the home for these appliances, and all of society benefits from the increase duse. Experience in low-cost areas proves that the increase in use of power brings a higher standard of living in the home and on the farm, as well as expanded output and employment in the factory and in the mill. The housewife benefits. The worker benefits when low rates bring increased use. While residential users in Rhode Island paid \$8.74 for the identical amount of power which cost \$4.92 in Tennessee, the average residential use in Providence, Rhode Island was 1,230 kilowatt hours contrasting with an average residential use of 7,020 kilowatt hours in Chattanooga, Tennessee.

We are proud of the achievements of the TVA and will oppose all efforts to weaken or cripple this outstandingly successful program. We want no more Dixon-Yates proposals.

Only the Federal Government can provide effective leadership to develop our large river basins, and only the Federal Government can provide for the multi-purpose planning that can bring the maximum flood control, power, navigations recreation and irrigation which so many of our river basin areas need.

Hydroelectric power without expand-

and conventional nuclear ing needs of our fuel total our expanding economy. must develop an expansion of our total supply. Public policy should encourage the development of power using all possible sources of energy with both public and private ownership. We believe that, whatever the form of ownership, workers employed in the construction or operation of power plants or the sale of electric power, are entitled to the same rights, benefits, and privileges of free organization and collective bargaining as workers in industry generally. We call for the repeal of any special restrictions on collective bargaining rights of workers in electric power develop an expansion of supply. Public policy si OHE

call for the repeal or any special restrictions on collective bargaining rights of workers in electric power industries; now, therefore, be it RESOLVED, The AFL-CIO in Convention duly assembled supports programs for the expansion of electric power supply at the lowest feasible cost for the expansion of electric power supply at the lowest feasible cost practical under the terms of programs which have been established since the use of electric power became wide-spread throughout the country.

1. The Federal Government should encourage the development of power using all possible sources of energy with both public and private ownership.

2. We ask the Federal Government to provide effective leadership to develop our large river basins. Specifically, we call for the earliest possible Congressional action for the authorization and con-

est possible Congressional action for the authorization and construction of the high dam at Hells Canyon on the Snake River. We call upon the various state governments involved to repeal legislation which denies to employees of publicly or privately owned electric power systems collective bargaining rights and privileges available to workers in industry generally in their respective states. tive states.

COMMITTEE MITTEE CO-SECRETARY CUR-I move the adoption of the resolu-RAN: tion.

. . . The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

. Committee co-Secretary Soderstrom presented the following resolution:

NATURAL GAS

A determined effort is being made by the producers of natural gas to pass legislation which would exempt the pri-mary production of gas from regulation by the Federal Power Commission. The House of Representatives during the past session of Congress passed the Harris Bill. The issue is now pending in the Senate.

In the Senate.

There is ample evidence that removal of regulation would increase prices to consumers of gas by many millions of dollars and unreasonably swell the profits of the producers. Historically, organized labor has consistently supported the interests of consumers; now,

herefore, be it
RESOLVED, This Convention of the
AFL-CIO instructs its officers to vigorously oppose any bill designed to exempt the primary production of gas
from regulation by the Federal Power
Commission.

Committee co-Secretary Soderstrom moved the adoption of the resolution.
... The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

Introduction of \$64,000 Question Contestant

PRESIDENT MEANY: We have a great deal of talent in the labor movement of various kinds. This morning we had a song written and sung by a gentleman who is a member of both the Rubber Workers Union and the Musicians Ilude

gentleman who is a member of both the Rubber Workers Union and the Musi-cians Union.

We have here this morning a mem-ber of the National Association of Letter Carriers, AFL-CIO, who is pres-ently a contestant on the \$64,000 TV program and who has reached the \$8,000 level on the subject, if you please, of poetry. I would like to introduce him to take a bow—Brother Roscoe C. Wright.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS (Resumed)

PRESIDENT MEANY: The Chair recognizes co-Secretary Curran of the Resolutions Committee to continue the re-

... Committee co-Secretary Curran re-ported on behalf of the Committee as follows:

FEDERAL FLOOD INSURANCE

Insurance to protect real and personal property from the ravages of floods and hurricanes is rarely available, and at almost prohibitive premiums.

ge from recent floods in six
eastern states alone is estimated Damage from rec Northeastern states

Northeastern states alone is estimated at nearly two billion dollars, ninety-eight percent of which is uninsured. Federal and state grants to disaster areas are limited exclusively to the removal of debris and the restoration of public property and buildings, utilities, streets and highways. Other assistance to the victims of floods and hurricanes is severely limited by the meager resources of voluntary agencies used as

canes is severely limited by the meager resources of voluntary agencies such as the National Disaster Services of the American National Red Cross and other forms of community relief.

Flood victims often become debt victims because of the mortgage and personal loans they are forced to obtain to rehabilitate themselves after disaster. Many families, such as retired workers, are, however, not eligible for loans; now therefore, be it

RESOLVED, The AFL-CIO urges the Congress of the United States to create a system of federal insurance to protect citizens from the loss of houses, furniture, factories and heavy equipment in floods, hurricanes and other natural disasters.

COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY CUR-RAN: I move adoption of the resolution. The motion was seconded and

... Committee co-Secretary Soderstrom submitted the following resolution.

SUPPORT OF UNIONS ON STRIKE

American unions believe in peaceful collective bargaining. It is always our aim to reach agreement through peace-

ful negotiations, without resort to the strike weapon. We are well aware that the effects of a strike are felt not only by the employer, but pre-eminently by the striking workers themselves; and in lesser degree by the general public.

our unions do not lightly decide to strike or engage in walk-outs for frivolous or trivial reasons. We do not strike until every other legitimate strike until every other legitimate means of arriving at a satisfactory

settlement has been exhausted.

the final analysis, however, In the final analysis, however, a strike is, in many situations, the work-ers' only weapon; and recourse to it their only hope of winning better wages, hours, and working conditions. This can be clearly seen in some of the bitter strikes in which our affiliates are now engaged.

Such a struggle is now being carried on by nearly 55,000 Westinghouse work-ers, represented by the International on by hearly 25,000 westing notes workers, represented by the International Union of Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers, who are now in the eighth week of the largest and longest nationwide strike of 1955.

Westinghouse management ruthlessly and irresponsibly provoked this strike by attempting to tear up its present two-year contract with the IUE and impose a substandard wage-slashing and job-cutting five-year agreement. It has perpetuated the strike by autocratically refusing to negotiate in good faith, by bargaining only on an ultimatum tasis of "take-it-or-leave-it," and by initiating strike-breaking and union-busting campaigns through the use of injunctions, back-to-work movements, briberry and scab-herding. Westinghouse management ruthlessly ery and scab-herding.

In paramount issue is the sanctity of ollective bargaining agreements, hon-estly negotiated and solemnly signed, and the threat to all unions which lies in Westinghouse management's assump-tion that it has the unliateral right.

in Westinghouse management's assumption that it has the unitateral right, without consultation or negotiation, to alter work standards and to shift incentive jobs to day work while depriving workers of incentive pay scales.

Since April 13, more than 3,000 hotel employees of Miami and Miami Beach, Florida, members of the Hotel and Kestaurant Employees and Bartenders in ternational Union, have been on strike against the major hotels in the Miami area. The objective of the employees has been simply to win the right to bargain collectively with their employers in order to correct intolerable conditions of wages, hours, and working condiin order to correct intolerable conditions of wages, hours, and working conditions. Despite the fact that the union unquestionably has the support of the overwhelming majority of the hotel employees in the area, most of the employers have adamantly refused to recognize the union, although in recent weeks a few of the hotels have recognized and have signed satisfactory agreements with the Hotel and Restaurant Workers' Union. Union.

Union.

Although no agency in Florida has taken any jurisdiction whatsoever over this situation, the National Labor Relations Board has refused to assert its jurisdiction in this case. Thus the hotel workers have been denied any opportunity to obtain the redress which is their right under the law and now find themselves in a legal no-man's-land

without protection from either the Florida courts or from the NLRB.

In another situation, the flight engineers of United Air Lines have been on strike for seven weeks against the stubborn refusal by the airline to accept job security conditions of employment that have been incorporated into the contracts with other major airlines. The importance of this strike transcends the relatively small number of workers who are involved because on its success or failure is likely to hinge the future course of labor relations in the entire airline industry. The valiant fight which the Flight Engineers' International Association has been waging against this sociation has been waging against this strongly entrenched employer deserves the wholehearted support of every interand local union of the trade

strongly entrenched employer deserves the wholehearted support of every international and local union of the trade union movement.

In Wisconsin, workers at the Kohler Co., members of Local 833, have been on strike longer than any other group of workers in the history of the UAW-CIO. Since April 5, 1954, they have manned their picketlines to win for themselves and their children benefits and working conditions which have become standard throughout the rest of industrial America. Twenty-one years ago their employer broke a strike of a fine AFL Federal Labor Union with a private company army. Two men were killed, shot in the back, and 48 men, women and children injured by gunfire from inside the plant. The company still has tear gas and an arsenal available, still tries to conduct its relations with its workers with the same brutal methods which characterized its labor relations a generation ago. All members of organized labor are urged to help the corrageous members of the United Automobile Workers striking at Kohler to win fair and equitable contract by refusing to buy and urging all fair-minded people not to buy plumbingware and engines made by Kohler until the Kohler workers win a just contract.

These four strikes as well as all other legitimate strikes deserve the full, sympathetic, and sincere support of all union members. Furthermore, all union members are indirectly affected by the outcome of every strike, no matter what may be the immediate issue involved. For a lost strike anywhere tempts reactionary employers to take more intransigent positions in the second of the contract of

anywhere tempts reactionary employers to take more intransigent positions in bargaining or to discard collective bargaining altogether in favor of unilaterally imposed wages and working conditions. In contrast, a successful strike may result in benefits being achieved by many thousands of workers not directly involved in the strike. In unity there is strength, and only if workers stand together can they hope to equate their strength to that of the powerful forces arrayed against them; now, therefore, be it anywhere tempts reactionary employers to

RESOLVED, The AFL-CIO and all its affiliates pledge their support and that of their members for all legitimate of thei

COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY SODER-STROM: Mr. President, I move adop-tion of the Committee's report. The motion was seconded.

PRESIDENT MEANY: You have heard the report of the Committee and

the recommendation of support for the striking workers. The motion is to striking

The Chair recognizes Vice President

Carey.
VICE PRESIDENT CAREY: Presi-VICE PRESIDENT CAREY: President Meany and delegates: It was my great privilege to attend a convention of the American Federation of Labor in 1933. As I look over this Convention I see a marked difference in terms of size and strength. There are unions that exist today that did not exist some 22 years ago. In fact, I am reminded as I see this Convention on the achievement of unity in labor, that this Convention so well demonstrates the story of another man who had a great job and task of organizing. When Noah assembled the animals in the Ark he brought them in two by two and he had to be very careful that there was not too much affection demonstrated between those animals. It was a question of multiplication. If the lions and the tigers and the others got together the tigers and the others got together with their opposite sex perhaps through multiplication that Ark would sink.

multiplication that Ark would sink.
Well, here in the labor movement we
might describe it as the animals leaving the Ark and going down two by
two, and as the animals had left a Tom
cat came along, and with his female
cat there followed a whole row of kittens. The Tom cat looked up into the
eyes of Noah and said, "Well, Noah,
you thought we were fighting."
Well, I report to you and this tremendous labor movement that our fight
today must be against those who are

mendous labor movement that our fight today must be against those who are attempting to destroy our unions and their contracts. I humbly report to you on behalf of those 55,000 Westinghouse Workers now on strike for their 55th day. From Massachusetts to California the plants of Westinghouse are down. Not a single, solitary wheel has turned. Not a piece of production has come off the lines. And before that group submits to the terms of that corporation, despite its billion dollars of resources, that union must go out of business, awill that corporation go out of business. We have had twelve weeks of negotiations since that strike began. Nego-

union must go out of business. We have had twelve weeks of negotiations since that strike began. Nexotiations started this morning at 10 A.M. There are only two issues involved—the question of ground rules for studies determining rates of pay, and the issue of a wage increase under the contract. That contract has until October 15, 1956, to run. But this corporation said to us, "We must tear up the present contract with a year to run and accept an inferior 5-year proposition. They told us that because we had an agreement with General Electric Corporation, the only 5-year agreement in our entire history of 400 competitors of Westinghouse, they were going to give us an inferior proposition or else they would starve our members out until we saw fit to accept their proposition.

would starve our members out until we saw fit to accept their proposition.

I ask these newspaper men present here, as well as the delegates, what would the editorials say if our unions walked into Westinghouse and said to them, "We just signed an agreement with one of your competitors that provides benefits superior to yours. We want Westinghouse to tear up our agreement and provide us with the benefit shat we have received under some efits that we have received under a contract with your competitor."

tract with your competitor."

I suppose a union would be called irresponsible to tear up a contract in the middle of its term, but that is what Westinghouse is doing. They are suggesting that after 55 days of strike the people will capitulate. Our members are walking the picket lines. They are racing this billion-dollar corporation as trade unionists must face corporations that are so irresponsible that they would tear up a union contract. They established their back-to-work movement. The managers and foremen and supervisors were asked to leave the union and go to work. They are sendment. The managers and foremen and supervisors were asked to leave the union and go to work. They are sending letters to the homes of our members. They are hiring scabs where they can. They are using the local police and the sheriffs, the deputies and the state police. They have got injunctions, and in some cases they are still seeking to enforce those injunctions. They engage in rumors and whispering camgage in rumors and whispering cam-paigns that the strike is nearly over. They send fake letters from strikers' paigns that the strike is nearly over. They send fake letters from strikers' wives to government officials and to the newspapers. They furlough 40 per cent of the officials of the corporation, and the technicians to give them time to engage in scab recruiting. They are offering \$20 a day hand-outs to ask our people to scab in these plants. They need 55,000 people for 55 days, and despite that campaign, they are only able to get 150 people to even attempt to go into those plants. When they do go in we engage in educational work to convince them that they are violating the spirit of brotherhood and doing themselves injury, and they can't get the 150 to go in two days running.

I want to say to this Convention that we deeply and sincerely appreciate the way our unions, both AFL unions and ClO unions, have railied to our as-aistance. I want to say thank you to

and CIO unions, have rained to our assistance. I want to say thank you to George Meany and to Bill Schnitzler for publishing a full-page ad before the merger took place, indicating the support of all of labor in this important

Our Union is not a big or rich organization. It has had to organize twice in its short years of existence. A short time ago the Communists so infiltrated our ranks that we had to cast them out of CIO and organize that union again. We had the opposition of the employers. They even sought to take advantage of our fight with the Communists to keep our result strates.

advantage of our fight with the com-munists to keep our people divided. My great thanks go to the Steel-workers. Many of their locals are right to the same communities. Their con-

in the same communities. Their contract provides for this 15-cent-an-hour increase that we asked of Westinghouse in the same kind of contract, and they don't permit production standards for these day workers that Westinghouse is trying to impose.

They said to us, "We will make available to you a half million dollars," and they have so far, at the rate of \$50,000 a week, provided relief for our membership. The United Automobile Workers have done likewise. We had on arrival at this Convention today a union presenting a \$10,000 check, another union \$25,000. We have received over a million dollars from former AFL and Clounions.

I might say to you that with our resources as a union we could only pro-vide one dollar per member per week. vide one dollar per member per week. The Steelworkers made it possible to double that. The Auto Workers made it possible to triple it. With the help and assistance of the other unions we are able to multiply it by four. So we have four dollars per week per member for the purposes of giving relief to these great warriors, these courageous people who are fighting the battle so necessary for the continued existence labor.

I say to all of you, four dollars a week is all we are able to provide, but

week is all we are able to provide, but that is far more than we ever expected. Those 55,000 workers will continue their fight, and we look to the day when we can be of assistance to any other group confronted with the same kind of problem.

I have a detailed report of the strike, all the issues involved, and I would like to present this detailed book to the Secretary-Treasurer of the AFL-CIO, to be scrutinized by anyone who is interested in supporting this struggle. Thank you. Thank you.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Thank very much, Vice President Carey. you The Chair recognizes Delegate Kent.

DELEGATE KENT, Flight Engineers: DELEGATE KENT, Flight Engineers:
President Meany, members of the Executive Council, sister and brother delegates to this great Convention, I rise
to speak in support of 250 flight engineers of the United Air Lines who
are now in the seventh week of a
strike against that company.
In seven weeks there has been no
effort by the company, in spite of efforts
by the flight engineers, to settle this
dispute. The company's efforts have
been strictly on strike-breaking and
recruiting of scabs to continue to oper-

dispute. The company's entits have been strictly on strike-breaking and recruiting of scabs to continue to operate that air line.

These 250 flight engineers on United Air Lines are spread from New York to Honolulu, and we are attempting to the strictly of the strictly with that small membership some 80 airports across the 24 hours a day to give our to picket

to Honolulu, and we are attempting with that small membership to pleket some 30 airports across the country 24 hours a day to give our message to the traveling public and our fellow trade unionists around this country. We are in need of your support, moral support and financial support.

I want to bring to your attention the factor which has made it possible for United Air Lines to continue to operate a substantial part of their operation, and that is the strike-breaking and the scabbing of the members of the Air Line Pilots Association. I believe it is now common knowledge in this Convention for their acts of strike-breaking of the Air Line Pilots had their charter revoked by the Convention of the American Federation of Labor, which preceded this great Convention, for their acts of strike-breaking unless within 10 days they squared themselves for their anti-union activity and strike-breaking on the United Air Lines Strike. Six days of that ten-day period have now passed, and every pilot, scab and strike-breaker is still continuing to operate, and it appears now that the pilots do not care whether they stay in the great Federation represented here or not, but rather choose to be scabs and strike-breakers in that big strike.

We thought years ago that the era of the goon had passed. Yet we have a striker in a hospital in Portland, Oregon, at this moment who was struck from behind and has been in the hospital for about a week.

pital for about a week.

I ask you, ladies and gentlemen here present today, in returning to your various constituents to bring our strike and the struggle of these 250 men, spread thin as they are across the country, to your every member, and I ask your help and support to help these people win a strike for issues that are less than what we have gained in every other company in this industry this year.

Thank you very much for your atten-

PRESIDENT MEANY: With the permission of the Convention, I will set aside this discussion until we hear from our very distinguished guest. We will recognize the other speakers who was to speak on this question of support for striking unions.

. . . Mr. Adlai Stevenson was escorted to the platform.

PRESIDENT MEANY: I am very happy to present this morning one whom I am sure everyone in this hall knows and knows very well because of his tremendous campaign three years ago. However, perhaps a great many people do not know of his very splendid record as a public servant prior to that campaign. Of course, the people of Illinois know all about that, but I am sure a great many Americans do not know of that record. It is on the basis of that record and also on the basis of that record and also on the basis of the ideas, ideals and aspirations he presented to the American people three years ago that we are very happy to welcome him here again this morning to deliver an address to you and to tell us what he has on his mind for 1956.

It is a great deal of pleasure to present to you the Honorable Adial Stevenson.

HONORABLE ADLAI STEVENSON

Mr. Meany, Mr. Reuther, delegates from the ICFTU, delegates to the convention, visitors and friends: I thought when Mr. Meany introduced me and said that I was going to address you he might slip inadvertently and say that you were going to hear another address, because I have come to the full and painful awareness that you have had almost a week of convention oratory, and I am sure, Mr. Meany, that whatever I may say you will have heard said at least twice before and at least once better.

Furthermore, if you should conclude that you have heard exactly the same speech before I would ask you to be charitable, because there are only so many combinations of the English language that are possible, and I am sure they have all been used here this week.

week.

Moreover, after your long deliberations here and the long evenings and afternoons that you have spent in the cultural centers of New York, in the museums, the art galleries, I am sure

AFL-CIO

that the merger that would appeal to most of you most would be with your

Yet you must have had a feeling of participation in an historic occasion, for here in a very real sense history and destiny have come together for a moment in time.

Behind this meeting lies a century and a half of preparation, of building, of upward struggle, of fighting for a liberty no working man could win liberty no working man alone, but only in company with his

During much of that period there was freedom for enterprise but little for labor. Samuel Gompers and the dedicated men and women around him faced a system that dealt with them cruelly and unfairly, that made them the victims of violence, of espionage, of injunctions and yellow dog contracts. It is a measure of their fortior injunctions and yellow dog con-tracts. It is a measure of their forti-tude and character that they fought back—not to destroy that system, but knowing its basic worth, to improve it by seeking, through collective action,

by seeking, through collective action, equality of economic strength for labor. We stand today beneath the giant tree they planted, But it remained for others to make organized labor and collective bargaining truly vital and effective forces in our economic democracy. Phil Murray, Bill Green, Sidney Hillman, Martin Durkin—from my own State of Illinois—and those who work with them, were not just great leaders of American labor; they were great Americans.

Americans

And now today there is this new achievement of a labor statesmanship as bold and constructive as any that achievement of a labor statesmanship as bold and constructive as any that has gone before. It has added to labor's development that element that has in the past twenty years been lacking. This week the two halves of a bridge that has long been building have been brought together. Where there was separateness and division now there is unity. Where there was incompleteness now there is completeness.

To you, George Meany, and to you walter Reuther, and to all of you in the labor movement, a nation is indebted for making America—and there-

debted for making America-and there-

gented for making America—and therefore freedom—stronger.
You will hardly believe it, but I have read your new constitution. Indeed, I want to take as the text for my remarks the opening statement in your Preamble—that in this merger "is an expression of the hopes and aspirations of the working people of America."

America."

What are these hopes and aspirations and what is your proper course in pursuing them?

They are, to begin with, I suggest the hopes and aspirations not just of labor, not just of any single group in America, but of all Americans.

This means ALL Americans—without regard to race or religion or national origin. "All colors" your Convention motto says, and "all creeds."
I hope with all my heart that there will be in this united labor movement no compromise with this essential basic principle principle

There has been too much preaching and not enough practicing of what true equality of opportunity really means.

Now by putting your own house in order you are helping to put the nation's house in order, and I suspect that your leadership on this front may well prove one of the most immediate, yet most enduring, fruits of your new union.

There is another vital aspect to this matter of the unity of American hopes and aspirations. I intended, when I accepted your invitation, not to let this even savor of a political speech. I propose, nevertheless, to speak bluntly about what appears to be a design to play the ugly politics of group conflict and hatred.

It started with the Secretary of Ag-

It started with the Secretary of Agriculture's attempt to blame the farm current depression on the er's current depresses. And now the worker's wage increase. And now the the Chairman of the Republican Senathe Chairman of the Republican Senathe Chairman of the Republican Senather Chairman of the Republican S torial Committee has charged labor leaders with organizing "a conspiracy of national proportions" to take over the federal government; the National Chairman of the "Salute to Eisenhower" dinners has made his curious insinuatdinners has made his curious insinuating statement that labor became a potent political force in America at about the same time as the rise of the Nazi Party in Germany; a member of the cabinet has said that he doesn't "happen to go along with some of the 'goons', who are "running things"; and a Republican state chairman has proclaimed that labor leaders are "Marxist-Socialist bosses who are trying to take this country down a rathole." And by the way, that must be the biggest rathole that the Republicans have contrived yet.

contrived vet

contrived yet.

Now I say to you, soberly that this is dangerous politics. This is divisive and therefore destructive. We in this country are just emerging from a long and shameful interval of hate and fear and slander. Today McCarthyism is out of style. But is a similar hate campaign in the making around distorted images of "goons" and "power hungry labor bosses," ugly phrases we hear almost daily? Must the image of America be further defaced? Is this, indeed, an attempt to stir up class conflict? tempt to stir up class conflict?

No election, no office, is worth such

a price?

I suggest we put an end to this and quick. And I am glad to note that voices of protest against these attacks have risen among our Republican friends. I even saw a headline, Mr. Meany, as I was coming to New York the other day: GOP Ranks Split Over Assaults on Labor. Well, the first part of that—GOP Ranks Split—was hardly worth a headline. After the divisions we have witnessed in the Republican party over foreign policy, farm policy, McCarthyism and whatnot it occurred to me, as I thought of this merger in the labor movement, that the next great merger of important, influential groups which price! of important, influential groups which this country needs most is a merger in the Republican party. Maybe these gen-tlemen who denounce you so freely tlemen who denounce you so freely could use you to help them get together. And by the way, if you find any of them who find an unhappy home in the merged party, well, there will always he a light burning in a Democratic window.

window.

But it remains basically important that this matter of labor's relationship to the rest of the society be faced so-

berly, not as an excuse for arousing passions and fears, but as an opportunity for increasing democracy's strength to

for increasing democracy's strength to its maximum.

This Federation has already served a clear notice I take it, that it proposes to measure its responsibilities by its power, and to make no demands as a special interest.

You have left no question, on the score of responsibility within your ranks about your intentions and your capacities to keep communism out of labor unions. You have left no doubt that you will deal vigorously and effectively with racketeers and those who abuse their stewardship of welfare or pension funds. pension funds.

pension funds.

I have read the resolutions of this Convention. They speak plainly and eloquently your full realization that labor can solve its problems as America solves its problems.

solves its problems.

Speaking of labor's public responsibility, I had an experience on Sunday at my home near Chicago. I was visited by a very intelligent South American who seemed a little surprised when I told him that while I had hopes, I didn't know how the 15 million union workers would vote in the next election, but that I was certain that a separate Labor party in the European sense of a great political machine would not come out of this merger. I told him that labor was not a disciplined voting minority in this country, and that working people voted not on and that working people voted not on orders but on convictions. And I told him, too, that nowadays those convicorders but the think too, that nowadays those convictions rested not on any separate status a man might have as a trade unionist but on his status as a citizen with his own ideas about what is good for him and for his country.

That's the way it is, and I think

and for his country.
That's the way it is, and I think that's the way it ought to be.
But let's be equally clear about this too: That the more people who take part in the processes of American Government the stronger it is going to be—and the better informed they are the better job of democratic self-government they are going to do. Democracy needs all the political participation it can get out of just as many individuals and just as many responsible groups as is possible. Like you, I have been asneeds all the political participation it can get out of just as many individuals and just as many responsible groups as is nossible. Like you, I have been astonished by some worried declarations. I've heard in the last few days about the dangers of an unlimited franchise for working people and their organized political activities. And while I've adverted to this subject of voting let me say that like you, too, and every democracy-loving person in America, Republican or Democrat, I've been shocked and shamed by the recent reports of bloody violence and gross intimidation to prevent people from exercising their right, indeed their duty, to vote in one section of our country.

I say that what is true politically, so far as the responsibility of this great labor union is concerned, is also true economically.

Many of us, I think, have been distance.

economically.

Many of us, I think, have been disturbed in recent years by the implications of bigness: big business, big labor, big government, mass communications, mass mindedness, mass manipulationgrowing massiveness in everything. Little businesses, independent businesses.

are vanishing like the autumn leaves. And as labor and industry get larger the consumer gets smaller. He is fast becoming the forgotten man.

becoming the forgotten man.

So I have been gratified by the resolutions adopted at this convention which reflect clearly your recognition of these other interests, particularly of the consumer. Glant as labor now is it recognizes that the consumer is its sovereign and will have ultimately always the last word.

word.

For the one thing we all are is consumers, and we get the right answers to most of our economic problems by consulting our interests as consumers. And so I would submit—in answer to those who seek to breed antagonisms and conflict between labor and other interests—that the effective working of terests—that the effective working of twentieth century democratic capitalism in America depends upon full recognition that organized labor is an essential

in America depends upon full recognition that organized labor is an essential and a responsible partner in the economy and the community; that it is concerned not only with the problems of labor as labor, but even more with those of citizens as citizens, of people as people; that the hopes and aspirations of "working people" are the hopes and aspirations of all people.

Now there are some who seem to think that America's hopes and aspirations have all been satisfied, that we have reached our goal, our end—that we have the twin blessings of peace and prosperity, and that all we need from here on is pep talks and platitudes. Indeed, in this day of policy by slogan and conviction by capsule—like progressive conservatism, or conservative dynamism, or even paralytic liberalism, I'm expecting to hear any day some solemn statesman promise to tread a careful line between partiality and impartiality!

But whoever says that we have arrived at our goal, that this is the best fall possible worlds convicts himself

tween partiality and impartiality!

But whoever says that we have arrived at our goal, that this is the best of all possible worlds, convicts himself of the twin sins of complacency and ignorance. He must know very little about the unsatisfied wants—and about the dreams—of people. He must know little and care less.

Our greatest hope, our most consuming aspiration, is of course for peace, for peace with freedom, without which there can be no tolerable peace.

Since the disturbing state of the world has been discussed so ably and so recently by the distinguished Governor of New York, let me only say here today that it seems to me among the brightest promises of this new Federation that the powers and resources of America labor for peace may not be even more fully realized.

Our country's role in winning wars, labor's role in helping to win wars, has been duly recognized.

But its potential for winning peace has not been—even despite the accomplishments of American labor representatives in fighting Communism on its own ground, where it counts most, in the factories of Europe, in the rice fields of Asia, and all around the world.

In the long run the issue between Communism and Democracy is going to be finally settled not in the counsels of diplomats or by the heads of government, but in the minds and hearts—yes, and the stomachs—of the multitudes of the ordinary working people

of Africa, of Europe, yes, and

of Asia, of Africa, of Europe, of the Americas, too.
The voice of our America which can speak most clearly and persuasively to these people is the voice of American labor—of the AFL-CIO. I know that from this Convention there will go out to working men and women in every country—who speak a multitude of tongues but who have it in common tongues but who have the common tongues b country—who speak a multitude of tongues but who have it in common that they work with their hands and hold freedom in their hearts—the report of democracy's deeds and of how much more real they are than Communism's hollow promises. And I am glad you representatives from the ICFTU are here to carry back to your people that message.

message. Here at home our central purpose is, in its broadest sense, to create fuller lives for all our people. I am acutely conscious of the fact that virtually every speaker who has appeared before you this week has developed that theme. But it is that important to our thinking. For this is a time of transition from the old to the new; from the small to the big; from embattled labor, if your please, to mighty labor; from national isolation to national involvement. It is a time of transition, too, from the ancient problem of sharing scarcity to the modern problem of disscarcity to the mod tributing abundance. the modern problem of dis

Yet we must start from a recogni-tion of the ironical fact that in this age abundance there remain today ion people in America who million

million people in America who are still seeking freedom from want.

The New Deal began the campaign against poverty and injustice under that good American whom you will honor later today, Franklin Roosevelt. That campaign progressed with conviction and courage under another fighting leader, President Harry Truman, I am sure our present distinguished President's objectives are identically the same. same

But the task is far from finished if we are to live in health and decency. While we count with gratitude all the While we count with gratitude all the blessings we already enjoy, it is sobering to reflect that in a nation where a single company is making this year, before taxes, over two billion dollars, some eight million families are trying to make ends meet on \$2,000 or less—hardly half of what is required to maintain a minimum level of decent living. The question is not whether we are for or against prosperity. The question is whether we are for or against doing anything about the fact that 30 million Americans today don't have

Americans today don't

prosperity.
Some of you live in farming country.
You know what has happened to farm Some of you live in farming country. You know what has happened to farm income since 1952—and you know, too, what effect it has on business in your localities. I am glad that labor has joined fully in the demands for a new and adequate federal farm program. Some of you live in the "depressed areas"—the textile towns, the coal fields, other areas where shortened work days and darkened plants have again become the rule, and where national statistics cannot dull the miseries of unemployment.

unemployment. If we want to keep today's relative If we prosperity everyone must share it. It is even truer today than it was when the Knights of Labor devised their slogan

that "An injury to one is an injury to all."

And there is more to be done to improve our economic shock absorbers. prove our economic snock approved the following the follow

extended and its benefits made more realistic. And where industries work out guaranteed wage or supplementary compensation systems, these efforts should not be stymied by administrative or legislative roadblocks.

Yet the battle against insecurity is only half the battle for a better life A full dinner pail is a necessity. But Americans have never lived by bread alone. We have lived by ideals and by moral values. And in your new Constitution, you list among our goals the "strengthening and extension of our way of life" and increasing the "dignity of the human individual." What do these phrases really mean?

of the human individual."
What do these phrases really mean?
Well, they mean that we want our
children to grow up, not in ramshackle
country shacks or in ugly city slums,
but in decent surroundings, where they
can see the sun and breathe the air.
They mean that we want our children

to go to school, not in crowded class-rooms or in basements or on half-day shifts, but in decent buildings with good teachers proud of their responsi-

mean that when our children are sick we want them to have decent medical care—and not suffer while the family hesitates because of the doctor's

When they grow old, we want them to have the decent security which a life's work entitles them to.

Yes, and the strengthening of our way of life means, too, making more secure the rights of labor to organize and to bargain collectively—to make democracy work in the plant, in the shop, on the job, in people's daily working lives. The laws must be fair to all: to the workers, to the employers, and to the people, too. The so-called right-to-work laws do not meet this test. And there has long been agreement that many of the provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act are inequitable and unworkable and should be changed or removed. removed.

removed.

We must look ahead now to the handling of new factors in America's exciting economic future—to automation, to the peaceful use of atomic energy, to other miracles of progress just opening up. They must be used to increase the standard of living for the many, not just the standard of luxury for the few—to produce more leisure and not more unemployment. It will take careful planning, much more than there has been so far, to see to it that progress pays off in time—time for all of us—time to enjoy the really good of us—time t to enjoy the really

things in life.

These are our hopes and aspirations, the meaning of "dignity of the human individual." They are the proportions of the human challenge of 1956.

And let no one say that this genera-tion cannot meet that challenge. The plain fact is that we have today, as a people, the wealth to do all of these things. The only question is whether we have the well to do them. I think have.

We conquered the depression—working together. And we won the war—

working together. But we have not learned to work fully together to use the fruits of abundance for our broader welfare—for our programs for education, for hospitals, for slum clearance and urban rehabilitation, for social security. None of these things which we must do together have kept up with our expanding national wealth.

What then will it take to meet this challenge, to satisfy our hopes and aspirations for something beyond the heaping up of material abundance?

Well, it will take a willingness to do together what cannot be done by individuals alone. I think there is among us this full willingness today.

It will take, too, a leadership which has faith in the future, and vision, and an understanding of what the people of America really want, and of how much they really want it.

It will take a government which finds s mandates in consideration of the eneral welfare, and of no single ingeneral terest.

It will take a commitment that in our daily lives we live by the Bill of Rights to which we subscribe as a nation. It will take a refusal ever to be satisfied, a vision of an America growing ever more beautiful and a freedom ever more complete, a deep conviction, if you please, in the continued perfectability of the human spirit.

It will take the full-hearted belief of all of us that we in America have only just begun to live.

These, and nothing less than these, are our hopes and aspirations.

A nation's best wishes go with you of labor as you set out now on your united, stronger pursuit of these high purposes. purposes

Good luck.

PRESIDENT MEANY: We note that Governor Stevenson said at the opening of his address that the things he was going to say had most likely been said before during this week. But I am sure we can all agree that, while there may have been attempts before this week to set forth the ideals and aspirations of this great organization for not only its members but for the American people, if they were said they were not said as well as he said them to us this morning.

So in your behalf I wish to say very simply what you have perhaps said a great deal better by your response to his address—thank you very, very much Governor Stevenson.

address—thank you very, very much Governor Stevenson.

We will now return to the subject matter which we interrupted in order to hear Governor Stevenson. That was the report of the Resolutions Committee on the subject of "Support for Striking Unions."

Resumption of Discussion on Resolution-Support of Unions on Strike

DELEGATE HOWARD WALTON, Florida Industrial Union Council: Mr. President, on the resolution, "Supporting Unions on Strike," I feel that I would be remiss today if I did not mention the recent 72-day, strike of the Communications Workers of America in the nine Southern states. Down there we have support in reality, and we have support

of the type that would exemplify what we are attempting to do with this merged

organization.

organization.
Oftentimes the success of a strike in a good many small communities depends on the wholehearted support that we have from our brothers in the AFL unions. on the wholehearted support that we have from our brothers in the AFL unions. And I would just like to take this opportunity to say thanks very much for a job that was well done. We appreciated it, and if everybody else can get the type of support while on strike that you folks gave to us, I am quite sure we will lick the job and the anti-union legislation down there in the South.

PRESIDENT MEANY: The Chair recognizes President Miller of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees

DELEGATE EDWARD MILLER, Hotel

DELEGATE EDWARD MILLER, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: President Meany and delegates: I think that you have read enough about our Miami Beach and Miami Hotel strike, but I would like to bring you up to date on what is going on in Miami at the present time.

Our fight in Florida was to stop men and women from working 14 hours a day and 7 days a week. We have heard so much here this week on what is going on behind the Iron Curtain, if we only travel through the South we would find some of the same conditions prevailing in that territory.

Our International Union is not here to solicit funds. Fortunately, we have a very sizable defense fund. But we are here to ask you for moral support. I might say that when the Mayor of New York City was in Miami just a few days ago he refused to go into one of the non-union hotels. Also at this same meeting was the previous speaker, Mr. Stevenson, who also refused to go into the hotel. Just this week a notice went out over the press that Harry Truman was going into the San Souci—one of the non-union, one of the scabblest hotels in Miami Beach. As sure as I know Harry Truman and as you know him, you can bet your life that on January 27th he will be registered in a union hotel.

Our International Union has spent over one million dollars fighting the non-union association that exists in

over one million dollars fig non-union association that hting the exists in fighting

Miami.

It is our desire to see that these people who come under our jurisdiction allotted to us by the American Federa-tion of Labor receive a living and a liv-

allotted to us by the American Federation of Labor receive a living and a livable wage—not a slave wage.

So, therefore, may I ask, Mr. Chairman, that when the delegates go to Miami and Miami Beach you see that you are registered in a union hotel. We have four at the present time, and we hope to have more in the near future.

For your information, we are striking three big hotels within the next two weeks. Without your help and without your continued support in the press and in your magazines, both A. F. of L. and CIO, and the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, we cannot win this fight. We need your moral help. I am sure through the new merged Council that they see the importance of our laying the foundation of a labor movement in the South that is so badly needed.

Thank you needed. Thank you.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Is there further discussion on the report of the Resolutions Committee on the question of support for striking unions? If not,

we will proceed to vote.

The motion is to adopt the report.
Those favoring the motion signify by saying aye; contrary minded, no.

The motion is carried, and it is so

ordered.

PRESENTATION OF RINGS To President Meany and Vice President Reuther

PRESIDENT MEANY: The Chair recognizes Delegate Tom Murphy of the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union,

DELEGATE MURPHY: President Meany and delegates to this Convention: During the two or three days of this Convention: During the two or three days of this Convention I have read in the papers that it has been called a marriage. In most instances a marriage symbolizes an exchange of gifts or at least an exchange of rings between the interested parties. In that connection, on behalf of the Executive Committee of the Bricklayers of New York City, Mr. Andrew Lawler, Secretary, and Albert Cerussi, Chairman, I have been asked in their behalf—and it is with a great deal of pride and pleasure that I present to the principal parties in this "moiger," as Marty Lacey calls it, or merger—Honorable George Meany aring signifying the marriage or merger of merget—nonline delige or merger of two great organizations—a ring that you will not be able to see, but I will take the opportunity to describe.

It is two clasped hands, significant

of the clasped hands that you see the poster. It comes apart and is in-scribed on one side "NYEC" and on the other side "AFL-ClO". The hands join in one great federation that we have seen married and born this week in this hall

I would like to take this opportunity on behalf of the Bricklayers and Plast-erers International Union to present this ring first to President Meany.

. . . Mr. Murphy presented the ring described to President Meany.

DELEGATE MURPHY: The principals DELEGATE MURPHY: The principals in a marriage ought to be joining hands rather than me. I am appearing here probably as the officiating clergyman without benefit of portfolio.

I will now call President Reuther to the platform to receive the same token of our esteem and affection.

. . Vice President Reuther came to the platform and received a similar ring.

ring.

DELEGATE MURPHY: President Meany and Vice President Reuther, on behalf of the organization which I am proud to represent I thank you very

PRESIDENT MEANY: Thank you, Brother Murphy, and through you also our thanks to the New York Executive Committee of the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union.

Following an announcement Secretary Schnitzler of the time and lo-cation of a meeting of delegates rep-resenting AFL-ClO Government Em-ployee Unions, the Convention recessed at 12:30 o'clock, P.M. until 2:00 o'clock, P.M.

FOURTH DAY-THURSDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

The Convention was called to order by President Meany at 2:10 o'clock.

AFL-CIO ENTERTAINERS

PRESIDENT MEANY: This afternoon session will start off with a little entertainment for a few minutes from some entertainers, all members of the AFL-CIO. We are going to revive the memory ciu. We are going to revive the memory of some very lovely songs from the musical comedy, "Pins and Needles," which was produced by the ILGWU here some 17 or 18 years ago. I have asked one of America's outstanding actors to present these people to you. This man is a great actor on TV, film and stage. He is also a very good union man. He just finished a great performance in the show, "Inherit the Wind." And he is a friend of many of the people sitting in this hall.

It is a pleasure to

It is a pleasure to present to you our good friend Melvyn Douglas.

MR. MELVYN DOUGLAS: It is a great pleasure to be here for the minutes that I will be here this afternoon. It is most encouraging to see this vast Convention with thousands of delegates, I suppose I can say. It has been a very exciting experience for me to read the press coverage of this Convention, to be able to follow at home on radio and on television what has been going on here. It has been unusually exciting to read in the New York Times magazine section a lead been going on here. It has been unusually exciting to read in the New York Times magazine section a lead article by your great new President. This has been particularly exciting for those of you who remember the days of 1932 and 1933, the picket lines in '34 and '35, then '36 and '37, the great upsurge of organization which revitalized the labor movement in America. And then to see this as a climax of all those years is really an exciting occasion. sion

Late in November, 1937, a little and at the time a rather unpretentious musical show opened in what used to be the old Princess Theatre of this city. Those of us whose lives are wrapped up with the theater cannot forget that littless the state of the s with the theater cannot forget that little review. It was destined to make history in the labor movement, as well as in the theater. In that New Deal year a group of garment workers got up from their machines, laid aside their shears, put down their pressing irons, and to everyone's surprise became actors with the aid of a group of talented sketch writers, composers and scenic designers. With that remarkable man, David Dubinsky, acting as a sort of Garment Workers Ziegfield, they put their hopes into song, their joy into dance, their sophistication into satire, and made that little theater rock with songs of social significance. significance.

well, the rest is history. These garment workers sang and danced themselves into the heart of America all over America. The critics hailed the show. Ladies in mink shared standing room with operators from nearby garment shops. More than one million people throughout the country were to see that show.

In February of 1938 the boys and girls from the shops staged a command per-formance of "Pins and Needles" for resident Franklin D. Roosevelt at the White House

"Pins and Needles" showed the world that labor could laugh at itself as well as others. Its refreshing vigor and frankness was a new note on Broadway. It put labor's faith to music, in a way, and made audiences laugh while they learned. As one song put it, "It is better with a union man," or made its confusing point clear by spelling out the tactics common to both love and labor in a song entitled, "One Big Union For Two." 'Pins and Needles" showed the world

in a song entitled, "One Big Union For Two."

The charm and freshness of the songs and lyrics in this show came from a young man who is still making Broadway and the world sing his songs. He started with "Pins and Needles" and went on to become the successful composer and lyricist of "Wish You Were Here," "Fanny," which is now probably the big hit still, and the wonderful little review in which I was involved as a coproducer called, "Call Me Mister."

The songs of "Pins and Needles" have lost little of their original punch. A high point of that review was a number sung by Harry Clark, who is now appearing in "Will Success Spoil Rock Hunter."

And here again today with us is

Hunter.

Hunter."
And here again today with us is
Harry Clark, who is going to repeat the
show-stopping number from "Pins and
Needles," which is called, "It's Better
With A Union Man."—Harry Clark
... Harry Clark sang "It's Better
With A Union Man".

MR. DOUGLAS: Thank you very much. I don't think we will have much trouble in the future with organizing. Harold Rome—a good union man himself—member of Local 802—can't help putting the world around him into his music. He was already humming the tune when Dave Dubinsky dropped the word to him last week that labor unity was worth singing about The men who wrote the score dropped the word to him last week that labor unity was worth singing about. The man who wrote the songs of social significance for "Pins and Needles" has now put the significance of the great events that have transpired in this hall into music and lyrics. It is a grand song, with a simple title "One Union". And here to sing it for you is that fine tenor, Jack Cassidy. This is its world premiere. It is hot of the griddle, just written last night.

. . . Jack Cassidy sang "One Union".

DOUGLAS: And now I think we should ask to come up here the man who wrote all of those songs and who has helped out the singers, the fellow who is really responsible for it, Harold Rome.

Mr. Rome rose and acknowledged the introduction.

MR. DOUGLAS: Thank you, Harold Rome, Florence Henderson, Jack Washburn, and Harry Clark.

member of almost all the Entertainment Unions, may I express my great and sincere pride in having been asked to come here today to help lighten the load of these deliberations. I hope I speak for the 100,000 or more workers of our great entertainment industry, all of them members of the AFL-CIO, when I say that we wish you well in the great work through which you are shaping right here in this great hall a better and finer and brighter future for the coming generations of America.

MEANY: Our sincer-Melvyn Douglas and PRESIDENT to Melvyn I y, who just larry Clark w appreciation oreclation to the first sang one ik Cassidy, who just sang for ion", to Harry Clark who sang for "It's Better With a Union Man", and "It's Better With a Union Man", and the Wash-Union" us "It's Better With a Union Man, and to Florence Henderson and Jack Washburn for their rendition of "One Big Union For Two" and also to Harold Rome who wrote the words and music to this song you just heard a moment

. . . At this time Mrs. Eleanor Roose velt was escorted to the speaker's the speaker's platform.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Ladies and Gentlemen, to me this is the highlight of this Convention—the opportunity to present to you the No. 1 lady, the first lady of the entire world, Mrs. Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

MRS. FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT

Chairman, ladies and gentlemen: I feel very much at home with this Convention, because, as you know, I am a union member too. I belong to the American Newspaper Guild.

Something very nice happened to me as I was coming over. I found that on my reception committee was Miss Wray. I had not met Miss Wray for a long while and she reminded me a long while and she reminded me that we had once walked a picket line together. It was a good many years ago, and I had almost forgotten it, but it gave me a nice and friendly feeling to remember that little incident, when Rose Schneiderman was adjustic. Rose Schneiderman was educating labor, particularly of women labor that time, and she was a good of

I am very happy to be here at this historic meeting when the two great labor groups in this country are coming together to join their forces. Some people have said that they were afraid of this merger. I want to tell you that I am very happy over this merger because I feel that it will give labor in this country more power to exert influence. It will be natural to tell you that not only will this strengthen you and achieve greater success in the you that not only will this strengthen you and achieve greater success in the interest of labor, but my feeling is that labor really today includes almost all American citizens, and, therefore it is not only on your added power and influence that I would like to say that the most important thing is that since you have this new power you will also except greater responsibility as citizens. have this new power you will also accept greater responsibility as citizens and you will become a greater influence in American life, and your influence vill be an influence for the well-being of all the people of our country. If hope it will also be an influence for the well-being of all the people of the world.

These two things are what I wanted to talk to you about in the few minutes that we will have together. I feel that it is a good thing for all of us that what I take it represents the greater mass of intelligent people in our counmass of intelligent people in our country should gain power. I think we have gone through a great change in this country, and as I go out into the world I think it is this change which has come about largely because of the growing strength of labor, which has change is not often noticed but it has come gradually.

There are fewer people today who are isolated way off at the top because they happen to be the very fortunate people, and cut off from many of the interests and the anxieties and the happinesses of the average people who work and play and feel a kinship with the great mass of the people of our country.

We also have a much smaller group at the other end, people who cannot say that they have the decencies of life.

can remember condition Because time, I can remember the labor movement conditions when the labor movement was just beginning its struggle, and sometimes now I think that most of you have probably forgotten what it was like to be a labor leader in those early days. Sometimes it is hard to remember how much heroism went into actually having the force of labor organized in this country. Many of you have had your whole working lives in a period when conditions of labor and conditions of life were so much worse for large segments of the people that you perhaps would hardly recognize those conditions if somebody told you about beginditions somebody told you about them today.

In the days when Rose Schneiderman as educating me, which was a long hile ago, I was taken into sweatshops. while ago, I was taken into sweatshops. I was taken into places where little children worked at making flowers, artificial flowers of feathers—a number of things that you could do at home with little hands. I went into factories where conditions were very different with little hands. I went into factories where conditions were very different from what you will find today. And I went into homes where conditions were very different. That segment of society our country has grown decidedly naller over these years.
What has greatly increased is this smaller

what has greatly increased is this middle segment of our people who have a decent home, a chance to eat enough, to clothe their children well, to give their children an education, to work under decent conditions. That has come because of the rising strength of labor. Now you have different responsibili-

Now, you have different responsibilities. You have responsibilities because of your greater strength for conditions in our country as a whole. You have to be better educated than ever before. You have to recognize economic prob-lems as a whole. You have to underlems as a whole. You have to understand what the relationship is between the problems of your own country and the problems of the world, because our nation, because of its strength has become a leader in the free world and therefore has taken on responsibilities for the peoples of the world.

You are going to have greater opportunities to send out yours people to

tunities to send out young people

help the peoples of other areas of the world. You, better than many people are going to understand what conditions are in areas of the world where life for the people is miserable.

I was interested in a little incident that happened to me the other day. I was driving in a taxicab, and the taxicab man said to me, "Mrs. Roosevelt, you believe that we ought to help people in other areas of the world live better, don't you?"

And I said, "Of course I do."

And I said, "Of course I do."
And he said, "Well, I had a guy who was very well dressed in this taxicab, and he told me that he didn't see why these other countries couldn't take care of their own troubles; what did we have to do something for India and Indonesia and Africa for? They could do for their people just the way we did for ourselves."

selves."

And he said, "I looked at him and said,
'I was in the Air Force during the war.
Have you ever been in India?"
And I said, "Did you serve in India?"
He said, "Yes, I served in India and I served in North Africa, and I talked to people and I know they can't in those areas of the world do for their people unless we help."

Now that is very interesting. But it

where the state of the state of

or of equal opportunity or of better conditions of labor unless we have them.

We have to learn to live together, all of our people, as equal citizens. We have to learn not to look down on people because they have less opportunity, but to help them have more opportunity so that we can feel we are all equal as citizens in our country. That means that having done that we have a great responsibility to use all of our means to actually help the peoples of the world.

I have done a great deal of studying, not only of conditions here in our country but conditions in many parts of the world. There is much that I don't know. I wish I knew much more, because we mean aged to make great changes here at home and we have done it through the education of the mass of our people and through the leadership that came from among the people. We can have an influence in our Government if we will take the trouble.

I sometimes am a little grieved to find that among us living in a democracy where the people can control their government we sometimes do not take the trouble to be active enough in bringing trouble to be active enough in bringing about the conditions which we know should exist. That means we have to work to find out, very often. We have to be active to get the right candidates. We have to suport them once they are in office and we have to know about the issues.

You can't be lazy in your mind if you are going to be a good citizen in a democracy. Your mind has to work and you need more education.

We need to watch our education, which is at a critical period today. There are lots of youngsters today who are not being fairly treated. In many cases there are youngsters who cannot go to school until noon. They don't get the most out of their education. They have used up much of their energy in the hours when they are not in school, and they will not do as well in school.

There is no reason why we cannot see to it that the policy of our Government, state and national, is fair to our children, that they do not come to a complicated world which requires greater understanding of the world without proper preparation.

I have watched our youngsters in different parts of the world, in the Army, in the Navy, in businesses, in government agencies, and sometimes I have been sad because they had not started with proper preparation. They must learn in primary school to think about people as people, not to assume that because my skin is white and your skin is yellow or black that you are not capable of development as I am capable. That has to begin with our education in primary school. I have watched our youngsters in dif-

nas to begin with our education in primary school.

Then you have to learn about countries and customs and habits of people, and religion. We send our youngsters out often so badly prepared. Now we, the greatest number of people in organized labor, will have more power for good—also more power for evil—than we have ever had before. I believe that going to be power for good.

I believe that we are going to understand the problems of the world as a whole. What we have been doing of late is to wait until some particular problem could no longer be ignored and then try to settle that problem. You can't do that today. You have to have a world picture all the time in your mind and try to make the pieces fit together to work toward the main stream of what you want done in the world.

We very often take a position at the polevel. It is a position which is taken

to work toward the main stream of what you want done in the world.

We very often take a position at the top level. It is a position which is taken on one single idea and neglects many of the things that ought to come into the thinking. You and I believe that disarmament, for instance, is one of the things that we would like to see happen. We would like to see countries begin to disarm and put more strength into the United Nations, in the hope that eventually, as our habit of talking over and settling difficulties around the table grows to be a habit, we will not need to use force. That may take a very long time, but we should bear in mind that the central thing we want is an advance in disarmament. We should not, therefore, be frozen into a position of saying that one particular thing has to happen. pen.

pen.

I will give you an example. We have said that we must re-arm Germany. I know the reasons why, just as you do. We want a buffer, a first line of defense, in case the Soviet Union ever wants to roll across Europe. So we have decided that Germany must be re-armed. The Soviets have said no unification of Germany until Germany agrees to be neutral. We apparently have never thought that possibly if we used this as a bargaining point for disarmament we might

AFL-CIO

move forward a step in disarmament. So that it is not so important whether Germany is armed or not, because everyone might know what is allowed to everybody else and Germany would just be allowed a certain amount, as would other states, but we might have achieved the beginning of disarmament both on one side of the Iron Curtain and on the other. This is just a suggestion of what I mean by thinking in wider terms, in broader areas, and not being frozen in positions. frozen in positions

Our people will have to begin to think in these terms, or at least be ready to listen to people who want to talk to them on these subjects and to listen in-telligently, because unless our people them on these subjects and to listen intelligently, because unless our people tell their government representatives what they want to do, our government representatives are going to be afraid to try anything new for fear of what might happen to them if something they tried turned out to be wrong.

I am of the belief that it is better to acknowledge that you have made a wrong step and retrace that step and try something else than to do nothing

most of the time.

I have come today to congratulate you—to congratulate you on achieving a difficult task. You will have difficulties and you will have problems, but you will work them out because your leaders. will work them out because your leaders have intelligence and a desire to work them out. This same thing can, I think, eventually come in the world. Perhaps you are pointing the way in the way you have gone about meeting your problems. I congratulate you and I wish you well. I hope that the merger does mean more power for the people of the country, but I hope the people of the country who are the members of these great willing to a great of the country of the people of the country who are the members of these great whose are going to be willing to do the

try who are the members of these great unions are going to be willing to do the work to get the education, to begin the understanding, both at home and abroad, that will mean that you are coming to a better power as a beacon light here at home and throughout the world. Actually you have started a great change which will bring about a better life to all of our people and a bet-ter life and greater hope—because many people will have to live on hope for some time to come—to all the peoples of the world.

God bless you.

PRESIDENT MEANY: I am sure I express the opinion of all present when I say that this was the outstanding address of the Convention. Our thanks to a great lady, Mrs. Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

Introduction of Miss Rose Schneiderman

PRESIDENT MEANY: This is Rose Schneiderman, a veteran worker in the trade union movement for women in all the shops and all the plants in this part of the world.

. . . Miss Schneiderman rose and acknowledged the introduction.

Death of C. W. Burchfield

PRESIDENT MEANY: I regret to announce the death of one of our delegates to this Convention early this morning.

Brother Charles Burchfield, the Assistant General President of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, passed away very early this morning of a heart attack.

REPORT OF RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE (Resumed)

PRESIDENT MEANY: I call upon co-Secretary Soderstrom to resume the

ORGANIZING THE UNORGANIZED

. . . Committee co-Secretary Soderstrom presented the following resolution:

The new merged labor movement faces a great and challenging task: organization of the unorganized. The pirit of labor unity more effective job. to spirit of equips us

We must bring the benefits and prowe must bring the benefits and pro-tection of unionism to millions of un-organized workers who need, deserve and must have them. The task will require our most vigorous efforts. It will require the rallying of the com-bined members and resources of the trade union movement as never before. We must dedicate ourselves whole-heartedly to the fulfilling of this great mission.

In recent years, there have been some notable gains in union organization and we properly hall them. But frankness compels the conclusion that unionization of new areas or new industries during the past decade has not kept pace. The great gains recorded in the 1930s and 1940s have not been matched during the past few years. Growth in total union membership has come primarily from economic expanin establishments and industries sion already organized.

Frankness also compels the admis-Frankness also compels the admission that too great a portion of organizing effort in the last ten years has been devoted to recruiting workers previously organized by others. Fortunately, this development has been substantially slowed down in the period since the no-raiding agreement has been in effect, and will, it is hoped, be entirely eliminated in the years ahead. ahead.

ahead.

The approximately 17 million workers who are organized today represent only one out every three wage and salary workers employed in the United States. Some of those now unorganized are in supervision or in other such activities as will probably keep them outside the union movement. There is no sound economic reason why the remaining great bulk of those now unorganized should not have the aid and protection which only unionism can afford them.

The trade union movement's chief.

The trade union movement's objective in the years immediately ahead must be at least the doubling of union membership. This is indeed a tremendous challenge, but through our combined efforts, we can and will help

unorganized workers achieve unionization.

We cannot afford to be satisfied with past gains alone. The significant gains won by trade unions in the last 20 years are always threatened as long as large pockets of unorganized workers remain.

Beyond this, the ability of organized labor to play its full role in the life of the nation, to advance standards of living for all, is limited by the numbers for which it is able to speak. The necessary support to an expanding economy is not available when only a third of the labor force is represented in collective bargaining.

Low standards prevailing among most unorganized workers are a depressing influence on the national economy. Organization would raise their standards and improve their purchasing power, thereby contributing notably to sound economic growth for the nation.

We well recognize that the organizing job is a difficult assignment which will not be achieved overnight. There is no magic formula to hasten results, nor are eager intentions alone adequate to the task. It will require realistic appraisal of the obstacles, careful and imaginative planning, years of untiring effort and unfailing determination, and full use of our resources.

A growing part of the American labor force is engaged in "white collar", service and distribution activities. These are areas in which many workers have never known the benefits of unions and of collective bargaining. Many workers in these and other areas are not familiar with and do not understand the role of trade unions.

A promising area for organization and an area in which there is much need for organization, is in state and local government service. Our unions of state, county, and municipal employees have made substantial progress in this additional progress in the face of ployees have made substantial progress in this difficult area in the face of laws restricting rights of public employees and discriminatory practices engaged in by some public officials. Much more can be done if the labor movement will put force behind a campaign to remove barriers, to repeal restrictive laws and to correct antilabor attitudes on the part of officials. The message of democratic uniquings

labor attitudes on the part of officials.

The message of democratic unionism must be brought to these workers to correct their lack of knowledge or lack of understanding. Successful organizing can be built among them on a foundation of concrete explanation and demonstration of the benefits of joining and supporting strong democratic trade unions.

There also remain substantial areas of the economy where organization has thus far been resisted, where employers actively have done their utmost to prevent organization. Although the size of this problem is greater in some areas and in some industries, it is present throughout the country and throughout the economy. A properly conducted organizing campaign can succeed despite the measures used to deprive workers of unionism in these areas. There also remain substantial

A major obstacle to organization still exists in provisions of the Taft-Hartley exists in provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act. One of the consequences of the Act has been the enactment in 18 states of the vicious and mislabeled "right-to-work" laws. While many employers still resort to old-fashioned clear-cut threats and intimidation to frighten their workers out of joining unions, most anti-union employers now rely on more subtle. Sophisticated unions, most anti-union employers now rely on more subtle, sophisticated means, particularly paternalistic de-vices and specially prepared newspaper and community pressures, to prevent their workers from organizing real unions.

But American labor has known diffi-culties before. It has made its way despite anti-conspiracy legislation, de its way legislation, "American

despite anti-conspiracy legislation, anti-trust acts, so-called "American Plans", spies and goons. It has demonstrated its ability to preserve its strength in the face of Taft-Hartley. It will not be daunted by the magnitude and hardships of the job of bringing unionism to unorganized American workers. It can and will meet the responsibility of organizing the unorganized; now therefore, be it

RESOLVED, The AFL-CIO and its affiliated unions hereby dedicate themselves, and will provide their fullest and most vigorous support, to an expanded organizing program equal to the task of overcoming the obstacles in the path of nationwide organization. We shall do everything in our power to further such organization of the unorganized.

COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY SODER-STROM: Mr. President, I move the adoption of the Committees report.

adoption of the Committee on PRESIDENT MEANY: You have heard the report of the Committee on Organizing the Unorganized. The moorganizing the report. The Chair tion is to adopt the report. The Crecognizes Vice President Reuther.

VICE PRESIDENT REUTHER: Broth er Chairman and delegates: I rise to support the resolution dealing with the support the resolution dealing with the organization of the unorganized. I would like your attention because I believe that this is perhaps one of the most important resolutions that will come before this Convention.

come before this Convention.

Now, we have made a wonderful beginning in this Convention, and what we have done here is important; but what we do after we leave here is much more important than what we will have done here. You and I who make up the leadership of this great labor movement have the joint responsibility of taking these resolutions which we have adopted y unanimous action back home and breathing life into them and be giving them meaning and purpose and substance in the practical job of building a better labor movement. That is what this resolution deals with; it deals with how do you take the noble words and put them to work. put them to work.

I personally believe that we have put this labor movement together, not for the convenience and the comfort of the leadership. We have not achieved labor leadership. We have not achieved labor unity based upon stagnation. We have achieved labor unity to provide new, dynamic forces out of which we can build a bigger, stronger labor move-build a bigger, stronger labor moveThe organization of millions of unorganized workers is the key to the question of economic justice, of a full measure of the good things of life for millions of workers who yet are denied the benefits and protection of belonging to a union. This matter of organizing the unorganizd is not just a matter of economic justice for the wage earner and for his loved ones. It is a matter of economic necessity, because we cannot achieve the kind of expanding economy we need unless the organized labor movement organizes the millions economy we need unless the organized labor movement organizes the millions of unorganized who at present enjoy second class economic citizenship, and make these workers into first class economic citizens so that they can buy the things that a living wage makes possible to buy.

the things that a living wage makes possible to buy.

And thirdly, you can talk all you want about raising the levels of political morality, about the people who come from certain Southern sections of our country. I say to you, you will not raise the political level of morality and get better people in government from those areas until you first build strong unions in the Southern states of these United States.

You call the roll in Washington and you will find where a Congressman or a Senator stands on the right side on education, housing, civil rights—on every other basic thing—and you will find that the intelligence and the morality of the Congressman and the Senator in many cases reflect the degree of organization in the states from which they come, because a strong labor movement is the first step in out of that political consciousness, and out of that political consciousness, and come men in public life with character, with conviction and courage and with conviction and courage and

with conviction and courage and with morality.

Now, there is much work to be done. Let us all understand—I don't care where you come from, I don't care what your union's jurisdiction is, I don't care whether you are industrial or craft in character—I say there is enough work to keep us all for many years to come if we work

together in America.

Look at the great chemical industry—one of the wealthlest, most powerful industries in America—less than 20 per cent of the workers organized. Let's take on the chemical industry, and let's say to duPont, as we said to General Motors and other corporations, "You are in line and we are going to organize the workers in these plants."

Textile workers have to pay first-class prices for the things they buy as consumers but are paid second-class wages as economic citizens—and the textile industry organized in the North runs away. It gets free plants in areas where the political forces are lined up with states right laws to block organization. Let's take on the textile industry and let's say to the textile industry, "If you try to run away from organization we will be waiting when you get there to organize the workers in new plants." Textile workers have to pay first-class

There is work in the paper industry, there are teachers in America to be organized, and thousands and thousands of white collar workers in the offices, in the distribution trades. Yes, there are thousands and thousands of building trades

workers to be organized in the respec-tive craft unions. Just check in America and see how many factories go up in America, how many buildings go up that America, how meny buildings go up that are built by non-union building trades workers. I see the opportunity is here, and the challenge is, is there the wisdom, is there the capacity to lead so that we can rise above the things that block organization and unite in this practical task?

I say it can be done, I have unlimited faith in the ability of our united movement to move forward and to organize the unorganized. But to do that we need to get in motion powerful, dynamic forces that will find expression in the kind of an organizational crusade such as this coun-

organizational crusade such as this country has never seen.

Mrs. Roosevelt talked about the early sweatshops, the early struggles of the la-bor leaders. I grew up in a trade union family. My father at 23 years of age was the president of the Central Labor Body the president of the Central Labor Body in my home town, and he used to tell me stories of these struggies in West Virginia in the coal mines. I say, compared to the obstacles they had in those days, there is nothing in our way if we put our minds and our hearts to this task.

We need to draw inspiration out of the struggle of the people who came before us, of Sam Gompers and the people in his

of Sam Gompers and the people in his period, and find a way to give expression to the same kind of spiritual dedication in building in terms of the future.

There are two things that I would like to point out. I ask you, and I ask you, Brother, why it is in the American labor movement that where somebody can find an opportunity to steal a handful of meniers from some other union they will spend tens of thousands of dollars in a raid, and yet they won't spend that same amount of money organizing the unorganized workers in some basic industry?

I say to you in all good conscience no I say to you in all good conscience no one in the leadership of this great and united labor movement ought to be tolerated in being permitted to use the organizational funds of their union in this destructive kind of trade union cannibalism of trying to eat up the little fellow who can't protect himself.

And one other ugly little aspect of this problem of raiding. It has made me sick deep in my heart when I have been approached by the officers of some little union struggling against a reactionary union strugging against a reactionary employer, marching the picket line in sup-port of the demands of the workers, and to see some union move in when workers to see some union move in when workers were on strike and raid that union on strike. I say if that happens between now and the next Convention any union guilty ought to be read out of this united labor movement. I say that when workers are on strike they are entitled morally and organizationally to the support of every union.

Then there is this practical question: How did the big unions get to be big? Did they just suddenly flower on a bright Did they just suddenly flower on a bright June morning, or were they helped in their struggles? Look back over the history of organized labor. Take the Automobile Workers and the Steelworkers and other great unions. Who built these unions? Who provided the resources and the organizational funds and the manpower? Workers, not unions. They assessed themselves. They dug deeply into their pockets, and there were no surplus dollars in those pockets in those dark, hard days. But they dug deep and they came up with the money, not to build power for themselves, not to promote private labor empires, but to extend the hand of help in the building of unions in the United States in industries that were unpresented. unorganized.

anorganized.

And I say we need to set some new standards. How do you measure the success or the contribution of a trade union? Do you find out whether they own half of Manhattan's biggest banks? That is not how you measure the success or the worth of a trade union, let us measure its contribution by its willingness to help other unions build their membership in the days ahead. And if we will do that, we can make great progress.

The Auto Workers had a Convention some months back. We were preparing for our historic struggle against the

some months back. We were preparing for our historic struggle against the giant automotive corporation on the guaranteed annual wage, and we spent two days talking about how we could raise twenty-five million dollars as a strike fund to back up the workers if they had to hit the picket line. We had the pleasure of having our good friend George Meany come to that Convention. There were 3.500 rank and file delegates. After George Meany spoke, we adopted a resolution on labor unity. It was adopted by the unanimous action of those 3,500 delegates.

Then we had another resolution. We

adopted by the unanimous action of those 3,500 delegates.

Then we had another resolution. We said, we want to make our contribution in the building of a united labor movement, in giving that united labor movement meaning and purpose in terms of the every day job of building a stronger union. And those 3,500 delegates, I am happy to report to this Convention, without one dissenting vote voted to tax themselves one dollar out of their union treasury, not an increase in their payment, but to take out of their union treasury one and a half million dollars that we are placing at the disposal of the new movement to help the little unions become big unions in America.

When we use the term "brother-hood", when we talk about trade union

When we use the term "brother-hood", when we talk about trade union solidarity, we need to back up those noble words with the tools with which people can build. And I am happy to be able to report, and our task is not yet finished, that the unions that formerly were affiliated with the CIO are able to report to this Convention that those unions—and more will come—are pledging as we leave this convention four million dollars to the organizing campaign to help organizing workers all over America. paign to help over America.

over America.

Now the question is, are the workers ready? Millions of workers in America are waiting; they are waiting for you and me. I say this is the greatest opportunity that we have ever had. This is the opportunity to demonstrate that labor unity is not just a plous slogan, and that we can apply that slogan to the practical task of working out the practical problems in carrying forth an organizational drive in every phase of America, in terms of every kind of union, both industrial and craft. We

can do a job. We are capable of that job. We have the resources and the tools. Let us demonstrate that we have job. We have the resources and inctools. Let us demonstrate that we have the common dedication and the common will, and let us go forward with our banners high, confident that between now and the next Convention we can now and the next Convention we can now and the next Convention we can make a great contribution to elevating the living standards, giving millions of American families a living wage and their share of good things of life; we can make an increasing contribution, in that economic well-being and the hope of our country by providing greater purchasing power by higher wages. It is a great challenge, and just as Franklin Roosevelt said in the dark days when he took office, he said, "We have just begun to fight." I say to you, let us go forward and have on our banner the slogan, "we have just be

nave just begun to fight." I say to you, let us go forward and have on our banner the slogan, "we have just begun to march; we have just begun to build." We can do it. Let's go out and do it today and show the world we mean what we say when we talk about labor unity.

Thank you.

Thank you.

DELEGATE ROWE, Augusta Central
Labor Union: Some of the things that
Brother Reuther has just talked about,
I certainly want to join in wholeheartedly. We want to welcome the merger,
and we are looking forward to great

and we are looking forward to great things by the merger.

Before I finish talking you might have decided that I have joined the Republican party, but I have not. I have never voted anything but the Democratic ticket in my life. Some of the reasons for that is that I have never had the opportunity of voting anything else where it meant anything.

Before I finish I think you are going to find, if you pay attention to what I have to say, and I do have a few things to say, that I might be encouraging the two-party system in some parts of the South along with what you

parts of the South along with what you are talking about so that you might be able to give us Southerners an opportunity to vote for a man instead of a party where the party label doesn't

portunity to vote for a man instead of a party where the party label doesn't mean anything.

To us in the South, and around in these eighteen states that have these right-to-work bills, I want you to know that fifteen of them have Democratic governors. And I want you to know that it isn't the Republicans altogether that are giving us hell in the South. It is these Democrats. We are having to fight each other down there. They call themselves Democrats. And I want to say that this Democratic Party label, if it has any objectives, or has any policy of liberalism towards the workers of this country, that they notify the candidates for governor, they notify these candidates for Congress, and they notify the candidates for the Senate and the Legislature and the mayors, that if they are going to use that label they must carry out their policy or pick out the party that will allow them to carry out the policy that they will live up to when elected to office. to office.

I would like to mention one or two things to you that I have in mind. For instance, it has been the policy of this

AFL-CIO

country as stated time and time again and restated again, that on the back of country as stated time and time again and restated again, that on the back of the first amendment to the Bill of Rights in the Constitution of this country it says you will have the right to petition, you will have the right to petition, you will have the right to free assemblage and free speech, and many of those statements and policies have been restated time and time again over this country and even in the Taft-Hartley Act itself, if you please, the right to belong to a labor union is granted. And your employment shall not be denied because of membership or non-membership in a labor union. Before I finish talking you will prob-

or non-membership in a labor union.
Before I finish talking you will probably find that I am a member of the
State, County and Municipal Employees
Union, but I am not here representing
them, I am here representing the Central Labor Union as a delegate from

them, I am trail Labor Union as a delegate normal Labor Union as a delegate normal Augusta.

The thing I want to bring out to you is this: all these various right-to-work laws themselves, that policy of employment shall not be denied because of non-membership into a labor union is even in all these states right-to-work laws, yet we find states themselves adopting laws and regulations that are contrary to the policies of their own states, and denying the employees, their own employees, the right to belong to any labor union.

I cite to you the State of Alabama that has a state law prohibiting any state employee from belonging to any labor union, and yet there is a man labor there that was elected on the

labor union, and yet there is a man down there that was elected on the Democratic ticket as Democratic gov-ernor, with a Democratic House and

labor union, and yet there is a man down there that was elected on the Democratic ticket as Democratic governor, with a Democratic House and Democratic State Senate that passed those laws. What does it mean? Well, fellows, I am appealing to you to ask the heads of the Democratic Party of this country to declare a policy for better labor, and whenever they write that into those tickets ask them to let it mean something.

I want to point out to you again that this is the first time I ever talked to this many people. The fellow telling about the cats having the party this morning reminded me of just how scared I am up here.

Before I go on, a fellow went up to the spring to get some water the other day and he came running back and he was so scared he was shaking. I asked him what was the trouble. He said an alligator was there. I said, "Well, the alligator has been there all the time and he ain't going to bother you." He said, "Yes, but that alligator is there." I said, "Go on back and get the water. The alligator is just as scared of you as you are of him." He said, "Go ahead, the alligator is just as scared of you as you are of him." He said, "Well, if he is, that water in the South. I want to point out to you that there are certain sections of the South that went Republican in the last Presidential election.

The State of Tennessee went for the Republican ticket. The State of Texas.

The State of Tennessee went for the Republican ticket. The State of Texas. I believe, did also. South Carolina had a very close call. I don't remember whether they finally went into the Republican colony or not. Also a Senator went in on the Republican ticket

against the recommendations of the Democratic Party in South Carolina. It was a right-hand ticket. In one section of Florida we had a Republican Congressman elected from one section of Florida, and I think probably he has made a good record. I know he couldn't have been any worse than that Democrat we had up there.

I want to say this in all fairness and all seriousness, and ask that you folks join with us in trying to condemn these policies of public officials. You know, we have been reading statements about the law requiring oaths of the government employees in Civil Service tests. I think we should ask that they provide a loyalty oath for officials who would I think we should ask that they provide a loyalty oath for officials who would be elected on any ticket in this country and who are going to be administering the police powers and the state and county governments in this country, so that we can find out what their attitudes are about their own employees

attitudes are about their own employees and their right to do things in declaring the policies of this country.

For instance, in the city of Dallas, Texas, a large city in Texas, there is a city ordinance prohibiting any employee from belonging to any labor union. Recently we started organizing a little city group down in Greenville, South Carolina, and they called an emergency meeting of the city officials there and passed an ordinance prohibiting any city employee from belonging to any labor union. They were very liberal there, because they gave them 72 hours to come up and sign an affiavit that they did not belong and that davit that they did not belong and that they never would join a labor union as long as they worked for the City of

Greenville.

The firemen organized and applied for a charter in Norfolk, Virginia. As soon as the officials found out about it they called a meeting of the officials there and passed a city ordinance that all firemen were required to sign, stating that they did not belong to a union and never would join one.

You say that is not according to state law. Well, that is what the State Supreme Court said about it. They said they had a right to do it. The State Supreme Courts in many other cases say they have a right to do these things. These people all run on Democratic tickets and are elected on Democratic tickets, I will ask you to join with us in trying to get some meaning to the platform that they are going to run on.

Since this organization has been chartered in 1000 cm.

going to run on.

Since this organization has been chartered in 1936 we have been responsible for many groups being covered by Civil Service or some form of job security. Then the officials appoint the administrators of that Civil Service program. We go in and try to talk to them rabid and anti-union. For them to do that is the same as a union getting a contract in an industry and then the members electing an anti-union business agent to administer the contract. Those are some of the things I wanted to bring to you.

I see the President of the great State of North Carolina Federation here looking at me. In the great State of North

ing at me. In the great State of North Carolina, where we have a supposedly very liberal union administration there, you can imagine that they are looked upon as great leaders, because you have

two or three of them who have been appointed recently in high positions of this Government by the State Department to administer and sell democracy all over the world. Yet you find that

ail over the world. Yet you find that where they came from they were helpful in passing a resolution prohibiting any employee from being a member of labor unions and prohibiting them from being represented by labor unions.

We find also a large state out West, with 70,000 employees, and less than 10,000 employees, and less than 10,000 employees belonging to any labor union. Yet that state is looked upon as a very liberally administered state. When did organized labor ever get to where it would recognize a company union or an association of employees in item of a labor union?

union or an association of employees in lieu of a labor union? I want to ask the incoming officers and the Executive Board of this merged labor movement here in this country to with us in helping to get over these

join with us in helping to get over these walls and get to those unorganized public employees, especially. Recently in Memphis, Tennessee—I hate to call names, but I can't help it—7,300 employees worked for the city. Less than 200 of them belonged to any labor union. Yet when I have been in there I found that some of the business agents were trying to entertain me and labor union. Yet when I have been in there I found that some of the business agents were trying to entertain me and steering me around the officials so I could not get in to see them. They say, "Why, he is working a few of our members; he is all right with us; but they are putting up that wall to keep us from getting to those more than 7,000 city employees working for that city. I don't think it is right and I don't think you approve of it. I think you want to join with us in helping" to organize those unorganized people. I certainly appreciate the fine talk that Mr. Reuther just made, and I hope means every word of it. If he ever comes down South and I am still able to be around there, I will certainly make my services available to him.

I appreciate this opportunity and I hope, as I started to say, that we will

I appreciate this opportunity and I have a great deal of publicity and as much interest shown in those anti-labor state law. For instance, the state law of Alabama prohibits those thousands of state employees from belonging to any labor union, such as the Hotel and Restaurant Workers in Miami Beach. I believe that Governor Folsom will repeat that law in Alabama. Thank you very much.

. . . The motion to adopt the resolu-tion on Organizing the Unorganized was carried unanimously.

ORGANIZING FUND RAISING COMMITTEE

strom presented the resolution on Or-ganizing Fund Raising Committee, as fellews:

This founding convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations should properly consider our weakness as well as our

We are properly proud of the achievement that brings together under a single banner more than 15 million organized workers. But even in this hour of triumph we must give thought to the 30 million

industrial workers, all of whom come within the jurisdiction of our member unions, who as yet do not enjoy their legal and moral right to organize and bargain collectively.

The organization of these workers must and will be a primary concern of the great new federation that has been formed here.

We recognize that the task is not an sy one. Legal and illegal obstacles, We recognize that the task is not an easy one. Legal and illegal obstacles, many of them formidable, stand in the way of workers who seek to exercise the rights supposedly granted them by federal statute. The inadequate safeguards of the Wagner Act were largely nullified by the Taft-Hartley law which supplanted it, and have been wiped out almost entrely by those who presently are charged with administering and interpreting the law. law.

But these handicaps cannot be removed by complaining about them. They must be surmounted; for while they remain, the unorganized workers and the communities in which they live will suffer economic discrimination, to the peril of our national prosperity.

tional prosperity.

Nor is this an economic problem alone. The unorganized worker cannot assure himself of his full rights as an individual or his full equality as a free citizen. The liberty he enjoys outside his job vanishes the moment he enters his place of employment. If Americans are to enjoy the fruits of democracy 24 hours a day, they must have democracy on the job.

There is a general recognition among our members of the importance of this task. Already a number of international unions representing substantial membership have indicated their willingness to contribute voluntarily substantial sums of money so that the AFL-CIO organizing effort can be adequately financed.

Therefore this founding convention of

effort can be adequately manceu,
Therefore this founding convention of
the American Federation of Labor and
Congress of Industrial Organizations instructs the president of our organization
to appoint a committee, chosen from
among the top officers of affiliated unions,
to be known as the Organizing Fund Raising Committee.

And we call upon all organizations within the AFL-CIO to contribute to this fund and to devote to this vital objective their unstinting efforts, for the greater good of our member unions, the workers and the nation.

COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY SODER-STROM: I move, Mr. Chairman, the adoption of the Committee's report.

. . . The motion was seconded and the resolution was adopted by unanimous vote.

STATEMENT OF PRESS REPRESENTATIVES

PRESIDENT MEANY: At this time the Chair recognizes Brother Abe Ras-kin, representing the press at this Con-vention, for a short statement.

MR. RASKIN: Thank you, President Meany. If I had realized that George was going to give me the microphone, I would have written this statement in the form of a New York Times story using 217,000 words. Unfortunately, I did not realize that, so my story is very short.

AFL-CIO

The merger of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations was the biggest news story in labor history. We the members of the working press, wish to express our grateful appreciation to the AFL-CIO press and publicity staffs for their tireless efforts to assist us in getting that story to the public promptly, accurately and fully.

A. H. RASKIN.

A. H. RASKIN New York Times ED TOWNSEND Business Week ASHER LAUREN The Detroit N News I.N.S. JOE GAMBATESE Nation's Business
NORMAN WALKER
Associated Press
JAMES DEVILIN Associated Press HOWARD NORTON Baltimore Sun
MICHAEL LEVITAS
New York Post
JIM DOMBROW USIA-IPS STEVE CAPAN Telenews
ROBERT LEWIN
Chicago Daily News
NORMAN C. McKENNA

USIA-IPS HARRY TOLAND HARRY TOLAND
Philadelphia Bulletin
CHARLES J. HARDING
Engineering News-Record
AMEEL J. FISHER
U. P. Movietone News
STANLEY LEVEY
New York Times
JACK WOLISTON
United Press

United Press ROBERT BEDOLIS NY Herald-Tribune FRED PERKINS Scripps-Howard ARTHUR RIORDAN

ARTHUR RIORDAN
IUE News
RALPH KATZ
New York Times
ANGUS DEMING
Wall Street Journal
ASA A. ATWATER
Pittsburgh Press
GEORGE MORRIS
Daily Worker
HARRY BERNSTEIN
Los Angeles Examiner
IRVING YOGEL
Jewish Daily Forward
WALTER KIRSCHENBAUM
Labor Reports (J. L. C.)
J. C. RICH
Jewish Dally Forward

Jewish Daily Forward
JOHN D. POMFRET
The Milwaukee Journal
JOHN HERLING Editors Syndicate and Herling's Labor Letter

Labor Letter
JOSEPH LOFTUS
New York Times
MURRAY KEMPTON
New York Post
FRED WOLTMAN
NY WORId-Telegram & Sun
JOSEPH ALVAREZ
NY WORId-Telegram & Sun
JAMES O'CONNOR
New York Mirror

JAMES BARSTOW, Jr. JAMES BARSTOW, Jr.
NY Hersid-Tribune
JACK TURCOTT
NY Daily News
ARTHUR MULLIGAN
NY Daily News
HAROLD HUTCHINGS HAROLD HUTCHINGS
Chicago Tribune
SPENCER McCULLOCH
St. Louis Post-Dispatch
RONALD HAGGART
Toronto Globe & Mail
SANFORD E. STANTON
NY JOURNAL-American
CHARLES H. ALLARD
PIttsburgh Post-Gasette
JAN LORENC
Radio Free Europe JAN LORENC
Radio Free Europe
NELSON FRANK
Frank Publications
JOSEPH P. MURPHY
Associated Press
MIRIAM GOLDFINE

Daily Mirror VICTOR RIESEL Daily Mirror

PRESIDENT MEANY: I appreciate the sentiments of the press as presented by Abe Raskin of the working press.

REPORT OF RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE (resumed)

PRESIDENT MEANY: The Chair recognizes co-Secretary Curran for a continu-ance of the Committee's report.

UNION LABEL

... Committee co-Secretary Curran pre-sented the following resolution:

sented the following resolution:

The power of the worker's dollar has become one of organized labor's strongest answers to the great challenges to our security. Chief among these challenges are the millions of unorganized workers in every industry, whose low wages endanger the union conditions we have fought so hard to win. In recent years, runaway shops have become an increasing threat to union standards in several industries, and growing monopoly, federal and state anti-labor laws and unfriendly governments hinder organization of the unorganized.

Union members themselves, with the strength of a united organization behind them, must meet these challenges and overcome these threats to their hard-won working and living conditions.

One of the most potent tools available is the union label, shop card and button which channel labor's buying power to protect union standards.

protect union standards.

The union member and the enlightened consumer has learned that a union label on a product and a union shop card for a service is a guarantee of good quality and decent working conditions. By insisting on union-made products, the union member can help protect his own working conditions, as well as those of union members in other industries, from the unfair competition of iow-wage, sweat-shop manufacturers who seek to swell their profits by exploiting their workers.

At the same time, consumers generally have realized that the higher standard of living achieved by organized labor and symbolized by the unios

label benefits the entire community. For the community, the union label means an increased purchasing power, higher quality production, and better business for everyone; now, therefore,

RESOLVED, We view the union below the union shop card, and the union button as important weapons in labor's arsenal, which must be continually and vigorously promoted as widely as possible.

COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY CUR-RAN: I move the adoption of this resolu-

tion PRESIDENT MEANY: You have heard the report on Union Label. Is there dis-cussion? The Chair recognizes Brother Blackburn of the Lithographers Union.

DELEGATE BLACKBURN, President Amalgamated Lithographers: President Meany, delegates to the Convention, my Meany, delegates to the Convention, my name is Blackburn of the Amalgamated Lithographers of America established in

All of us know that the union label is not a new story in the American labor movement. There are some unions in this hall which have been using a label or shop card since the last century, and the AFL has had a Union Label Trades Department for many years.

But I would like to spend a minute or two in giving this old union label story a new twist. It was only six years ago that the Amalgamated Clothing Workers initiated its present union label campaign, and in those six years they have given the union label a new status in the labor movement. For the clothing workers, the union label was not an advertising gimmick or a publicity stunt. Instead, they forged the union label into a strong right arm of organization.

As a sister union of the clothing work-

Instead, they forged the union label into a strong right arm of organization.

As a sister union of the clothing workers, and as a union which has an equal interest in the union label, I would like to pay tribute to the pioneering work they have done these past six years.

And I would like to say that never in our history is there a greater need for union label education, or a greater oportunity for success. Today any union organizing new workers is faced with greater obstacles than ever before. You all know what they are—the Taft-Hartley Law and its state-spawned imitators, the so-called right-to-work laws; the problem of runaway shops; growing monopoly control in certain industries and the development of companies which are economically powerful enough to shut down factories and shops and open elsewhere merely to avoid unionization of its workers. These problems face every union in this hall. Every union in this hall, therefore, has a rightful interest in any tool which will help overcome them.

Our basic strength, as union members, the strength we avergize and the development.

help overcome them.

Our basic strength, as union members, is the strength we exercise over the bargaining table. Collective bargaining, backed up by the strike when necessary, has been the source of most of our gains in the past and undoubtedly will continue to be so for many years.

Our second source of strength—and this is more recent in development—is our strength as voters, at the polls. We have all come to recognize that some gains can only be protected, and others

won, through political and legislative action in Congress and in state legisla-

action in Congress and in state legislatures.

Now I would like to propose that we recognize that labor has a third source of strength—our strength as consumers, expressed in the retail store. And it is this strength which may well be the vital factor in the days ahead.

Organized labor today represents about a quarter of the total population. In addition, the mass of workers invand work in the great industrial centers of our nation, and in many large cities union members represent a large proportion of the total population.

By using the force of their numbers as consumers, just as they have already done as workers in the shop and as voters at the poils, union members can exert a powerful force.

We have seen it happen already. The clothing workers have proved the effectiveness of consumer action, and so have many other unions. Now the two houses of labor are one, and now is the time to promote consumer action by organized labor on a greater scale than ever before.

We the Amalgamated Lithographers have accepted the new spirit of unity in The House of Labor.

We have applied to the Allied Printing Trades Council for the right to participate with them in the support of a union label which will represent all printing trades unions.

We endorse earlier remarks made

We endorse earlier remarks made this week in Convention:—There shall be one union label, a label which represents good wages, good working conditions and fair standards, a union label in which the consumer will have the highest confidence.

. . . The motion to adopt the resolu-tion on Union Label was seconded and carried unanimously.

Suit Drawing

. . . At this time the drawing was made for the suit of clothes donated by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and Mr. J. A. Tools was the winner.

REPORT OF RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE (resumed)

... Committee co-Secretary Curran con-tinued the report of the Committee as

MERCHANT MARINE

At a time when the entire economy of the United States is expanding and the commitments of our nation abroad, both economic and military are increasing, the United States merchant marine stands as United States merchant marine stands as a paradox: its ships are overage and unsuited for today's international competition; it is totally incapable of supplying a war of even the Korea size; it is constantly shrinking in size as more and more of its numbers are transferred to nations offering substandard wages and low taxes; it is under attack at home by various partisan interests and it is without a policy for correcting this downward slide.

Maritime unions are aware of this situa-tion and, despite these many handicaps of the industry, have managed to build

strong, vigorous, democratic unions and have consistently negotiated contracts which provide for our members excellent conditions, wages and

Nonetheless, most of problems maritime unions see a host of problems that affect every sea-going or waterfront worker. These con-ditions present clear dangers to all and could conceivably lead to a weakening of the rights and benefits now enjoyed by our members; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED:

St Lawrence Seaway: The threat to seamen is Lakes. We the American and Canadian seamen is also being feit on the Great Lakes. We deem it imperative that before the St. Lawrence Seaway opens legislation be un-dertaken to ban Canadian coastal and U. S.-Canada lake ports trade to foreign flag vessels. This is customary in almost all maritime nations. It is also imperative that the pilots taking over on ships entering or leaving the St. Lawrence Seaway be either nationals of Canada or seaway be either nationals of Canada of the United States, a practice adhered to in virtually every world port. Further, we urge a change in the status of British ships so they will be classed as British yessels instead of Candian vessels as they are at present.

Anti-Union Legislation: The host of Anti-Union Legislation: The host of anti-labor legislation on the city, state and national level, such as the "right to work" legislation and the recent Congressional proposal which would have in effect frozen the wages of seamen and required compulsory arbitration, are all restrictive moves aimed at weakening and destroying the labor movement in the Maritime Industry. Therefore, we urge a vigorous campaign on the national and local levels to protect the rights of union members in all industries against a regulated and accelerated labor movement in America. regimented labor movement in America.

regimented labor movement in America.

"50-50" Law: The maintenance of the cargo preference or "50-50" Law is a basic necessity to U. S. shipping, even though the maritime industry felt that it would be fair and proper to insist upon 100 per cent. Without the law requiring that half of the U. S. Government-generated cargoes be carried on U. S. flag ships, hundreds of ships would have to be idled and thousands of seamled off. An alliance of foreign shipowners, along with the U. S. State and Agricultural Departments, has conducted a continuing campaign to cripducted a continuing campaign to crip-ple the law. We therefore urge that the "50-50" Law be made permanent and irrevocable, and diligently enforced.

and irrevocable, and diligently enforced.

Marine Hospitals: The Marine Hospital Program for seamen is of vital importance to an industry that ranks third in accidents and whose personnel are constantly exposed to pestilence and disease peculiar to the ports throughout the world at which they must call. We urge that sufficient annual appropriations be forthcoming to maintain the marine hospitals and that an end be put to the constant threat of decreasing medical facilities for seamen.

Hiring Hall: The practice in use in dustries where men must change jobs frequently is the best method to insure fair and equitable distribution of work

fair and equitable distribution of work and at the same time guard against abuses, such as the shape-up. The

maritime unions have been built around the hiring hall and have fought countthe hiring hall and have fought count-less struggles to maintain it; therefore, we urge that federal legislation be un-dertaken at once to guarantee that the hiring hall be recognized as the proper medium for employment in all indus-tries in which its use has been in accepted practice.

Coastal and Intercoastal Trades: Coastal and intercoastal shipping have declined substantially over the past declined substantially over the years and seamen have suffered a quent loss in employment opportunities We urge all-out effort to promote a revival of these vital trades, and that the Maritime Administration encourage new methods of operation, such as "roll-on, roll-off" operations, to give impetus to this revival. We urge further that the Merchant Marine Act of 1936 be amended to provide construction subsidies as an inducement to new companies to enter these services. We believe, too, that inducements could be offered in the form of relief on Panama Canal tolls for U. S. shipping.

Fareign-Flag Transfers: Within the these vital trades, and that the

the torm violation of the control of anowed these transfers and is still allowing American-built and paid-for ships to go under flags where they immediately drive U. S.-flag ships from the seas. In addition, U. S. owners are also chartering foreign-flag ships for use in trade to the United States and Canada thereby causing American use in trade to the United States and Canada thereby causing American sea-men to lose jobs. We urge that the government immediately stop approval of any further transfers and that legis-lation be undertaken to halt the prac-tice of American interests using forconsider the practice of American interests using for-eign-flag ships in competition against U. S.-flag vessels.

Government Training Program: As Government Training Program: As a civilian industry we are unequivocally opposed to the government training of personnel to turn loose on a saturated industry already suffering from heavy unemployment. The maritime industry has ample provision within the industry for upgrading men from the lowest rating to master without the necessity for maintaining a million dollar a vear government apparatus. At lowest rates are consistent of the consistency of t mediate closing of government schools.

International Labor Organization: participants over the years in the conventions of the International Labor Orventions of the International Labor Organization, we recognize the constructive work which this body can and does perform in the interests of workers throughout the world, ever though American standards are seldom affected. We urge endorsement of the ILO maritime conventions that have been approved by the labor designated representatives of the United States to conferences of the International Labor Organization. ganization.

Military Sea Transport Service: Direct and indirect government competition with private enterprise is a generally frowned-upon practice. The operation of vessels by the Military Sea Transport

Service in competition with privately-owned vessels is harmful to the interests of organized seafaring men, as well as manning the government ships. those manning government from competition with private

Protection of Seamen's Legal Rights: On the Federal Statute Books are numer-ous maritime laws that work to protect ous maritime laws that work to protect American seamen and have functioned well over the years to provide basic protection of seaman's rights. Attempts have been made to propose "streamlining" of these laws by government bureaus, insurance companies and shipowners, which would undoubtedly result in the reduction of a sizable number of the rights seamen now enjoy by law. Therefore, we urge that all steps be taken to vigorously enforce all United States laws enacted to protect the rights States laws enacted to protect the rights of seamen.

Ship's Radio: There have been moves Ship's Radio: There have been moves recently within the industry to replace ship's radio telegraphy with the radio telephone. Aboard a ship at sea, radio telegraphy is its only contact with the outside world and it is vital that the method of communication be the best and without failure to protect the lives of the crewmen aboard. We urge that all steps be taken to safeguard the essential and vital radio operator aboard ship under the U.S. flag.

U.S. flag. under

Unemployment Insurance: The uneminsurance benefit programs ployment insurance benefit programs in practice in the states of California and New York as relate to seamen are ex-amples of state action that should be adopted elsewhere. We urge action by the state labor bodies toward raising their state benefit level and toward improving the administration of their programs to obtain fair treatment for all seamen.

Seamen's Charity and Private Welfare Groups: American seamen enjoy the highest maritime wages in the world and through their unions have first-class protection against the enemies of seamen both home and abroad. It has been the practice of some charity groups and private welfare agencies to picture to the rest of the labor movement seamen as badly in need of care and aid, both here and in foreign ports, thus soliciting funds from the labor movement as a whole. In-asmuch as the American seaman has full and adequate protection through his con-tract benefits and his union, he is not in need of outside charity; therefore, we urge that the entire labor movement cooperate toward eliminating these called seaman's charities which called seaman's charities which have come to exist solely as bureaucracies for their officers and employees. This was also the recent position taken by Sea-farers Section, including the American delegates, of the International Transport Workers Federation, affiliated with the ICFTU.

Coast Guard: Attempts to further re-Coast Guard: Attempts to further restrict and control the American seamen through Federal legislation have been put forth by the United States Coast Guard, which during World War II secured and retained the power to certify and issue documents to seamen, hold trials, suspend a man's right to work and carry out a security screening program. The current attempt at restricting seamen's rights is a so-called prefiling system to blackball from the industry on phony physical and psychlogical grounds men it wishes to remove from ships, No civilian industry is under the military control that must be endured by the seamen. Therefore, issuance of samen's documents, licenses, the U.S. Shipping Commissioner, the Marine Inspection Service, and the administration of U.S. Government in Maritime matters be returned to the Department of Commerce, from which it was taken.

which it was taken.

Subsidies: The entire question of subsidies for the nation's merchant marine is referred to the Executive Council for con-sideration and action.

The experience of the seamen's

unions indicates that the fight to unions indicates that the fight to prevent restriction of their inherent rights as trade unionists must be a constant one. This is a fight that must be waged in concert with all unions and to this end we ask all affiliates of the AFL-CIO to join in combatting attempts at restrictive government controls and in the elimination of those already in existence istence

COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY CUR-RAN: I move adoption of the resolution.
. . . The motion was seconded and

... Committee co-Secretary Curran continued the report of the Committee as follows:

SHIPBUILDING

While shipyards are booming in all of the other important shipbuilding countries of the world, the trend in the U. S. has continued downward during the past year.

The American shipbuilding industry vitally essential to the defense of the nation, is in a greatly depressed condition with a large number of highly skilled workers unemployed. industry, condition skilled

Figures just released by the Maritime Administration indicate that during the twelve months ending with June, 1955 vessels of 1,000 deliveries of ocean-going gross tons or over by the shipyards of the world totaled 594 vessels with a gross tonnage of close to four and three quarter millions.

New construction on hand or contracted

quarter millions.

New construction on hand or contracted for on July 1, 1955, which is the last date on which world comparisons are available, discloses an estimated total of 1,437 vessels of all types (1,000 gross tons and over) under construction or on order in the principal shipbuilding countries of the world on that date, totaling almost 12,600,000 gross tons.

Our yards held only 1.7 percent of this total tonnage, on 14 vessels (3 cargo and 11 tankers) to put us in 10th place behind Great Britain, Germany, Japan, Sweden, Holland, France, Italy (excluding Trieste), Norway and Denmark.

The latest available employment figures also show a decline in the total employment in private United States shipbuilding and repair yards during the past year. On July 1, 1954 the Bureau's figure had dropped to 101,700.

Reliable estimates indicate that a minimum of 130,000 employees equitably distributed on all coasts. constitutes the

mum of 130,000 employees equitably distributed on all coasts, constitutes the tributed on all coasts, constitutes the minimum employment necessary for main-taining this industry ready for any taining this industrial national emergency.

Does this currently depressed condition of our shipbuilding industry, while yards in other major shipbuilding countries are booming, mean that United States companies are not ordering new ships? Far from it.

A large portion of the shipbuilding work stacked up in foreign yards has been placed there by United States companies and their foreign affiliates.

The latest comprehensive survey of foreign yard orders for American and affiliated companies reveals some startling facts.

The great volume of new shipbuilding orders placed in foreign yards by American companies and their affiliates began in 1949 and now far exceeds the total orders placed in United States yards since World War II.

More than 300 vessels, most of them large oceangoing tankers, bulk carriers and freighters, have been ordered from foreign yards by United States companies and their affiliates since the end of the war. These vessels total over 6 million deadweight tons. A large portion of this staggering total is still under construction or on order.

What is the current picture? As of June 30, 1955, United States companies and their affiliates were building or had on order in foreign yards and for foreign registry 62 vessels totaling 1,278,172 gross tons. These vessels include 41 tankers (720-272 GT), 18 ore carriers (438,400 GT) and 3 dry cargo vessels (19,500 GT). These figures were just released by the Maritime Administration.

As of the same date, according to Shipbuilders' Council figures of United States yard construction, U. S. companies and their affiliates were building or had on order in United States yards only 8 vessels totaling 128,600 gross tons. These included 7 tankers (124,860 GT) and one ore carrier (3,800 GT).

Why has this tremendous volume of ship construction by American firms and their affiliates gone foreign since the war.

The answer lies principally in the large cost advantages gained both by foreign construction and foreign flag operation.

This difference in construction costs is partially due to the far lower wage rates and the less favorable working conditions which prevail in foreign yards, to lower material costs, and to the subsidies and tax advantages which some of the foreign governments have granted to encourage the growth of their shipbuilding industry.

Thus, even though our shipyards are more efficiently operated than those in foreign lands, the end product costs

ore.

Our American shipbuilding worker is entitled to keep pace with other American workers and to enjoy an American standard of living. This is recognized under existing legislation which makes it possible for a United States company to apply for and obtain approval for a construction subsidy under which the United States Government will pay that portion of U.S. construction cost which exceeds the foreign construction cost. However, it

is necessary for the company to comply with numerous regulations of the Maritime Administration, and it has no assurance that the subsidy portion of its construction cost will materialize as it must be presented to and be authorized by the Congress after the application is approved by the Maritime Administration.

As a result, the advantage of such a possible subsidy arrangement on construction costs is lost and the business goes overseas, except in such cases where the company applying is presently operating vessels under United States Government operating subsidies which require that its vessels be U. S. built; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, The AFL-CIO supports a comprehensive, long-range program for the shipbuilding industry of America. Such a program must include the following points:

1. Congressional recognition of the serious nature of this current crisis in the American shipbuilding industry.

the American snipbullding industry.

2. A long-range ship replacement program by private U. S. shipping companies designed to prevent obsolescence of our merchant fleet and to retain skilled workers in our private shippards. The restoration of the revolving fund of the U. S. Maritime Administration is most important to achieve this goal.

achieve this goal.

3. Because of the depression in our private shipbuilding industry, Congress must seek to bring to U. S. private shippyards the shipbuilding being done in foreign yards for American shippowners and the U. S. government in its offshore procurement program. It is important to repeal U. S. laws which restrict our yards from building ships for foreign accounts while there are no restrictions on foreign yards building ships for American accounts.

4 Congress must enset a carefully

4. Congress must enact a carefully drawn subsidy program for the American shipbuilding industry under which subsidies would be strictly limited to the actual auditable cost differences between American and foreign construction.

COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY CURRAN: I move adoption of the resolution.
. . . The motion was seconded.

DELEGATE BROWNLOW, Metal Trades Department: Mr. Chairman and delegates, I rise before this Convention in support of this resolution. And I would further urge that every delegate present here today pay attention to the contents of the resolution so that you will be aware to some extent as to just what is happening to a major industry within the United States. The members of Congress should be made aware of what is happening to the shipbuilding industries.

aware of what is happening to the shipbuilding industries.

This is the third time within the last 35 years that we have reached the point where there is practically no shipbuilding within the United States. The same thing occurred following 1919; it again occurred following the last World War, and again after the Korean conflict. Why we in the United States should continue to look with apathy upon the destruction of this great industry makes one wonder.

have had this experience of cost, the great rush of building he merchant marine after each heae previous occasions. Twice great up the merchant marine after each of these previous occasions. Twice when our nation was in serious danger of these previous when our nation was in serious accepted to the provious of being overwhelmed as a result of a lack of ships our nation was in great peril. And further, because of our nation permitting this industry to become almost extinct it has had to rebuild right from scratch on each occasion. And let us examine, if you will, for a moment, some of the reafor this. Is shipbuilding dead rebuild right from scratch on each occasion. And let us examine, if you will, for a moment, some of the reasons for this. Is shipbuilding dead in the world? I don't think it is. I would like to quote you a figure or two. New construction on hand or contracted for on July 1st, 1955, which is the last date for which world figures are available, disclose an estimated 1,437 vessels of one thousand gross tons or over under construction or on order in the shipbuilding countries of the world, totaling almost 12,600,000 tons. That answers that question right there that this industry isn't dying all over the world.

And then where does the United

And then where does the United States stand in this world of nations? Our yards hold only 1.7 per cent of this total tonnage on 14 vessels, three cargo and 11 tankers, to put us in tenth place behind Great Britain, Germany, Japan, Sweden, Holland, France, Italy, Norway and Denmark.

and Denmark.

Does this mean that the United States companies are not building ships? Let's look at that and see what they are doing. As of June 30th of 1955 the United States companies and their affiliates were building or had on order in foreign yards and for foreign registry 62 vessels totaling 1,278,000 gross tons. These vessels include 41 tankers, 18 ore carriers, and 3 dry cargo vessels. That shows whether or not the United States companies are building ships. Does this mean that the United States

What are these same companies doing the United States? Let me tell you at story. United States companies in the United States companies that story. United States companies and their affiliates were building or had on order in United States yards only eight vessels totaling 128 gross tons. Now get that picture as against one million two hundred and some thousand gross tons. These included seven tankers gross tons. These included seven tankers and one ore carrier. In other words, the United States companies and their affiliates on June 30th, 1955, were founding foreign' ten times the gross tonnage that they have placed in U.S.

tonnage that they have placed in U.S. wards.

We all are acquainted with the runaway shop, farming out of work and other practices to obtain ships or any other manufactured goods at a lesser price and under lower standards of living than we would normally subscribe for. But this is the thing I believe everyone here should pay attention to, as profits mount, industry and our nation pay the bill on shipbuilding. In other words, profits in all industry are greater than they ever have been in the history of our nation, and yet the same people that are enjoying the profits of our American industry are buying the tools in foreign nations. If these companies depend upon American purchasing power to make possible these profits, then they must also purchase from the American companies employing U.S. labor in this industry. Or in other terms, and I say

this with all the conviction I possess, that if they expect us to buy their gasoline and their other products, then we expect them also to buy American and build American.

We give them the rights to our natural resources. We give them every other inducement so that they can make they spend the ben-

a profit, and then they spend the ber efits of that abroad.

And here is something else which And here is something else which is am sure might startle a few people in this Convention, and that is, that many companies who do have a shipbuilding order are now finding it necessary to go to Japan and some European companies to obtain their steel. Apparcompanies to obtain their steel. Appar-ently, there is more money in beer cans and light steel than there is in heavy plate, shapes and structural steel. So, there isn't any steel available for shipbuilding for American companies to the end that American companies have to import from abroad. This is much more import from abroad. This is much more serious than it would seem on the surface. If this industry is going to survive, then it will take the combined efforts of every organization in the American trade union movement to prevail upon Congress to look into the conditions responsible for the death of this industry. this industry.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Any further discussion on the resolution on ship-

building?

If not, we will proceed to vote on the motion to adopt it. Those in favor of the motion signify by saying aye; contrary, nay. It is carried and so ordered. The Chair recognizes co-Secretary

Soderstrom. Committee co-Secretary Soderstrom

submitted the following resolution: **FARMER-LABOR UNITY**

Since its beginning. the American labor movement has sought to befriend and to aid the farmer, whether he works as an agricultural wage earner, a tenant, or on his own land.

It is only natural that organized labor should have a feeling of kinship toward those who work so hard to labor should have a feeling of kinship toward those who work so hard to raise the nation's food and fibre. Milions of AFL-CIO members' grew up on farms. Many of their families and friends are still in agriculture. Wo I labor recognize that the needs and aspirations of farm families differ little from our own. We are fully aware, too, that farmers and city workers mutually depend upon each other and too, that farmers and city working mutually depend upon each other and that one group cannot long prosper unless the other prospers, too.

Because of these convictions, organ-ized labor has consistently supported efforts to secure a just return and a better life for all who work in agricul-

We have actively supported farm co-operatives, rural electrification, an ade-quate system of price supports, farm credit aids, soil conservation, crop in-surance, farmer coverage under social security, and other measures to raise rural housing and health and educa-tional standards.

While many of these programs involve sizable public outlays which all taxpayers share, organized labor has supported and defended them as vital

to the welfare of seven million farm operators and farm wage earners and their families. We recognize, in fact, that they are vital to the well-being of the entire nation.

of the entire nation.

Since the ordeal of the depression we have observed, with great satisfaction, the gradual improvement in rural living standards, as special efforts were applied to meet the complex and often changing problems of American agriculture. This hopeful upward movement reached its peak, however, in 1951. Since then the income of farm families has lagged far behind the forward strides taken by other parts of the economy. of the economy.

This new misfortune has not about because of any slackening of effort on the part of the American farmers. Both agricultural output and efficiency are now at record highs.

The fault lies beyond the farm. It is, rather, the failure to establish a federal program to divert a larger part of our agricultural abundance to millions of potential consumers at home or our agricultural abundance to min-lions of potential consumers at home and overseas who want and need it, and to provide a more just return to the American farmer who produces it.

During the last three years the re-sponsibility for policies to meet the decline in farm income has rested on the Administration in on. Yet, the Secretary of each other Administration in one and other Administration decline in farm inco squarely on the Ad Washington. Yet, the Agriculture and other Agriculture and other Administration spokesmen are now telling the farmer that his plight is due to rising farm costs and the labor unions that supposedly bring them about.

This transparent alibi for the failure of his own agricultural policies surely does not elevate the stature of the Sec-retary of Agriculture or of the present Administration.

Since January 1953, when he took office, the combined price of all of the ttems for which the farmer pays did not rise; actually it declined by 1½ percent.

On the other hand, prices received by farmers have gone down 14 percent and total net agricultural income of farm operators, which includes all government payments, has dropped from almost \$15 billion in 1952 to a yearly rate of about \$10.5 billion today.

Sometimes it is argued that this tremendous farm income loss is really of little consequence since the number of farmers is also going down. Looked at on a "per farm" basis, however, the income drop since 1952 totals a staggering 20 percent.

It is true that, while over-all farm production and living costs have gone down, certain costs to the farmer have risen; but this is in no sense the fault organized labor.

Since 1952. the interest rate on the Since 1952, the interest rate on the money farmers borrow has risen most of all, by over 16 percent. Yet this misfortune, which labor also shares, stems directly from the "hard money" policy of the Administration.

The price of farm machinery, trucks and autos is also up: but the prices for these products were raised completely out of all proportion to any increase in labor costs.

Under these circumstances, the trade unions of America cannot be held responsible for today's agricultural crisis. The cause lies elsewhere and the Secretary knows this full well; now, therefore, be it

therefore, be it RESOLVED, A soundly conceived program to raise the income of America's farm families is basic to the welfare of trade unionists. Similarly, our effort to raise city worker standards, through collective bargaining and legislative action, ultimately helps to increase the consumption of food and fibre and thereby underping and enlarges the tion of food and fibre and underpins and enlarges the market of American agriculture.

Labor eagerly desires and will vigorously support corrective measures to restore and to raise agricultural income. In particular, we wish to aid the family operated farm through measures to increase its efficiency and its income so that the independent farmer may effectively compete with corporation farming and may remain the dominant producer in American argiculture. argiculture

Surely this great nation must assure to its farmers, who have fed and clothed us through war and depression and flood and drought, a full partner-ship in the unlimited promise of the ship in the u

The AFL-CIO and its affiliated organizations shall dedicate themselves to building an unshakeable bond of mutual understanding and cooperative action between farmers and workers, thereby to advance their common welfare and the well-being of the entire nation.

COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY SODER-STROM: Mr. President, I move the adoption of the resolution. I move the

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

. Committee co-Secretary Soderstrom presented the following resolution:

SURPLUS FOODS

There is at present the need for a greater distribution of surplus foods without the restrictions which the Department of Agriculture is apparently trying to put on the much-too-limited program now under way.

We in the American labor movement We in the American labor movement support in principle the surplus com-modities distribution program and urge its extension as we feel that through this program many communities across the country will be able to supplement the sometimes meager welfare assist-ance to the permanently disabled, the handicapped, and especially those on fixed incomes; for example, old age assistance reciplents and those receiv-ing pensions. Surplus foods will also help those who have exhausted unemassistance recipients are ing pensions. Surplus foods will also help those who have exhausted unemployment benefits and are unable to find work as well as those who are seeking work and drawing unemployment compensation. The surplus foods program would be an immeasurable supplement to the aid given to desupplement to the aid given to desupplement.

We in the organized labor movement believe that this proposed extension of surplus commodities would help to

bolster and strengthen the work of both the tax-supported welfare agen-cies and the many private health and welfare agencies in their job of help-ing to meet the unmet needs of many

ing to meet the unmet needs of many people.

We must make clear that we do not see in the surplus foods distribution program a final or even more than a temporary and partial solution to the overall welfare problem. This type of program, we must point out, runs the great danger of being turned into a government subsidy for low standards of living. We believe that the basic solution to the problem of low-income families must be, not charity or welfare aid, but a more fundamental concern for proper economic measures which will insure better job opportunities and a higher level of income.

We recognize the surplus foods program only as a temporary and stop-gap measure. We point out, too, that unless other steps are taken to remove the economic shortcomings which bring about the present need of these low-income families through such measures as a higher minimum wage, an expanding economy to provide jobs for those now unemployed and a sound social security program, that the problem will be forever with us; now, therefore, be it people.

be it

fore, be it RESOLVED, This convention goes on RESOLVED, This convention goes on record as urging all affiliated unions and councils and central labor bodies to actively participate in the extension of the surplus foods distribution to all people in need. This convention also goes on record as urging the Congress of the United States to extend and enlarge the surplus commodities distribution program to include all people in need regardless of the cause of that

COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY SODER-STROM: Mr. President, I move the adoption of the resolution.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

... Committee Co-Secretary Curran submitted the following resolution:

POLITICAL ACTION

Since the Founding of our Republic, American labor has been in the forefront of the fight to advance the welfare of our community.

Down through the years the American labor movement has constantly endeavored to raise the level of wages, to improve working conditions, and to raise the over-ail standard of living of all the working people of our country. Through strong organization following sound collective bargaining procedures we have helped make our democracy to withstand all assaults upon it.

Today, as a result of the efforts of our organizations, we have achieved laws embodying the 46-hour week, providing for workmen's compensation and compensation for persons thrown out of work through no fault of their own, protecting the health and safety standards of our working population, and providing a measure of security for our aged. for our aged.

Despite these achievements and the strength they have given to our country's economy, a small but powerful core of reactionary business groups continues to oppose the legitimate efforts at betterment of our organizations. Falling to thwart and frustrate the labor movement on the collective bargaining front, they have carried their destructive program to the legislative halls of the nation. Through unfair and inequitable legislation they have sought to punish American trade unions and to destroy, or render useless, our collective bargaining strength.

The enactment of the Taft-Hartley law and the enactment of "right to work" laws in 18 states of our union spearheaded the attempt to return American working people to a condition of economic serfdom. These laws constitute a dagger at the throat of American trade unions and a threat to the standard of living of every working man and woman.

ing man and woman.

To protect the gains we have achieved on the collective bargaining front and to stop the assaults upon our standards of living in the national Congress and the legislatures of the various states, we have been forced to turn to the field of political education and activity. We have sought to alert our members to the assaults being made upon our organizations and the standards of living which we have established.

We have sought to inform them of the records and actions of the legis-lators and other public officials who seek their votes in order that our memseek their votes in order that our members may exercise their independent judgment at election time. We have urged them to register and to vote in order that they may participate fully in the government of our country and we have urged them to contribute voluntarily to our political education funds in order that worthy candidates for public office need not rely solely upon the contributions of wealthy individuals and interests; now, therefore, be it be if

RESOLVED, This first convention of the world's largest trade union organ-ization affirms the need for a continu-ing and expanding non-partisan pro-gram of political education designed to protect and secure the legitimate economic and political aspirations of America's working men and women.

We call upon each and all of the affiliated organizations to render the Committee on Political Education of the AFL-CIO all aid and assistance that it may require in the achievement of our purpose.

The political activities of organized labor should be expanded and the AFL-ClO should provide assistance, direction and coordination to the political coordination and coordination are considered. of organized direction and coordination to the political education work of state, county and city federations and councils and also provide all possible aid and cooperation to the political education and action activities of the affiliated national and international unions.

One important phase of our political work should be the development of a program to place the appropriate vot-ing records of our elected officials in

159 AFL-CIO

each homes of member of ted organizations in order that may know the actions of these als with respect to the issues affiliated thev officials with respect to the issues which affect our national well-being and security.

Political activity among the wives, sisters and daughters of our membership as well as among the women members of our organization should be intensified to the end that their vast resources of skill, energy and devotion to the cause of good citizenship may be enlisted on our behalf.

be enlisted on our behair.

We reaffirm organized labor's traditional policy of avoiding entangling alliances with any other group and of supporting worthy candidates regardless of their party affiliation. We will cooperate wherever practical and feasing the state of the supporting worth when have the cooperate wherever practical and feasi-ble with other groups which have the same ideals and aims as our organiza-tion but we seek neither to capture any organization nor will we submerge our identity to any other group in any other memory. other manner.

To finance the program herein set forth, an annual campaign should be conducted for voluntary contributions from our members and we call upon each affiliated organization to render every possible cooperation and assistant

tance in this endeavor.

It is our firm belief that our democratic form of self-government as set forth in the Constitution of the United States is the best that has ever been States is the best that has ever been devised to meet the needs of free men. We pledge to it unselfish and unstinting support and vow that our every effort shall be directed to its preserva-

COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY CUR-AN: Mr. President, I move the adoption

of the resolution.

... The motion to adopt the resolution was seconded and carried unanimously. ... Committee co-Secretary Soderstrom submitted the following resolution:

WOMEN'S POLITICAL ACTIVITIES

For the past several years women For the past several years women have been playing an increasingly active role in the political life of our nation. In recent elections larger numbers of women than ever before registered and voted. In the campaigns which preceded these elections more women than ever before served on campaign committees in every capacity.

We view this development with approval and express the hope that it continues. We believe it represents a long over-due recognition by women that politics affects the lives and well-being of each individual citizen and that democracy imposes upon each that democracy imposes upon each citizen the responsibility to participate.

In this increasing political activity ne wives, sisters and daughters of ur trade union members are playing the their part. They are active at all levels of our political movement and are serving the cause of good govern-ment in every capacity. They have taken the lead in forming telephone brigades, holding coffee hours in their homes, volunteering their cierical skills, assisting in the canvass of their neigh-borhoods, and in serving as election day workers at the polls. As their exday workers at the poils. As their experience increases they are taking part in the active management of campaigns together with their union husbands and brothers in the effort to achieve a common goal.

state and local councils and Many state and local councils and federations have recognized the worth of their activity and have established programs for its furtherance. Many have appointed to their political action committees and educational leagues persons with the specific responsibility of developing and carrying on the program of family participation.

This program has been, and should be, an integral part of the political action program of our state bodies and international and national unions.

The preponderance of women over men of voting age is concentrated in the industrial areas where their votes the industrial areas where their votes are of particular importance to organized labor. Furthermore, it is in these areas where anti-labor forces are at work to win the votes of trade union wives; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED. In the coming elections there will be ample opportunity for us to continue to carry forward our program for family participation and we urge that this opportunity be utilized

to the fullest extent.

authorize direct and the Com-We authorize and direct the Committee on Political Education to continue to strengthen its program for integrating the family voter into the political action program of our organization through the continuance of family participation training conferences and the establishment and encouragement of the women's divisions of the labor leagues.

further urge our state and city central bodies and councils which have not as yet conducted family participation training conferences or established women's divisions to do so forthwith so that we may face the challenge of day election with our resources fully mobilized.

OMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY SODER-STROM: I move the adoption of the Committee's report on Women's Political Activities.

. . . The motion to adopt the resolu-tion on Women's Political Activities was seconded and carried unanimously.

. . . Committee co-Secretary Curran presented the following resolution:

ELECTORAL REFORMS

Democratic government depends, for its fullest realization, upon the greatest possible participation of those who live under that government and upon the full responsiveness of the government to the will of the majority. Anything less constitutes an imperfection in our form of government.

Unfortunately, such imperfections still exist in the form of outmoded election laws and practices and in anti-

Unfortunately, such imperfections still exist in the form of outmoded election laws and practices and in antiquated Congressional procedures. Together they operate to prevent full expression of the will of the majority, and to relieve our officials and other elected representatives from the full

responsibility they should have to the majority will.

At a time when the United States is At a time when the United States is the world leader of democratic nations, we cannot tolerate these blots upon the methods by which we govern ourselves. We cannot meet the problems of today with procedures and practices of yes-terday; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, The President and Vice President of the United States should be elected by direct popular vote. The electoral college system has outlived its usefulness, and should be abolished.

We believe, further, that a uniform primary law should be adopted by each state in order to permit direct and open primaries and to afford each person who desires it the opportunity to place his candidacy before the voters.

We believe, further, that a uniform registration system for each state, designed to facilitate rather than hinder free voting, should be adopted. All poll taxes should be abolished, and legalisms and technicalities which have done much to hamper voting should likewise be done away with.

COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY SODER-STROM: In the resolution the language appears in the printed literature, "Such as parent teacher associations." In line with the policy of not mentioning any organizations this language was eliminated at the request of the unions interested. With this change, the resolution is as follows: tion is as follows:

EDUCATION

Whereas, since the American trade union movement was founded, it has fought for the development of the public school and for an educational program through which every child and youth would not only master the basic tools of learning but would also be given some knowledge of the humanities, the fine arts and the liberal arts; some degree of manual dexterity; and an understanding of his duties, rights and responsibilities in democratic government; now, therefore, be it

ennment; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED; That the AFL-CIO reaffirms its support of these principles and
urges their implementation through a program of adequate well built school housing; a democratically administered school
system; statewide compulsory school
attendance laws in which loop-holes
are closed; free text-books for all children in the elementary and secondary
public high schools; a curriculum, so
varied and enriched as to assure to each
child the fullest development of
his personal capacity; classes small
enough to enable the teacher to teach
each child effectively; the development
of a strong teacher's union affiliated
with the AFL-CIO; and schools staffed
by professionally qualified teachers
who through training and experience
have developed a high sense of social who through training and experience have developed a high sense of social and moral responsibility. To secure and hold such teachers the community must:

a. Provide adequate pay to enable teacher to support himself and his family properly.

Assure the teacher freedom to

b. Assure the teacher freedom to teach the truth.
c. Provide personal and profession-al security through the establish-ment of the legal right to bargain collectively, strong tenure laws; and adequate statutory pension provi-

d. Help develop recognition of joint responsibility of the family, the school, and the community for respect for law and order to be reflected in the child's conduct.

e. Provide good working condi-

tions, including:

1. Relief from clerical and other non-teaching assignments.

2. A free and uninterrupted lunch Full 3. Full recognition of so-called "extra curricular activities" as an in-

tegral part of the school's work, Adequate Support for Our Schools

Adequate Support for Our Schools

The AFL-CIO recognizes that these demands place a responsibility on the community, and, therefore, pledges to fight for adequate financial support for our schools, through a program of coordinated support from government at the local, state and Federal level. However, in giving Federal funds to the states, safeguards must be written into the legislation giving state and Federal support for education, to assure the use of funds for the purposes, and in the manner in which the law and educational needs require them to be used.

Such Federal funds should be disposed to the control of the state of the sta

Such Federal funds should be dis-Such Federal funds should be distributed and administered under state law, shall be allocated so as to recognize population, relative need and taxpaying capacity; shall supplement not supplant state and local funds and shall be made available to all parts of the state. States shall submit plans for expenditures which shall be subject to Federal audit and any aggrieved state or aggrigued citizen shall have state or aggrieved citizen shall have his complaint reviewed by the Com-missioner of Education with right to appeal to Federal courts.

Labor recognizes that practical legis-lative conditions demand that Federal aid be provided for specific purposes.

The five principal specific and basic fields in which Federal aid is needed imme-diately are Federal aid for public school construction; for public school teachdately are Federal aid for public school cancercition; for public school teachers' salaries; for loans and scholarships for all worthy students; for health and welfare services for all children regardless of race or creed; and for the eradication of adult illiteracv.

eracy.

The AFL-CIO is committed to the basic principle of affording the educational opportunities for all persons regardless of race, creed or status. It is, therefore, strongly committed to help assure the fullest possible support for the implementation of the Supreme Court decision in outlawing segregation in the nation's public schools. It therefore, holds that no Federal funds should be granted to any state which takes action in defiance of the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, provided that funds should be made available to such school districts as conform to the decision.

The White House Conference

on Education

The White House Conference on Education, following long and serious consideration of the major aspects of the crisis in American education, concluded that "the overwhelming majority of the more than two thousand delegates favor federal financial support for education." The report is a clear-cut expression of the American people's desire that the federal government help the states to finance construction of new buildings, to increase teachers' salaries, and to expand school curricula and materials. Support for federal aid for public school building was widespread among the approximately 1,800 participants from 48 states and territories of the United States, and the majority also, favored general aid to public schools where needed.

Only 4% of those present at the Washington conference were representatives of labor. This failure to recognize labor's active interest in and concern with current needs of the public schools should be brought to the attention of the Governors and the state educational authorities who were responsible for the selection of participants. State federations of labor should be alert in the future to see that labor is properly represented on planning committees on the local and state levels and that labor representatives take an active part in such conferences.

The White House Conference report represented a signal victory for the educational policies which organized labor has advocated for many years. The campaign conducted by all of organized labor resulted in a labor delegation which was well informed and articulate, although numerically a minority.

The conclusions reached by the White House Conference represent progress. However, their implementation may be a long way off. The same forces which have been opposed to federal aid will continue to use their power and intuence to prevent Congress from appropriating adequate federal funds for schools. We in the united labor movement will need to intensify our efforts to insure success. It is essential that our program be continued at local, state, and national levels until America's children are assured of the educational opportunities necessary in a complex society.

Federal Aid in the Development of the Arts

The AFL-CIO hails the encouraging developments in Congress giving recognition to the significance of the arts in American culture. It pledges active support to programs which help create and develop aesthetic values in youth and adults.

School Lunch Program

The AFL-CIO urges support for the expansion of the present school lunch program.

The Children's Bureau

The AFL-CIO deeply appreciates the services for children made available through the Children's Bureau and urges adequate support for its work.

Rural Library Demonstration Centers

The AFL-CIO urges support of legislation providing for Rural Library Demonstration Centers and for a further development of mobile library services in city and suburban areas.

The United States Office of Education

The AFL-CIO urges long overdue appropriations to enable the Office of Education to conduct research in the field of education. Education is the one major area in which basic data are not currently available.

Academic Freedom and Integrity

The AFL-CIO believes that truth must be taught at all school levels in a manner best suited to the age of the children taught. It strongly opposes any form of academic censorship or legislative control of curriculum content. It opposes the use of the schools for propaganda purposes by any group or organization.

The AFL-CIO believes that the freedom of the teacher as a citizen must be
honored at all times. However, the
right of the community to protect our
schools and our youth from those who
would seek to direct or control their
thinking leads us to recognise the need
of having the community deny employment as a teacher to anyone who is
subject to controls, foreign or domestic, which limit his freedom of thought
and speech, and which would prevent
the teacher from teaching the truth
fully in any presentation.

Vocational Education

From its inception the trade union movement in America has recognized the value of vocational education. Labor has continuously supported the principle of such a program of federal support of such a program even when it has opposed certain administrative features of the program.

The AFLECIO strongly urges support

features of the program.

The AFL-CIO strongly urges support for a program of vocational education which recognizes the primary responsibility of the trade unions in developing skill and craftsmanship. It urges the development of a program through which a more extensive appreciation of the value of such training can be developed in all elements of society. At the same time, the AFL-CIO pledges its continuing support for the program giving financial support in apprenticeship training in direct cooperation with the trade unions in the fields in which the training is given.

Labor Extension Service

Labor Extension Service

The AFL-CIO reaffirms support of a
Labor Extension Service in the United
States Department of Labor to provide
service and material comparable to
those provided through the Department
of Agriculture to farmers, and businessmen through the Department of
Commerce, administered at the national
and state levels through advisory
boards made up of representatives of
the organized labor movement and cooperating institutions and agencies.

Educational T. V.

We believe that educational T. V. has proved its value where stations have been established and we insist the Federal Communications Commission continue to reserve the channels set aside exclusively for educational purposes.

All T. V. educational stations should have an operating committee fully representative of all interests in the community.

Community Cooperation

The AFL-CIO calls upon its state and local unions to urge their members to participate in community activities in cooperation with other civic groups, and through such a cooperative program, to develop support for the education programs and projects it supports for the betterment of the community.

OMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY SODER-STROM: Mr. President, I move the adoption of their report.

. . . The motion was seconded and car-ried unanimously and the resolution on Education was adopted. Committee co-Secretary Curran submit-

ted the following:

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

The place of the Government worker in the trade union movement has long been recognized, and the benefits which have resulted to those employes and to the Labor movement as a whole are

many.

the Labor movement as a whole are many.

The enactment of the Lloyd-LaFollette Act in 1912, secured for all employes of the Federal Government the right to membership in organizations that would not impose an obligation to strike or participate in strikes against the Federal Government. The growth of Postal and Federal Employes organizations since that time is directly attributable to that Act.

Starting with World War I, Government employe unions have occupied a clearly defined place in arsenals, naval shipyards, postal, administrative, technical, scientific and in other facilities in the Executive Branch of the Government. In practically every instance where advancements for such employes have been made, the improvements in their work standards have resulted from their efforts through their organizations.

As a result of their organization intelligent leadership and the cooperation of the Trade union movement, the employes of our Federal Government have made tremendous strides in their ef-

fort to secure for their members benefits comparable to those enjoyed by fits comparable to those workers in private industry.

workers in private industry.

Because of the nature of their employment and the total lack of the accepted collective bargaining machinery common to private industry, benefits secured for Postal and Federal Employees almost invariably require Acts of Congress and programs for their future benefits are as a result stated in terms of legislation. This legislation results from their persuasive efforts based on sound practices and justifiable demands. justifiable demands.

In the past, legislation in the in-terest of Federal employes has taken many forms, including, but not limited to, the length of the work-week and work-day, the number of holidays, rates of basic and overtime compensarates of basic and overtime compensa-tion, retirement, unemployment com-pensation, disability compensation and other benefits for active service or superannuation. Many of these benefits have been achieved slowly but certain-ly through the coordination of em-ploye efforts through their affiliated

The Federal Government must recognize its responsibility to provide wages, hours and conditions of employment at least equal to those enjoyed in private industry; indeed Government should assume the role of leader in advocating improvements in employe welling improvements in employe welfare. Such a program can only result to the best interest of the Federal Government and its employes. The average citizen or taxpayer has a stake in this endeavor. He has a right to expect the best possible results from his tax dollar and this result may only be obtained through enlightened personnel policies on the part of our Federal Government. policies on Government.

These notable gains would not have been possible except for the whole-hearted support and cooperation of the American labor movement.

There remains much to be done to bring the wages, hours and conditions of the employes of the Federal Government up to the levels of people employed in private industry.

The officers and delegates of affiliated The officers and delegates of affiliated Federal employe organizations solicit the full support of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations in bringing to a successful conclusion the following legislative and administrative program; now, therefore, be it RESOLVED:

Retirement

Retirement

The Federal Retirement System is long overdue for liberalization and modification to keep abreast of the times. We vigorously support legislation to amend the Federal Employee Retirement Act, and we endorse the provisions of S. 1153—Johnston (S.C.) and H. R. 3791—Morrison (La.), to allow optional retirement after 30 years of service regardless of age. We ask Congress to amend and liberalize the Federal Employe Retirement Act in the computing of annuities, and use the formula as provided for in Public Law 303 of the 83rd Congress, that

computes the annuities of members of Congress and employes in the Legis-

Postal and Federal Employes Salaries

Salaries of Federal and Postal Employes have historically lagged behind the cost of living. The first session of the 84th Congress after protracted consideration passed Public Law 68 and Public Law 94 providing an extremely modest though totally inadequate salary increase for Federal and Postal Employes. Employes.

Despite all the pronouncements con-cerning the devotion and dedication to merit principles allegedly espoused by the present administration, the actions of its administrators have consistently been directly in opposition to those basic requirements of a sound civil service system such as adequate sal-aries, and a recognition of the dignity of those employed by our Federal Government.

In the recent effort to enact neces-try salary legislation these politically sary salary legislation these points appointed administrators have on all possible occasions used every parliapossible occasions used every parliamentary device, every trick, to erect barriers to confuse and befuddle not only the employes but the Congress and the American people as well, by dragging into the salary question such extraneous matters as postal rates and postal reclassification, as well as minor so-called "fringe benefits," such as insurance, hospitalization and bond premiums, all of which employees could readily purchase for themselves if they were properly compensated.

were properly compensated.

No question of postal rates or taxes can be germane to the question of a proper salary for the employees of our Federal Government.

We pledge continuation of efforts in behalf of just and equitable treatment for Postal and Federal employes. We hereby support the efforts of affiliated unions of government employees to obtain an adequate and permanent sal-ary increase in an amount to he deterobtain an adequate and permanent salary increase in an amount to be determined by them, on the basis of the demonstrated needs of such employees including recognition of the employees' acknowledged increased productivity and without consideration of extraneous matters which are not germane to the salary question. This section will assure equal pay for equal work for American citizens employed outside continental United States.

We call upon the 2nd session of the 84th Congress to make this matter an early order of business to the end that justice will no longer be denied these loyal and faithful servants of our nation.

Statutory Recognition of Organizations

We support legislation for statutory recognition of organizations of postal and federal employees and collective and rederal employees and collective bargaining and impartial arbitration of disputes between agencies and union representation on area and depart-mental wage boards and AFL-CIO unions representing postal and federal

Opposition to the Assumption of Management Functions by the Postal Inspection Service

We urge the Postmaster General to instruct Post Office Inspectors to dis-Postmaster General to continue their assumed management functions of the postal service and return to the original duties of the prevention of depredations in the mail.

Technological Developments

Rapid technological advancement made during the last ten years has increased individual productivity with-

increased individual productivity without corresponding remuneration to the
Postal and Federal employee.
Automation has resulted in elimination of many positions and opportunity
for advancement in the Postal and
Federal civilian service; at the same
time, private industry has generally
accepted a shorter basic work week of
less than 40 hours.
Postal and Federal Government Administrators meanwhile here sailed to

Postal and Federal Government Administrators meanwhile have failed to give proper consideration to human values when the effects of automation eliminate the opportunity for continued employment

employment.

The Federal Government should properly provide leadership in recognizing the adverse long range economic impact upon our national economy if automation continues to eliminate opportunity for employment. A shorter basic work week for Postal and Rederal employees would objectively solve, a degree the adverse conserving the contraction.

basic work week for Postal and Federal employees would objectively solve, to a degree, the adverse economic impact of present and future automation. We pledge active support to enactment of legislation to establish a 35-hour basic work week in the Postal and Federal civilian service; without loss of hourly, weekly, biweekly, monthly or annual salary to the Postal and Federal civilian employees. Minimum overtime one hour; time and a half for all Saturday work; double time for Sunday work. for Sunday work.

Detailed Legislative Program

Detailed Legislative Program

We propose the following:

(a) Enactment of legislation or regulations that will provide for inservice-training programs regardless of race, creed, or color, within the Classified Civil Service where such training programs do not violate the principle of recognized crafts apprentice programs and the General Policy of promotions-from-within that service with seniority being the determining factor, all other conditions being equal.

(b) Favor removal from Government service of any known member of the Communist party or other subversive groups and the discontinuace of the practice of labeling as security risks separated employees whose disloyalty has not been proved or even questioned.

(c) Endorse and vigorously support revision of the Classification Act of 1949 for Federal classification principles with equal voice

granted to AFL-CIO unions in de-termining grade levels. Develop-ment of Government-wide promotion standards; promotion from within agency wherever practicable

(d) Actively support legislation to grant all employees of the United States Government 26 days' an-nual leave—15 days sick leave an-

nually, to be cumulative.
Support enactment of Rhodes Bill
H. R. 4082 relating to automotive
equipment for special delivery messengers.

(f) Enactment of legislation to provide equitable overtime pay for Federal employees.

(g) Extension of the principles of the Employees' Compensation Anpeals Board with provisions for the Board to hold hearings in geographical centers.

(h) Urge enactment of legislation to remove multiple taxation.

(i) Support legislation to exempt retirement annulties from Federal Income Tax.

(j) Amendments to Civil Service Employees

(j) Amendments to Civil Service Employees' Retirement Act giving greater benefits and protection to those now retired and to those that

those now retired and to those that will retire.

(k) Establishment of seniority principles among all United States Government employees.

(1) Support legislation providing time credits to postal transportation cierks assigned to runs in which the average speed of trains exceeds 42 miles per hour.

(m) Enactment of legislation to prevent use of military personnel in Federal Government positions which by their nature could effectively be filled by civilian employees.

(n) Enactment of legislation to provide additional compensation to classified employees for tempo-

vide additional compensation to classified employees for temporary hazardous duties.

(o) Oppose any merger of the Civil Service Retirement Act and the Social Security Act.

(p) Vigorously oppose establishment of one Central Wage Board and support amendments to the present Wage Boards looking to the establishment of a system to bring true collective bargaining between agencies of Government and the Unions representing its employees.

and the Unions representing the employees.

(q) Legislation or an executive order to establish a Safety Program throughout the Federal Government in keeping with the principles as outlined in S. 368, introduced by Senator Murray in the 83d Contracts.

Congress.

(r) Legislation to amend, clarify and strengthen the 1950 performance

strengthen the 1950 performance rating act.

(s) Support the intent of H. R. 2255 to protect all employees (Wage Board, Classification Act and Field Service Postal Employees) in protecting their salaries when their positions are downgraded.

(t) Support legislation making it mandatory for at least one member of the U. S. Civil Service Commission to be apointed from AFL-CIO membership.

(u) Approval of a prompt and impar-tial appeals machinery available to all postal and federal employ-ees encountering adverse person-nel actions.

Recognition of human values and the impact on Federal and postal workers of the increased use of electronic devices and other auto-matic methods of increasing em-

ployee productivity.

(w) Hospital and medical insurance program for Federal employees with employee representations. (w) Hospital and medical insurance program for Federal employees with employee representation in administration of plan and Federal Government to underwrite at least 50% of the total cost, and with administrative principles consistent with those approved by the AFL-CIO for administration of health and welfare funds negotiated with employers in private industry. Legislation to provide for the admittance to federally operated and/or state-supported institutions for those American citizens federally employed and their dependents who are outside continental limits of the United States.

(x) Adequate legislation to restore to civilian employees of the Defense Department outside continental United States, standards of living comparable to those citizens in continental United States.

citizens in continental United States.

(y) Vigorously oppose the Post Office Department's recently instituted apeed up system, misnamed "Works Standards Program." Con-tinue to oppose the abolition of the Postal Savings System.

(z) Support legislation to correct in-equities and injustices existing for Federal Fire Fighters in all branches of the Defense Depart-ment.

(aa) Support legislation to observe on Friday all legal holidays that fall on Saturday.

Other Issues

We also believe that the use of steel intaglio postage stamps should be encouraged instead of metered mail; claims before the Employees Compensation Board should be expedited; Post Office Department's work standards program should be eliminated; wages and hours for Federal Frefighters should be standardized; the Postal Savings System should be continued; and provision should be made for mentally ill overseas employees, and for adequate housing for Department of Defense employees ees overseas. ees overseas.

COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY CUR-RAN: I move adoption of the resolution. The motion was seconded.

VICE PRESIDENT DOHERTY: President and delegates, I rise in support of the Committee's report, but find it necessary to call the attention of the Convention to the fact that there is no reference to the infamous Hatch Act in this report.

Through no fault of the Resolutions Committee, but rather due to inadvertence, this report does not show that the Federal employee organizations, all of them, are committed to amendments which would restore to all Federal em-

ployees their full rights and privileges. I want it understood, then, that the opposition of the Federal employees to the Hatch Act should be the sense of

the Convention.

the Hatch Act should be the sense of the Convention.

I would also draw attention to the apprehension that has existed during this week regarding the Government and Civic Employees Organizing Committee of the old Congress of Industrial Organizations and the Government Employees Council of the old American Federation of Labor. I am authorized to say that within a very short period of time following the adjournment of this Convention there will be called in Washington a meeting of both groups, having as its purpose to find ways and means of ironing out whatever differences may exist, and above all the common goal of that meeting will be to organize the unorganized Government workers, so that when we come back into convention assembled we will be able to say that there are 2½ million Federal workers affiliated with the AFL-CIO.

Thank you. CIO

Thank you.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Is there further discussion on this report? The motion is to adopt the resolution. I am sure there is no objection to the Federation and Congress taking full note of the attitude of all the Govern ment employee unions in regard to the Hatch Act.

The motion to adopt the resolution was carried unanimously.

... Committee co-Secretary Soderstrom continued the report of the Committee as follows:

PAY TELEVISION

There are now pending before the ederal Communications Commission There are now pending before the Federal Communications Commission certain applications which would provide for and permit the granting by that Commission to specified interests, exclusive licenses to broadcast, and charge for, television programs which are now being received without charge in the private homes of America.

private homes of America.

It is our sincere belief that such a plan known as "Pay Television" would constitute and become an infringement on the property right now enjoyed by the general public on a no fee basis. Such a plan would be an intrusion into and a violation of the privacy of the home, and would curtail greatly the free use of a medium which has become a part of the American home; now, therefore het therefore, be it

RESOLVED. The AFL-CIO opposes the granting by the Federal Communications Commission of licenses permitting "Puy Television" and request the Oflicers of the AFL-CIO to make known to the members of the Federal Communications Commission and to the Members of the Congress of the United States the resistion expressed in this resolution. the position expressed in this resolution.

COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY SODER-STROM: 1 move adoption of the resolution.

The motion was seconded and carried.

Committee co-Secretary Soderstrom presented the following resolution:

RESOLUTION RE: PERMANENT COMMITTEE OF BUILDING AND CONSTRUCTION TRADES DEPART-MENT AND INDUSTRIAL UNION DEPARTMENT TO RESOLVE DIFFERENCES

WHEREAS, A committee representing Building and Construction Trades epartment and a committee represent-Department met in Department and a committee represent-ing the CIO Industrial Unions met in Washington, D. C. on November 14, 1955, and again in New York City on November 29, 1955, for the purpose of exploring possible solutions to existing conflicts and conflicts, and

WHEREAS, It was the consensus of agreement between the two committees that a permanent committee should be established to resolve present conflicts and those that may arise in the future,

WHEREAS, the agreement between the two committees was to the effect that the respective committees would report to President Reuther of the CIO and President Meany of the AFL recomending a joint committee from the Industrial Union Department of the merged organization and the Building and Construction Trades Department of the merged organization and merged organization, and

WHEREAS, Both committees reported and obtained approval from Fre dent Meany and President Reuther the establishment of a permane permanent committee, and

WHEREAS. It was further agreed between the two committees that the duties of the permanent committee to be established shall be to develop rules of procedure by mutual agreement for the adjustment of any conflict of interest that may presently exist or may arise in the future, such rules of procedure to be subject to the approval of the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO merged federation; now, therefore, be it fore, be it

RESOLVED. That a permanent committee be established composed equally of representatives of the Building and Construction Trades Department and from the Industrial Union Department, and that the duties of this permanent committee shall be to develop rules of procedure for the adjustment of any conflict of interest that may presently exist or may arise in the future, said rules of procedure when formulated shall be subject to the approval of the Executive Council of the merged federation, in accordance with the Constitution.

COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY SODER-STROM: The Committee recommends the adoption of this resolution. . . . The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

COOPERATIVES

COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY We have one statement to read:

"In the afternoon of the first day of the Convention, the resolution on Co-operatives was adopted. Through an

inadvertence, we find that the last phrase on the resolved was omitted. I ask unanimous consent that this phrase, which reads, but also maintain labor-management relations that carry out trade union principles, be added to the resolution."

to the resolution.
We move the adoption of that state-

ment.

The motion for adoption of the nent was seconded and carried statement unanimously.

ADDITIONAL RESOLUTIONS

ADDITIONAL RESOLUTIONS

COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY CURRAN: In addition to the resolutions which
the Resolutions Committee has submitted
to this convention, additional resolutions
have been referred to the AFL-CIO by
both the AFL and the CIO conventions.
At the AFL convention, these resolutions
were referred to the Executive Council of
the AFL-CIO. The resolutions from the
CIO were referred to this convention any
our Resolutions Committee now recommends that these also be referred to the
Executive Council for consideration and
action. Because the text of these resolutions has not been printed in the proceedings of the CIO convention, the Resolutions Committee recommends that they
be printed at this point in the proceedings
of this convention.

They are as follows:

They are as follows:

RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT

RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT

We reaffirm our belief that the natural resources of this country must be used for the greatest good, the greatest number, for the longest time possible. The growth of population, expanding technology of demands for an ever higher standard of living require the fullest practical development of the Nation's resources taken from the land, sea and air. While carefully planning the use of available supplies of existing resources, progress in the scientific arts provides our economy an opportunity to develop new and additional resources to meet the needs of modern day living.

From recent reports and studies such as that of the President's Commission on Materials Policy, we have learned that the raw material demands of our industrial economy will in the next 20 years far outstrip our supplies. If we are to achieve our potentials by way of an expanding industrial economy, higher standard of living, a greater level of prosperity, and if we are to maintain and extend employment opportunities for our citizens, this problem of raw materials must be solved. As has been pointed out in these studies and reports, the raw materials problem can only be solved if we conserve and utilize to the maximum extent the resource potentials of the U. S. and its allies around the world.

its allies around the world.

its allies around the world.

Labor particularly has its stake in a sound natural resources policy for conservation and maximum utilization. The extraction and primary processing of our raw materials in the natural resources of the country provide hundreds of thousands of jobs. Millions of jobs in turn are dependent upon a continuing flow of these raw materials to the industrial portions of our economy. Our rivers, streams and forests, in addition furnish water supplies for countless communities and recreational opportunities for increasing millions

of our citizens. Much of our food and fiber comes from public grazing lands and from lands which have been irrigated through public river development projects. Various regions of the country are in need of protection of their homes, their business and their jobs through water development projects which serve to control floods and at the same time provide additional benefits by way of low cost hydroelectric energy.

In view of the tremendous stake which labor and all other segments of the American community have in the natural resources of the country, it is intolerable that the present Administration should be pursuing a policy of blundering and giving away important segments of our atural resources heritage. We deplore these policies of the present Administration and pledge ourselves to do all in our power to have them changed.

Among the prime examples of such give-aways has been the surrender to a few states of the tremendous offshore oil reserves which belong to all the people of the U.S. and which could heave are Much of our food and

give-aways has been the surrender to a few states of the tremendous offshore oil reserves which belong to all the people of the U. S. and which could have provided vast revenues dedicated to improving our educational system. Another example has been the giveaway to private power companies of such incomparable hydroelectric power sites as that of Hells Canyon on the Snake River on the Idaho-Oregon border. Still another example of this giveaway policy has been the sale of large tracts of Government timber to favored private operators without competitive bidding. Another example of the way in which the country's natural relarge tracts of Government timber to favored private operators without competitive bidding. Another example of the way in which the country's natural resources has been plundered has been the approval by this Administration of phony mining claims which has permitted other surface resources of these claims once the patents have been issued. Another attempt to give away an important segment of the natural resources of the country was temporarily stopped. This was when Congressman Wesley D'Ewart, Republican of Montana, introduced a bill by which the cattlemen and ship growers would have obtained vested

D'Ewart, Republican of Montana, introduced a bill by which the cattlemen and ship growers would have obtained vested private interest in our national forests and other public lands in place of the permits or leases which they now possess. Had Mr. D'Ewart been successful the Federal agencies charged with the responsibility of administering the national forests and other public lands involved would have been deprived of their authority to manage these lands so as to protect the timber, the watersheds values, the recreational values and the other values which these lands possess.

Although this attempt at giveaway was stopped in the Congress we now witness the spectacle of this same Mr. D'Ewart being appointed to the position of Assistant Secretary of Interior for Public Land Management. Unless his nomination is blocked in the Senate in the forthcoming session of the Congress Mr. D'Ewart will be able to do through administration what he was unable to accomplish with the bill he introduced into the Congress. In the light of the foregoing the AFL-CIO recommends the following:

1. Forests. That with respect to the public forest resources of the U. S. current malpractices of administration be corrected and new legislation be enacted to ensure that the full annual sustained yield allowable cut of these forests be offered for sale so as to sustain the hundreds of thousands of jobs and the hundreds of thousands of jobs and the hundreds of thousands of jobs and the hundreds of the corrected and the land the hundreds of thousands of jobs and the hundreds of the second of the corrected and the land of the corrected and the

dreds of communities whose continuance of prosperity is dependent upon these timber supplies. Moreover that it be made mandatory that public timber be offered for sale on the basis of open competitive bidding and that present practices leading to discrimination and favor of chosen operators be discontinued. In this connection we urge that with respect to areas and species of timber with respect to which there is adequate installed plant capacity, that timber be offered for sale in small blocks with the further requirement that cutting on such timber be started within a reasonable period after the sale, and that all timber must be cut and removed within 3 years from the sale date. With respect to areas of timber species in which there is not adequate existing installed plant capacity it is recognized that long term sales of timber in large blocks is sound public policy if employed for the purpose of inducing new investment in plant facilities.

Federally developed access roads can be the supplies of the purpose of rederally developed access roads and the policy in the len maintain competitive opportunities

ognized that long it sound public policy if employed for the purpose of inducing new investment in plant facilities. Federally developed access roads can help maintain competitive opportunities in the bidding for timber rights in the large remaining stands. The access roads bill enacted by the Congress must be implemented with adequate appropriations and a vigorous administration in the public interest by the Department of Interior. Thus, 6½ million acres of forest land will be available for perpetual, sustained yield programs.

We further recommend action by Federal forest agencies to develop fully the recreational potentials of public forest lands so that the hunting, fishing, hiking, camping and scenic values of these lands can be enjoyed by ever increasing numbers of our citizens and perpetuity.

2. Minerals. Under the archaic mining laws which apply to federally-owned public lands including our national forests, legalized plunder is currently authorized. Even the few protections that exist in such mining laws have been weakened or nullified by the actions of the present Administration as is illustrated by the grant of patents in the notorious Al Sarena mining claims case. In this instance it appears that some \$700,000 to \$800,000 worth of national forest timber was given away to some mining claims speculators by this Administration in the guise of mining claims.

We commend the 84th Congress for taking a step in the right direction in the amendments to the old mining laws which were enacted earlier this year. These amendments to the old mining laws which were enacted earlier this year. These amendments to the old mining laws which were enacted earlier this year. These amendments to the old mining laws which were enacted earlier this year. These amendments to the old mining laws which were enacted earlier this year. These amendments to the old mining laws which were enacted earlier this year. These amendments to the old mining laws which were enacted earlier this year. These amendments to the old mining law

NATIONAL RELIGION AND LABOR FOUNDATION

The various religious faiths and de-nominations in America have repeatedly expressed their approval of the basic principle of trade union association. They have, particularly through their agencies for social action, supported many of the

socially and economically progressive measures sought by labor. In turn, like their fellow Americans, most union members believe in and support the cause of Profestant. Both Religion and Labor seek to increase social justice. Both are natural allies in the struggle to improve life in America for all.

In order to further that alliance, the National Religion and Labor Foundation has for many years served as a bridge of understanding. Its local Religion and Labor Fellowships have done much for labor and religion alike by providing a common meeting ground for rabbis, priests and ministers together with AFL, CIO and independent Labor Leaders, clearing away misunderstandings and increasing local and national cooperation on important issues. It has received the endorsement of the late Presidents William Green of the AFL and Philip Murray of the CIO, and of Presidents George Meany and Walter Reuther, therefore, be it RESCLYED. That the American Federa-

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations commend the work of the National Religion and Labor Foundation, a non-sectarian membership organization to our International Unions and affiliated organizations. It recommends cooperation in the establishment and work of local Religion and Labor Fellowships, and it further commends to its affiliates support of the national organization by becoming supporting group members, in the belief that religion and labor must walk tothat religion and labor must walk to-gether if the great and worthy aims of both are to be most completely fulfilled.

WOMEN'S AUXILIARIES

The Auxiliaries have, through their educational programs, acquainted the wives, mothers, sisters and daughters of educational programs, acquainted the wives, mothers, sisters and daughters of our union members with the history and goals of our labor unions. They have staged union label campaigns, contests, and exhibits promoting the union label and have issued a directory of union-made products. They belong to the National Safety Council and their own community safety councils and promote safety in every way they can in the homes, schools and on the highways.

Through the local union and county council political action committees they have worked for the election of endorsed candidates by registering the unregistered, forming telephone brigades, doing the necessary clerical work, plus any other duties assigned to them.

The Auxiliaries, by staging demonstrations and by boycotting products of companies during labor disputes, have assisted the unions in their successful settlement of these disputes.

The Auxiliaries have provided a well-balanced recreation program for the union members and their families.

members and their families.

The Auxiliaries have been exceedingly active in the various community drives, assisting not only in a monetary way but also by donating their personal services on a year-around basis. They serve on community boards and act as community counsellors to our union members.

They have also been active in the civil defense program by serving as block wardens and members of the Ground Observer Corps, therefore, be it RESOLVED that the AFL-CIO arrange

a meeting of a joint committee composed of five members each from the Industrial Union Auxiliaries and the American Federation of Women's Auxiliaries of Labor as soon as possible to discuss merger plans.

That representatives of AFL-CIO attend this meeting to advise and assist. That when details of the merger are completed a Convention of the two auxil-iary groups shall be called.

CRUSADE FOR FREEDOM

WHEREAS, The Communists continue to enslave hundreds of millions of people throughout the world by means of deceit, propaganda and tyranny, and

WHEREAS, We recognize that the struggle for men's minds must result in ultimate victory for the free world, and WHEREAS. The continued enslavement

of the seventy million people of the satellite countries behind the Iron Curtain is a grim barrier to the cause of freedom and to the hope for peace, and

WHEREAS, America's Crusade for Freedom has proven to be one of the really effective instruments in the struggle for men's minds because it tells the truth about what is happening in the free world and behind the fron Curtain, and

whereas, During the past five years the work of the Crusade, the Free Europe Committee, Radio Free Europe and Free Europe Press have done a remarkably effective job of strengthening the bonds of brotherhood between organized labor in America and the laboring classes who once knew freedom behind the Iron Curtain. and tain, and

WHEREAS, The continued effectiveness of the Crusade for Freedom depends on the intensified financial and moral support of the American people, particularly in the labor movement, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the AFL-CIO Execu-tive Council believes that the Crusade for Freedom merits the wholehearted en-dorsement and support of the entire uni-fied American labor movement.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary-Treasurer Schnitzler announced the receipt of the following communications:

December 7, 1955

Washington Hon. George Meany, President, AFL-CIO, 71st Regiment Armory, Park Ave. and 34th St.

warmest congratulations and heartiest good wishes to you and to Walter Reuther, and the fifteen hundred delegates assembled in what I believe, will in future years, be recorded as one of the most historic meetings in the history of our republic. Common folks in all walks of life should be happy at the thought of a united fighting force organized to battle in their behalf. As the senior Senator from North Dakota elected by the farmers, the workers, and the small businessmen, I know of no reason why we cannot join hands to unite in the common bond, making this nation of ours the great country

that our forefathers, in framing the Constitution destined it to become. Regards.

WILLIAM LANGER United States Senator

December 7, 1955

New York, N. Y. George Meany, President, AFL-CIO, 71st Regiment Armory.

The Anti-Defamation League of B'Nai The Anti-Defamation League of E'Nai B'Rith offers its congratulations to united and organized labor. As American citizens. We are gratified by the maturity and statesmanship demonstrated in the fusion of AFL and CIO. The impact of which should bring greater physical and social benefits to all the families of our nation. And your united determination to strike out against the evils of discrimination and second class citizenship for minority groups immeasurably strengthens the cause for harmony and brotherhood among all people. For this we salute you. we salute you.

HENRY EDWARD SCHULTZ National Chairman

December 7, 1955

New York, N. Y. George Meany, President, AF Convention, 71st Regiment Armory. AFL-CIO

On behalf of the National Committee for Labor Israel, we congratulate you and your fifteen million members on the successful unification of the American labor movement. Labor in the free world is following your proceedings with joy and approval. To the enslaved workers in the proval. To the ensiaved workers in the totalitarian lands you carry the hope that some day they too will be free. We thank you for past support of Israel and her great labor movement, the Histadrut. We are confident of your continued cooperation.

JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG, National Chairman, ISAAC HAMLIN, Chair-man Executive Committee, DOV BIEGUN, National Secretary.

December 8, 1955

New York, N. Y. George Meany, President Armory, 34th St. & Park Ave. President, AFL-CIO,

Armory, 34th St. & Park Ave.

In behalf of 200 stewards meeting in general council on Wednesday, December 7th, 1955, we wish to extend our heartfelt greetings to the officers and delegates assembled at the Convention for bringing about a united labor movement in our country. We pledge you our support in advancing the cause of labor and the welfare of all the people of our nation.

LEON J. DAVIS, President Local 1119

Retail Drug Employees Union

Retail Drug Employees Union International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, Tokyo Branch Office. Brothers and Sisters: The Co-ordinating Committee of the Japanese Trade Unions affiliated with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions is extremely happy to convey this message of greetings and congratulations to the delegates assembled here on this glorious occasion of inaugural merger conference of the great two labor organizations representing sixteen million workers of the United States, the American Federation of

abor and the Congress of Industrial

Labor and the Corporations.

The successful unity you are demonstrating here before the free trade strating here before the free world strating here before the free trade union movements of the free world will no doubt give impetus to them to their firm determination to follow your example in their struggle for protection and improvement of their living conditions and in defense of their trade union rights, freedom and lasting peace not only in their own countries but on the international level. Though the conditions under which the

Though the conditions under which the Japanese free trade unions are struggling are different from yours, the objectives and ideals they are pursuing are the same as yours. The Japanese trade unions, whose history is anese trade unions, whose political, ecosuing are the same as yours. The Japanese trade unions, whose history is still young and whose political, economic and social position is still quite weak as compared with the free trade union movements in other advanced industrial countries, but I am glad to pledge that the free trade unions ralied around the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions will try hard to consolidate and expand themselves hard to consolidate and expand themselves through mutual co-operation with and fraternal assistance and guidance of the world free trade unions.

Once again with their fraternal

Once again greetings, I am with fraternal their

Fraternally yours, MITSUO FUJI-OKA, Chairman, Co-ordinating Committee of Japanese Unions affiliated with the ICFTU

December 6, 1955

Dominica Brother Seraphino Romauldi, Washington, D. C.

The Dominica Labour Party founded 24-5-55 by President Mrs. Phyllis Shand Alfrey sends warmest congratulations to world's now largest democratic body in free world, the merger of AFL and CIO.

J. A. JAMES, Treasurer. New York, N. Y., Dec. 7, 1955.

President George Meany, CIO-AFL Convention, 71st Regiment Armory, Park Ave. and 34th St., N. Y.

and 34h St., N. Y.

On behalf of Messali Hadj, president of the Algerian National Movement, who is now in forced residence in France, I send your great convention and the fifteen million members of AFL-CIO the fraternal greetings and good wishes of the people of Algeria who are fighting for their freedom. Recalling the moral and Movement has received from your leaders and executive councils within and outside of recent international labor conferences, it is no exaggeration to state that to your organizations must go the full credit for any prestige which the United States still enjoys among the people of North Africa. You can also rightfully claim credit for the improved situation in Morocco and Tunisia. While unfortunately the United States Government claim credit for the improved situation in Morocco and Tunisia. While unfortunately the United States Government had on several occasions, within and without the United Nations, espoused the cause of an outworn and shortsighted French colonialism, even allowing American arms and equipment and ing American arms and equipment and N.A.T.O. troops to be used in the French colonial aggression in Algeria, it is colonial aggression in Algeria, it is gratifying to us that American organ-ized labor, under your leadership, has

consistently upheld the torch of the American historic traditions and the rights of peoples to self-determination. By such position your organizations have not only justified our people's rights of peoples to self-determination. By such position your organizations have not only justified our people's friendship and hopes in the great American republic and people but has also, more effectively, contributed to the failure of Communist agitation and penetration in North Africa. Long live freedom, long live American labor.

ALGERIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT

STATEMENT OF MR. T. NISHI-AKI, INTERNATIONAL REPRE-MAKI, SENTATIVE OF THE JAPAN SEA-MEN'S UNION (ZENRO) AND DELE-GATE TO THE ICFTU.

It is my utmost pleasure to express my heartfelt greeting to the historic Unity Convention of two big American organizations in the free labor world. As one of the free trade unionists in Japan, I appreciate that American labor organizations have played leading part in free trade union movements in the world, and have cooperated a great deal with us in a work of developing the bona-fide trade union movements in our country for many years.

cooperation has been appreci-ghly and deeply, and indeed it ated highly and deeply, and indeed it is needless to say that these are especially the exact words for the cooperation of solving the problems we

facing now

are facing now.

The cooperation, however, gained more higher appreciation when it participated in philosophical armament against the war waged by totalitarians, because they have been concentrating their efforts to that part of the world by smiling-face technique. It is beyond imagination how the furnishing of righteous informations, exposing their factics and their true character and resolution on and experiences in serious fighting, has been of use of bringing up the bona-fide trade unions in our country. country.

However, frankly speaking, especially in our country, a number of trade union leaders have still failed to have true cognizance of evils effected by true cognizano totalitarianism.

They are under a hallucination as if communistic society is a society that designed by free labor. They are eserving Red China from such an observing Red China from such an angle, and so not only they gladly accepted the invitations from the Soviet or Red China Government, or trade unions which are only their government agents, but some trade unions took up an attitude so far as to request expressly an invitation.

The number of the leaders of Japanese labor organizations who went to observing

The number of the leaders of Japanese labor organizations who went to Soviet Russia or Red China, accepting their invitations and visited various places under their own guidance, in accordance with a schedule planned by them, has come up to several hundreds during the last one or two years.

Many of these persons have sung the praises of social condition in communistic orbit, after returning to our country. There is no more effective and low-price propaganda method in the world for the totalitarians.

Few days ago, I have received a report from my union, that one of the biggest National Trade Union Federa has concluded an agreement of al assistance with the Red Chi-Federation of Labor. These 2-3 is will be most dangerous periods the Free labor movement in Ja-

years will be most dangerous periods for the Free labor movement in Japan I believe.

Japanese Trade Union Congress, or a group of bona-fide trade unions, one of which 1 am belonging to, has rejected to accept such invitations up to the present day and will reject for the

future.

We do not think there is no need of knowing the true conditions in a neighboring country. On the contrary, we keenly feel the necessity of knowledge about them. However, we believe we can correctly understand the real situations only through our own free schedule, accompanying our own interpreter and by our own expenditure. For the purpose of proper trade union movements in Japan, and sound and solid development of Far Eastern trade union movements a cooperation We do not think there is no need of

trade union movements, a co of free trade unions in the cooperation world or tree trade unions in the world is necessary, especially, we necessitate more than past a cooperation with trade unions in neighboring country across the Pacific Ocean, for the more effective fighting against the totalitarians, and also for the solution of difficult labor problems.

effective fighting against the totalitarians, and also for the solution of difficult labor problems we are confronting with.

Viewed in this light, that new big labor organization in America has become to possess the bigger organizing power and political influence, it is a joy, as a matter of course, for free trade unions in the world, and especially we, free trade unionists in Far Eastern region are unable to contain our joy.

Far hastern region of the first party and believe firmly the new organization AFL-CIO may march on with success not only in the domestic field but also in the world-

Tokyo, Japan, December 3, 1955.
George Meany, AFL-CIO Convention
Merger of AFL-CIO is an historic
event affecting the course of free and
democratic trade union movement. We
watch and expect great success for the
convention in its work.
YONEKICHI KANEMASA, Chairman
Japan Federation of Labor.

INTRODUCTION OF VISITORS

... President Meany presented to the Convention Mr. Eusebio Mujal, B., Sec-retary General, Confederation of Cuban Workers.

SECRETARY-TREASURER SCHNITZ-LER: I would like to read another statement at this time.

NATIONAL LABOR ADVISORY COMMITTEE FOR SAVINGS BONDS

The National Labor Advisory Committee for Savings Bonds was established at the request of the United States Treasury Department to enlist the cooperation of all labor unions in promoting the sale of U. S. Savings Bonds. The committee is comprised of representatives of all legitimate organized labor groups. The AFL-CIO representa-

tives are George Meany, Ther, James B. Carey and Walter ther, James Schnitzler.

This committee urges every trade union to give its full support to this worthwhile program of our Government to extend the sale of Savings Bonds to wage earners through the Paymell Savings Plan. Today over 8 ment to extend the sale of Savings Bonds to wage earners through the Payroll Savings Plan. Today over 8 million wage earners in 40 thousand American industries are availing themselves of this opportunity to save regularly through the automatic way of the payroll deduction plan for investing in Savings Bonds. Savings Bonds.

We have pledged the cooperation of organized labor to furthering this great and important American program. We recommend to all affiliated unions that they give their heartiest support to the program which is aimed to carry the Savings Bonds message to every union man and woman in America. union man and woman in America,

FINAL REPORT OF RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE

PRESIDENT MEANY: The Chair recognizes Co-Chairman Woll of the Resolutions Committee.

RESOLUTION OF THANKS TO NEW YORK

... Committee Co-Chairman Woll presented the resolution of Thanks to New York as follows:

At the close of this Convention, we wish to extend our most sincere thanks and deepest appreciation to the citizens of New York and to the officers and members of unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, in this great metropolitan area who have been most hospitable in welcoming this historic first Constitutional Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations. tions

We wish also to express our apprecia-tion to Governor Averell Harriman, Mayor Robert F. Wagner, the clergy and the city and state officials who have extended a hearty welcome to the officers, delegates and visitors to this

officers, del Convention.

officers, delegates and visitors to this Convention.

The officers and members of the New York State Federation of Labor, the New York State Industrial Union Council, the Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York and Vicinity and the New York City Industrial Union Council have done everything possible to excel as generous, warmhearted, and cordial hosts to this Convention. They have been aided by an outstanding local convention committee, the members of which have truly outdone themselves to make certain that this would be the successful and wellorganized convention it has been.

We appreciate also the utmost coperation we have received from the representatives of the press, radio, and elevision who have brought this historic story of this great unity convention to the people in all parts of the The special thanks of this Convention.

The special thanks of this Convention must also go to the efficient staff of the armory, the police and security guards from Local 177, Building Service

Employees' International Union, the Musicians and Stage Hands who helped in the arrangements and the entire staff of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED. That the officers and delegates of the first AFL-CIO Convention extend their sincere thanks and deepest appreciation to the many people whose contributions have made this an outstandingly successful convention.

The motion to adopt the resolution was seconded and carried unant mously by standing vote.

VICE PRESIDENT WOLL: wove you that the report of the Resolutions Committee as adopted be approved as a whole. The report is signed by all members of the Committee.

COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

James B. Carey, Electrical, Radio & Machine; George M. Harrison, Railway Clerks; Emil Rieve, Textile Workers Union; H. C. Bates, Bricklayers; Wm. C. Birthright. Barbera; Hyman Blumberg, Amalgamated Clothing Workers; Wm. C. Doherty, Letter Carriers; David bers, C. Doners, Wm C. Doners, Berne, Communication, Joseph A. Bierne, Communication, Joseph A. Bierne, Communication, Workers; Charles J. MacGowan, Bollermakers; Herman Winter, Bakery & Confectionery; B. J. Schaefer, Oil, Confectionery; B. J. Sc Doherty, Letter Carriers; David ky, Ladies' Garment by orkers; A. Bierne, Communications Confectionery; B. Confectionery; B. Chemical & Atomic; Wm. L. Chemical & Atomic; Wm. L. Chemical & Keenan, Electrical Keenan, Electrical Stage Employees; A. Philip Randolph, Sleeping Car Porters; A. F. Hartung, Woodworkers; A. L. Spradling, Street & Electric Railway; William E. Maloney, Operating Engineers; Karl F. Feller, Brawary Workers; James Suffredge, Reawary Workers; James Suffredge, Reawary Workers; James Hod Carworkers; A. L. Spradling, Street & Electric Railway; William E. Maloney, Operating Engineers; Karl F. Feller, Brewery Workers; James Suffredge, Retail Clerks; Peter Fosco, Hod Carriers; Joseph A. Fisher, Utility Workers; John Mara, Boot & Shoe Workers; Arnold Zander, State, County & Municipal; Harry Sayre, Paperworkers; John Lyons, Bridge & Structural Iron; Alex Rose, Hatters; John J. Grogan, Marine & Shipbuilding; Thomas E. Dunwody, Printing Pressmen; Woodruff Randolph, Typographical; Joseph Collis, Newspaper Guild; Sam Ming, Grain Millers; Patrick Gorman, Meat Cutter & Butcher Workmen; Lee Minton Glass Bottle Blowers; Burl Phares, Glass & Ceramic Workers; C. J. Haggerty, California State Federation; Peter Schoemann, Plumbing & Pipe Fliting; Max Greenberg, Retail, Wholesle and Department Store; Paul Philips, Paper Makers; T. C. Carroll, Maintenance of Way; Ed Miller, Hotel & Restaurant; L. M. Raftery, Painters, Co-Chairmen—Matthew Woll, Photo Engravers and David McDonald, Steel Workers; Co-Secretaries—R. G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation and Joseph Curran, Maritime Union.

Workers; Co-Secretaries—R. G. strom, Illinois State Federations Joseph Curran, Maritime Union.

PRESIDENT MEANY: You have heard the motion to adopt the report of the Resolutions Committee as a whole. Is there discussion?

Those who favor the motion signify by saying aye; contrary-minded, no. The motion is carried, and it is so ordered and the Committee is dis-charged with the thanks of the officers and delegates to this Convention for a very fine job.

ory fine job.

PRESIDENT MEANY: The Chair recgnizes Vice President Charles Macgnizes Gowan

VICE PRESIDENT MacGOWAN: Mr.

ognizes vice President Charles MacGowan.

VICE PRESIDENT MacGOWAN: Mr.
Chairman and delegates to this most
historic Convention: As one who has
spent more than 45 years in the trade
union movement and now is going
down into the long shadows, and also
as a member of the Unity Committee,
I want to leave one or two thoughts
with this fine body of men.
You well know that man is afraid of
the unknown just as a child is afraid
of the darkness. After all, it is said
that men are but grown-up children.
The vote in both the Conventions and
again in the Joint Convention was
unanimously in favor of the merger.
But notwithstanding that, as some men
have talked to me, they are fearful of
the unknown in the future. We have a
tremendous task ahead of us putting
together the various bodies in the
states and in the localities. Many times
you will find that old sores are controlling, many times you will find that
personal prejudices are involved. Well,
it was not easy for Walter Reuther to
step down from the presidency of the
CIO. It was not easy for Jim Carey to
step down from the office of SecretaryTreasurer. But they did it willingly;
they did it of their own accord. There
was no compulsion applied to them.
Should that not be an example that
can be imitated and followed in all of
the other segments of this great move the other segments of this great move-ment? I commit it to your membership everywhere as a good beginning.

Now, with respect to any apprehensions—this job is not going to be easy. There are going to be conflicts, but I approach this merger in the solid faith that everybody else who joined in it did the job in good faith. Instead of operating on our suspicions, let us operate on the basis that everybody else is in good faith, too. is in good faith, too.

I have been a little bit disturbed by some overtones involving the question of power that this movement is going to have. Are we copying the language of the NAM or the Chamber of Commerce? Labor has never abused power, and they are not going to abuse it now.

We are going to work from strength in carrying the message of the under-privileged and the wage earners of our country and of the whole world into every place where we can carry it.

But power indicates cloak and dagger business, the club with the gun. Let's quit using the term "power." Strengthen influence, education and determination to hold our banner high and clean and convince our enemies that they have got the approach wrong, is what we need to use instead. Thank you very much. much.

At this time the Chair recognizes Vice President Reuther for a statement. VICE PRESIDENT REUTHER: Broth-Chairman and delegates:

been asked to make a few closing remarks.

remarks.

This has indeed been an historic week. We have laid well the foundations for the building of the united labor movement. In these closing minutes let us leave this Convention in a spirit of rededication to the ideals and the aspirations out of which the American labor movement has drawn its strength and its vitality in the years back. Let us go forward in that ever-increasing task of finding a fuller measure of economic and social justice, of human dignity and human happiness for all the people of our great nation.

Wa leave here conscious that the

We leave here conscious that the greater numbers and the greater power which we take unto ourselves places in our hands a greater responsibility.

in our hands a greater responsibility.

We say to our fellow workers and our fellow citizens throughout this great land of ours we shall use this greater power with a sense of moral and social responsibility, and we shall edicate it in the service of all the people of our great nation. We believe with all our hearts that this wonderful country of ours is in fact the last best hope of free men everywhere. And we extend to the people of this great nation of workers, farmers, small businessmen, people everywhere, the hand of fellowship and friendship and the hand of cooperation. We say let us work together in the vineyards of American democracy, not only dreaming our dreams of a better tomorrow, but daring to build those dreams.

daring to build those dreams.

We want to work with the people of America in the days ahead in making it possible for every child to have an adequate schooling and the opportunity to grow into a better, finer human being. We want to wipe out the slums so that every family can have a decent home and a healthy neighborhood. We want to afford our own people a fuller measure of security and human dignity. We want to banish from America every ugly and immoral form of racial discrimination. We want to say to the people of the world, "We want to stand with you in fighting every ugly and evil form of tyranny, reaction on the right and reaction on the left."

We want to prove to the world that the kind of tomorrow that we are working to fashion for free men everywhere is a world in which people can have economic security, all of the good things of life in a material sense, without the need of sacrificing their basic political and spiritual freedom.

We reject the communist philosophy that man can solve his economic problems only if he enslaves the human soul. We believe that you can have both bread and freedom, and the trade union movement is dedicated to bringing that end to fulfillment.

And so we say to the people of the world, "We extend our hand to you everywhere, to men of good will, and together we shall go forward, and together we shall build that better tomorrow in the image of peace, in the image of freedom, in the image of social justice, and in the image of human brotherhood."

God bless all of you on your way home, and may He bless your families. Thank you.

CLOSING REMARKS OF PRESIDENT MEANY

Now as we come to the closing moments of this convention I would like to express my appreciation to all the delegates in attendance for the very fine attention and the very fine attendance we have had, as well as the very fine spirit that is manifest all over this hall.

We have had our convention and despite all the complicated and lengthy resolves in our resolutions, we have reiterated the traditional objective of the trade union movement to advance the cause of those who work for wages, and to advance that cause not at the expense of our neighbors but to advance the cause of our country as something that is prerequisite to any improvements in the conditions of those we represent.

We have made it clear in carrying on the work of the trade union movement we are prepared to make our full contribution to the welfare of our neighbors, of the communities in which we live, and to the nation as a whole.

In preparing to make this contribution, we have also made it crystal clear that we of the American labor movement are determined to remain free, and in order to remain free we are determined to make our contribution in the relation of our own nation to the other nations of the world in order that freedom may be preserved for all mankind.

dom may be preserved for all mankind.

Despite these simple objectives which will stand the test of decency and morality, we find little men with loud voices and sometimes big titles who are critical of what we are doing, who seem to see something that is inimical to the welfare of the country. I would like to say to those little men their criticism will not turn us aside from our chosen paths and that when we say we want to cooperate with all segments of the community, including management, including the employer, including the industrialist, they are not to get the wrong impression by that.

This is not going to be any milk toast movement. We are going to seek these things in the militant manner in which our organization was founded. We are going to use every legal means at the command of American citizens to organize the unorganized, to bring the benefits of the trade union movement to the millions who lack those benefits today. No little men with loud voices in either political or industrial life are going to turn us aside.

I am sure from the spirit I have seen manifested at this convention, both on this platform and among those holding positions of responsibility and on the floor of this convention among those who represent the millions of men and women who go to make up this great organization, that we can do this job. We can do it in a way that will redound to the credit of the entire movement. We can do it in a way that will warm the hearts of the veterans of our move-

ment. We can do it in a way that will commend our efforts in this movement and the people in it to all of our neigh-bors and all of the people in the com-munities in which we live.

It is in that spirit I bring this conven-tion to a close with a simple thank you to all of you present here on this au-spicious occasion. Thank you very much.

Before the gavel falls for the last time I will ask Bill Doherty, who has a very

good baritone voice, to lead us in the singing of "God Bless America."

... Vice President Doherty sang "God Bless America."

PRESIDENT MEANY: This Convention is now adjourned, sine die.
... At 5:20 o'clock, P. M., the First Constitutional Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, meeting in New York City, adjourned sine die.

Secretary,

Assistant Secretary,

FIRST CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

A

Page		
FL-CIO Constitution, Text of the xxxviii-liii		
AFL-CIO Merger Agreement liv-lvii		
AFL-CIO News		
AFL-CIO President, Election of		
AFL-CIO Song		
AFL-CIO Unity Report, Joint		
Alaska Statehood		
Algerian National Movement		
Al Sarena Mining Claims Case		
Amalgamated Meat Cutters—United Packing House		
Workers, Merger of 100		
American Red Cross		
American Legion		
Atomic Energy		
Automation in the Federal Government		
В		
Bailey Bill		
Becu, Omer 96		
Berlin Blockade 97		
Blake, Dr. Eugene Carson, Address by		
Building and Construction Trades Department and Industrial		
Union Department to Resolve Differences, Permanent		
Committee of		
Business Failures		
Byrd, Harry F., Anti-Union Laws		
C		
Carey, James B., on Westinghouse Strike		
Central Labor Unionsxviii-xxvi		
Child Welfare 79		
Citizenship Awards by Flag Foundation. 105		

Page	
Civil Defense	
Civil Defense Exhibit	
Collective Bargaining 62, 69	
Colonialism	
Communism 51, 65, 97, 98, 101, 113, 129, 161, 163, 168	
Community Services	
Congratulatory Communications	
Convention Call	
Convention Hall Backdrop 76	
Convention Officers	
Cooperatives	
Corporation Profits	1
Corruption and Communism in Unions 98	
Crusade for Freedom 168	
Cultural Relations with Iron Curtain Countries 104	
D	
Death of Delegate C. W. Burchfield	
Death of Delegate A. Shoemake	
Delegates, Listed iii-xv, 8-18	
Delegates, Constitutional Provisions. 19	
Democratic Party in the South, Delegate Rowe's Statement 148	
Desegregation	
D'Ewart Wesley	
Disability Insurance	
Distressed Areas	
District of Columbia Home Rule	
Durkin, Martin P	,
E	
Eastland, Senator	
Economic Policy	
Editors and Publicity Directors Conference	
Education 160-162	
Education, Federal Aid to	
Education, Secretary Folsom on	
Electoral Reforms	
Electric Power Industry	
Employment Act of 1946 68	
Entertainment	
"Equal Rights Amendment" 75,76	,

	Page
Escort Committees	-
Ethical Practices	
Executive Committee, Appointment of	
Executive Committee, List of Names	
Executive Council, List of Names	ii
· ·	
F	
Fair Employment Practice	. 65, 109
Fair Labor Standards Act	64, 72, 73
Farm Problem	7
Farm Income	69, 70, 156
Farm Placement Service of the Department of Labor	36
Farmer-Labor Unity	156
Federal Advisory Council on Employment Security	
Federal Flood Insurance	
Federal Government Employees	
Folsom, Marion B., Address by	
Foreign Policy	
Free Labor Delegations to Totalitarian Countries	
Free Labor Week Proclamation.	
2 200 2000 17 000 2 2 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0	0=
G	
C 1 D 1 ADV CIO	0.4
General Board AFL-CIO	
General Motors' Profits	
Geneva Summit Conference	
Goldstein, Dr. Israel, Address by	
Goldwater, Senator	
Gompers, Miss May	
Government Contracts	110
Н	
Harriman, Address by Governor Averell	48
Harriman, Address by American Red Cross Chairman E. Roland	
Hawaii Statehood	
Health Center, Sidney Hillman	
Health and Pensions, Secretary Folsom on	
Health and Welfare Plan Administration, Union	
Health Insurance, National	
Hill-Burton Act	
Hollander, Louis, Statement by	
monanuer, Louis, Statement by	3

	Page
Housing	44,77
Humphrey, Hubert, Statement by	
I	
Implementation Agreement AEL CIO Mangan	lviii-lx
Implementation Agreement, AFL-CIO Merger Industrial Migration	
Industrial Union Department Convention	
Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers	
Internal Security and Civil Liberties	113
International Confederation of Free Trade Unions 7,	27, 52, 67, 96, 101
	126, 155, 168, 169
International Labor Organization Maritime Conventions	
International Labor Press of America, Annual Report	
International Labor Press of America, Journalistic Award Con Introduction of \$64,000 Question Contestant	
Invocations	
Israel, Aid to	
Israel Labor, Health Exhibit	
Iushevitz, Morris, Statement by	
J	
Japan Seamen's Union Representative, Statement by	169
K	-
Kohler Workers' Strike	43 55 134
INVINCES DURING	40,00,104
L	
Lacey, Martin T. Statement by	2
Lehman-Dingell Bill	
Livingston, John W., Statement on Puerto Rican Labor	
Local Industrial Unions	
Local Industrial Union Councils	
Local Unions	XXXII-XXXV
M	
Manpower Policy for Full Mobilization	125
Marshall, Thurgood, Address by NAACP Special Counsel	107
McDonald, David, Report of Joint Unity Committee	21
McGown, Rev. Raymond A., Invocation by	93

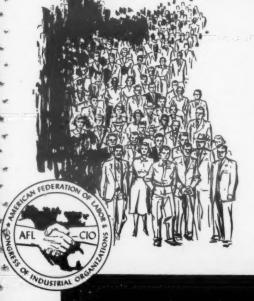
Page
Meany, George, Inaugural Address by
Meany, George, Statement on the International Situation 26-27
Meany, George, Closing Remarks of
Merchant Marine
Mexican Labor
Miami Hotel and Restaurant Workers' Strike
Middle East Policy
Migrant Farm Workers and Foreign Contract Labor
Military Manpower Policy
Minimum Wage 69,72
Mitchell, James P., Address by 52
Mobile Health Center 93
Murray, Thomas, Statement by
N
Notional Association for the Advancement of Coloned Popular 59 107 119
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People 58, 107, 112 National Labor Relations Board, Resolution on the
National Labor Relations Board, Resolution on the
National Safety Council 83
National Welfare, Secretary Folsom on
Natural Gas
Natural Resources Development
New York, Resolution of Thanks to
No-Raiding Agreement
Norris-LaGuardia Act of 1932
TOTAL TOTAL TER OF TOTAL
0
Occupational Safety and Health
Old-Age and Survivors Insurance
Organization, Director of
Organizing the Unorganized
Organizing Fund Raising Committee 150
. P
Pay Television
Physically Handicapped 100
Political Action
Presentation of Rings
President Eisenhower's Address
President Eisenhower and the Taft-Hartley Act
Press Representatives, Statement of

	P	age
P	Public Assistance	80
	Public Relations	37
P	Public Safety	38
P	Puerto Rico 73	,74
	R	
R	taffle of Suit	31
	Reed Amendments, Repeal of	82
R		104
	Resolutions Committee, Names Listed	171
	Resolutions Committee Report	33
	Reuther, Walter, Address by	5-8
		146
		171
	Right-to-Work" Laws	
R	Roberts, Dennis J., Presentation of Governor	116
		117
		143
R	Rules and Order of Business	20
	S	
S	afety Program in the Government	164
		170
	chneiderman, Miss Rose	145
	ecurity Risks 66, 114,	
	ecretary Treasurer, Nomination and Election of	29
	legal, Dr. Bernard, Invocation by	78
	legregation 66, 108-113,	
	hipbuilding	
	ocial Security Act	70
	pellman, Francis Cardinal, Invocation by	1
	tate Anti-Union Laws	
	tate Central Bodies xvi-	
	tatistical Services, Funds for	72
	tevenson, Adlai, Address by	136
	Support of Unions on Strike	
	Surplus Food	157
_		201
	T	
Т	Caft-Hartley Law 47, 59, 65, 146,	150
	Caxation	
1	09, 70,	104

Page
U .
Unemployment 63, 68-69 Unemployment Compensation 70 Unemployment Insurance 81 Underdeveloped Countries 102 Union Film Showing 59 Union Label 76, 151 United Air Lines Flight Engineers Strike 134, 136 United Nations, Admission of New Members 97 United Nations, Labor's Support of the 104
V
Veterans
W
Wage-Hour Act 72 Wagner Act 60, 62 Wagner, J. Addington, Address by. 128 Wagner, Robert F., Statement by the Mayor of New York 4
Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act
Walter-McCarran Act 66, 104 West European Unity 104
Westinghouse Strike
Williams, G. Mennen
Women's Auxiliaries
Women's Auxiliaries, Merger Plans for
Women's Political Activities
Workmen's Compensation

THIS IS THE

AFL-CIO



PREAMBLE TO THE AFL-CIO CONSTITUTION

The establishment of this Federation through the merger of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations is an expression of the hopes and aspirations of the working people of America.

We seek the fulfillment of these hopes and aspirations through democratic processes within the framework of our constitutional government and consistent with our institu-

tions and traditions.

At the collective bargaining table, in the community, in the exercise of the rights and responsibilities of citizenship, we shall responsibly serve the interests of all the

American people.

We pledge ourselves to the more effective organization of working men and women; to the securing to them of full recognition and enjoyment of the rights to which they are justly entitled; to the achievement of ever higher standards of living and working conditions; to the attainment of security for all the people; to the enjoyment of the leisure which their skills make possible; and to the strengthening and extension of our way of life and the fundamental freedoms which are the basis of our democratic society.

We shall combat resolutely the forces which seek to undermine the democratic institutions of our nation and to enslave the human soul. We shall strive always to win full respect for the dignity of the human individual whom

our unions serve.

With Divine guidance, grateful for the fine traditions of our past, confident of meeting the challenge of the future, we proclaim this constitution.

THE AFL-CIO

The American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations—usually referred to as the AFL-CIO—is a federation of 139 autonomous, democratic labor unions in the United States.

The AFL-CIO was established on December 5, 1955, when the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations merged into a single trade union center. This merger ended a 20-year split in the ranks of the American labor movement, uniting the AFL, which was founded in 1881 and the CIO, founded in 1935.

The AFL-CIO is composed of 15 million men and women, who have joined labor unions to bargain collectively with their employers. The unions are their representatives in negotiations with employers on wages, hours and working conditions.

Out of these negotiations come labor-management agreements or contracts, under which the workers have job security and are protected against the whims of an employer.

There are more than 60,000 local unions in



the national and international unions of the AFL-CIO. These local unions are united into 1100 state and local central bodies. (Presently there are both AFL and CIO organizations in every state and in most cities. These organizations must, under the AFL-CIO Constitution, unite by the end of 1957.

The unions of the AFL-CIO have signed more than 100,000 collective bargaining agreements with several hundred thousand American employers in every industry, craft

and trade in the country.

THE AFL-CIO

. . . . Its aims and aspirations

The aims and aspirations of the AFL-CIO are clearly spelled out in its Constitution. In brief they are:

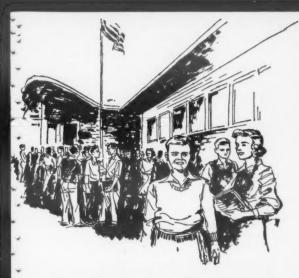
 To improve wages, hours and working conditions for workers.

 To bring the benefits of free collective bargaining to all workers.

 To achieve equality of opportunity for all workers, regardless of race, creed, color or national origin.

 To support legislation which will aid workers and to oppose harmful legislation.





- To protect and strengthen democratic institutions and to preserve America's democratic traditions.
- To aid in promoting the cause of peace and freedom in the world.
- To protect the labor movement against corruption and racketeers.
- To safeguard the labor movement from Communists, Fascists or other totalitarians.
- To encourage workers to register and vote and to exercise fully their responsibilities as citizens.
- To encourage the sale of union-made goods through the use of the union label.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

. . . Its accomplishments

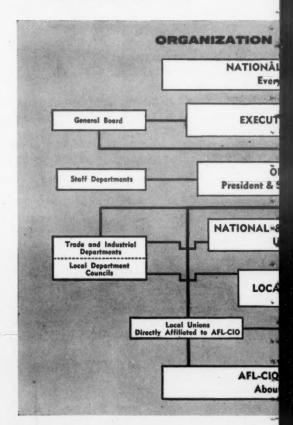
The accomplishments of the American labor movement in achieving a better standard of living for workers are unchallenged. As a result of the efforts of American trade unions, workers in this nation have a higher income, work fewer hours, enjoy more protection and benefits such as pensions and vacations, and work under healthier and

safer conditions than in any other nation in the world.

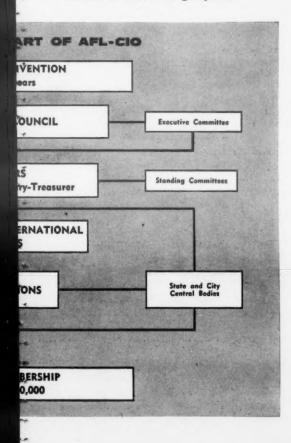
Sweatshops have been almost completely eliminated. Child labor has been almost abolished. The American worker has achieved a sense of dignity never before known by workers.

But the efforts of the labor movement have not been confined to these fields. The trade unions of the AFL-CIO have been staunch advocates of all that benefits the community as a whole.

These are some of the fights the union movement has waged and won:



- Universal free public education.
- Laws providing for a minimum wage and maximum work week.
- Workmen's compensation to protect workers injured on the job.
- Unemployment insurance to provide an income for workers unemployed through no fault of their own. Of course, this also helps to protect the whole economy from depressions created through mass unemployment.
- Social Security, which brings dignity to workers in their twilight years.



THE AFL-CIO



The AFL-CIO is a federation of national and international unions.

Each is fully autonomous. Each carries on collective bargaining with employers; maintains its own headquarters; elects its own officers; maintains the staff needed for administration and service; sets its own dues; provides the services its members need and want.

The AFL-CIO holds biennial conventions which establish a general policy on economic, legislative and political matters. The convention also elects the officers of the AFL-CIO. The convention is the supreme governing body of the organization.

The first president of the AFL-CIO is George Meany, who was elected unanimously at the merger convention which established the AFL-CIO. Elected at the same time was the organization's first secretary-treasurer, William F. Schnitzler.

The AFL-CIO has 27 vice presidents. The president, the secretary-treasurer and the 27 vice presidents constitute the Executive Council, which is the official governing body of the organization between conventions.

The AFL-CIO has two other official bodies—the Executive Committee and the General Board. The Executive Committee is composed of the president, the secretary-treasurer and six vice presidents, elected by the Executive Council. This group meets more often than the Executive Council and serves as an advisory group to the executive officers.

The General Board is composed of the Executive Council plus one officer of each

affiliated union and one officer of each of the six constitutional departments. The General Board meets annually to act upon matters referred to it by the Executive Council.

The organizational structure of the AFL-CIO (described in chart form on the preceding pages) insures the preservation of the democratic process in the organization.

The AFL-CIO, through its headquarters staff, provides services to the affiliated unions, in the fields of research, education, legal aid, public relations and other matters. It serves as the general representative of all the affiliated unions in appearances before Congress and in dealing with the various departments of the government.

Through its field staff, the AFL-CIO aids affiliates and organizes workers into unions of their own choosing, giving recognition to the principle that both craft and industrial unions are appropriate, equal and necessary

as methods of union organization.

The AFL-CIO has the following constitutionally established committees: Legislation, Civil Rights, Political Education, Ethical Practices, International Affairs, Education, Social Security, Economic Policy, Community Services, Housing, Research, Public Relations, Safety and Occupational Health, Veterans Affairs.

The central bodies of the AFL-CIO in the cities and states represent the workers in that area in community, legislative and po-

litical activities.

The AFL-CIO publishes a weekly newspaper, the AFL-CIO News; a monthly magazine, The AFL-CIO American Federationist; and two monthly economic reports, Labor's Economic Review and Collective Bargaining Report. Some of the departments of the AFL-CIO issue specialized publications.



THE AFL-CIO

. . . And the community

"What's good for America is good for labor."

That is the motto and the practice of the AFL-CIO. It is a belief which has led the AFL-CIO, in its constitution, to pledge itself to "responsibly serve the interests of all the American people."

One of the ways, of course, is through the exercise of the rights and responsibilities of citizenship. To aid in thus advancing the general welfare the AFL-CIO has established the Committee on Political Education.

COPE seeks to inform union members and their neighbors about the issues and the candidates and to report on the record of stewardship of public servants. It seeks to get workers registered so they can vote and to get them to the polls on Election Day.

COPE is financed through the voluntary contributions of union members. It is not a political party. In fact, the resolution adopted unanimously by the first constitutional convention of the AFL-CIO states: "We reaffirm organized labor's traditional policy of avoiding entangling alliances with any other group and of supporting worthy candidates regardless of party affiliation."

The AFL-CIO is active in the international



community, too, through its membership in the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, an organization of free, democratic unions throughout the world which seeks better living standards for all people.

Through the ICFTU and its regional organizations, the AFL-CIO is playing a major role in fighting attempts by communists to subvert the trade union movement.

Another way in which the AFL-CIO supports the community is through the legislative policies it supports and advocates. It seeks legislation which will benefit the general public.

Members of the AFL-CIO, in communities everywhere in America, aid in raising funds for worthy community endeavors. They hold positions of responsibility on committees of all sorts of community organizations and give generously of their time and effort to promote worthwhile undertakings.

The AFL-CIO Committee on Community Services, through regular training programs, helps prepare union members for these posts.

Whether it is a campaign for better schools or more hospitals or a drive to eliminate slums or aid in combatting juvenile delinquents, AFL-CIO members will be found working diligently.

For they know that everything that benefits their community, and their nation, is of benefit to labor.





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WILLIAM F. SCHNITZLER Secretary-Treasurer

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Harry C. Bates David J. McDonald David Dubinsky Wm. F. Schnitzler

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LABOR LOOKS AT AUTOMATION

RATION OF LABOR AND USTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

815 16th St., N. W. Washington 6, D. C.

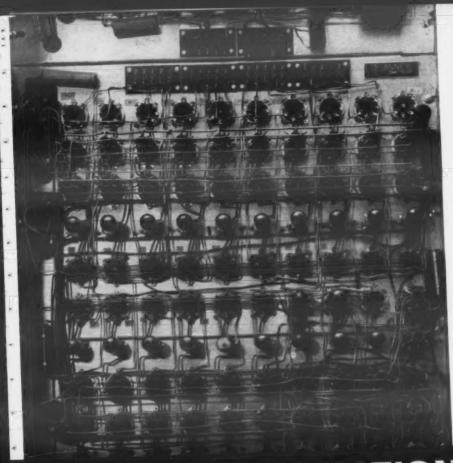
GEORGE MEANY, President
WILLIAM F. SCHNITZLER, Secretary-Treasurer



AFL-CIO PUBLICATION NO. 21

Prepared by the AFL-CIO Department of Research May, 1956





LABOR LOOKS AT AUTOMATION





FOREWORD

T HIS is a time of remarkable technical progress. Significant new types of automatic machines and methods—symbolized by the term "automation"—are being put to use rapidly and widely.

Labor welcomes these technological changes. The new techniques offer promise of higher living standards for al, greater leisure, and more pleasant working conditions. Yet, there are pitfalls as well as promises in the new technology. There is no automatic guarantee that the potential benefits to society will be transformed into reality.

It is not characteristic of the trade union movement to sit back and let the future take care of itself. Labor unions can be expected to raise with employers the problems created by the new technology. The collective bargaining process must be utilized to work out the necessary arrangements for introducing the new machinery and equipment, for reviewing the wage structure and job classifications that might be affected, and for making certain that the benefits flowing from the new technology are shared fully with the workers.

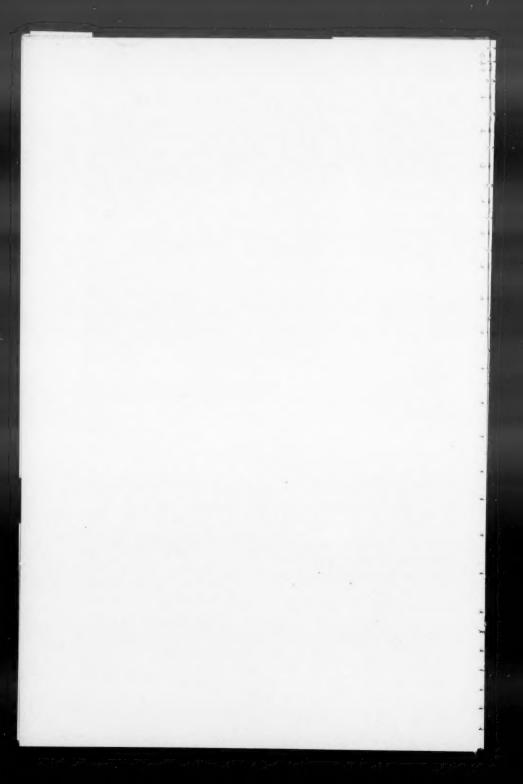
At the national level the new technology raises questions of a different character. While the new machines are almost human in the way they solve problems of production, they still cannot create the necessary income to purchase their additional output. There is no value to new machinery which lies idle for lack of sufficient purchasing power in the hands of consumers to buy the products of the machine. Labor will continue to press for an expanding national economy with sufficient income in the hands of consumers to purchase the increasing output of American industry.

The trade union movement does not pretend to know all the answers to the questions raised by the new technology. We are confident, however, that all groups in our society—management and government as well as labor—want to find the solution to these issues.

We also know that it is important for all Americans to learn about the new techniques and to inform themselves regarding the questions that they raise. This pamphlet has been prepared to help gain more informed attention as to the nature and implications of automation.

GEORGE MEANY
President

American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations





AUTOMATION

America has rapidly become aware of "automation." Magazines are published on the subject. Speeches on current industrial problems focus on it. A Congressional Committee has investigated it. There are many varying views on some of its possible effects.

What is automation? Will it be good for America, or harmful? Will it create jobs, or kill them? Will automation promote monopoly, or aid small business? Will it contribute to a rising standard of living and full employment—or have the effect of benefiting only certain segments of the population? Will the transition to the widespread use of automation be accompanied by mass unemployment and social dislocation?

These are valid and important questions. It is the hope of the AFL-CIO that this brief pamphlet can help turn the spotlight of understanding and knowledge on this complex and important problem.

WHAT IS AUTOMATION?

For some fifteen years and more, scientists have been bringing forth a host of new developments in the field of electronics. Many of the electronic devices developed during World War II in connection with military equipment have been applied since then to civilian use.

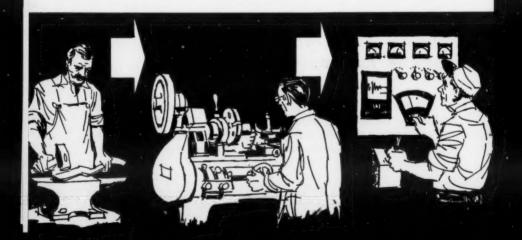
Various terms have been used to describe this new technology of electronic controls and electronic computers. The most common term is automation.

Regardless of how this new technology is defined, it represents the use of mechanical and electronic devices, rather than human workers, to regulate and control the operation of machines. It makes possible the automatic office, as well as the automatic factory, with the likelihood that entire departments, offices and plants in many parts of the economy will make use of mechanical and electronic control mechanisms within the coming decade or two.

Automation has been heralded by some scientists as introducing the second industrial revolution. While the first industrial revolution replaced animal and human muscle power with steam- and electric-powered machines, automation tends to use electronic devices to replace human regulation and control of machines. The first industrial revolution turned the handtool worker into a machine tender, while automation tends to change the machine tender into a supervisor of an automatically controlled operating system.

Basic to this new technology is the concept of feedback control or automatic self-correction. The most common example of the feedback concept is the furnace thermostat. It automatically increases or reduces the furnace's fuel supply when the temperature of the room goes above or below a pre-set level. All we do is to set the level and call a repairman if it fails to work properly.

Extend the concept of the furnace thermostat to industrial operations and you have an idea of automation. The worker does not operate the machine; he sets the level and repairs the system in case of a breakdown.



VARIETIES OF AUTOMATION

A wide variety of control mechanisms and computers are being introduced into American factories and offices. Radical changes in production methods, work-flow, office procedures and labor skills are already under way in numerous parts of the American economy.

In their paper before the Industrial Relations Research Association, Professors George B. Baldwin and George P. Shultz of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology described the following three developments as together embracing nearly everything that can be brought under the term "automation":

"1. The linking together of conventionally separate manufacturing operations into lines of continuous production through which the product moves 'untouched by human hands.' This first development, which depends primarily on mechanical engineering for its adoption, we shall refer to simply as 'integration,' a term already in wide use in the metal working industries. It is also called 'Detroit Automation' in honor of the industry in which it got its start. 'Continuous automatic production' is another and perhaps more descriptive term being used.

"2. The use of 'feedback' control devices or servomechanisms which allow individual operations to be performed without any necessity for human control. With feedback, there is always some built-in automatic device for comparing the way in which work is actually being done with the way in which it is supposed to be done and for then making, automatically, any adjustments in the work-process that may be necessary . . . It is dependent primarily not on mechanical but on electrical engineering knowledge and techniques.

"3. The development of general and special purpose computing machines capable of recording and storing information (usually in the form of numbers) and of performing both simple and complex mathematical operations on such information."

CONTINUOUS AUTOMATIC PRODUCTION

The machining department of the Ford engine plant in Cleveland is, perhaps, the best-known example of what is called "Detroit automation" or "continuous automatic production." In this plant, which has been in operation since 1952, engine blocks are machined by a linked battery of machines on a line some 1500 feet long.

Automatic machine tools perform more than 500 boring, broaching, drilling, honing, milling, and tapping operations, with little human assistance. The timing of each operation is synchronized so

that the line moves forward uniformly. In announcing the opening of this plant, the Ford News Bureau stated:

"Rough castings of engine blocks and heads that later emerge from the Cleveland plant in engines operating under their own power are seldom touched by workmen during their machining enroute to the final assembly line.

"Electric nerve-centers direct them, by mechanical arms and fingers, from one cutting machine to another in much the same manner that a policeman directs traffic."

The Pontiac Motor Division of General Motors has put into use an automated piston manufacturing line that is reported to produce 2,000 pistons an hour, through a process of linked machines, without being touched by a worker's hands.

FEEDBACK CONTROLS

The use of feedback control devices has attained its highest development in the petroleum refining industry, which uses some

The automatic control board in the Carter Oil Co. refinery at Billings, Mont.



50,000 control mechanisms. In this type of continuous-flow process, crude petroleum feeds in at one end of the plant, flows continuously through a series of automatically controlled chambers and pipes, and pours out a variety of finished products at the other end. Eugene Ayres, a chemist with the Gulf Research and Development Co., has described an oil refinery, in the September 1952 issue of "Scientific American," as follows:

"It is a bewildering kind of factory, with metallic towers rising 20 stories high, hundreds of miles of pipe, and only an occasional modest building. A few lonely men wander about the special monster doing supervisory or maintenance tasks here and there . . . Every day a quarter of a million barrels of oil flow unobtrusively into its maw and about as many flow out in the form of dozens of finished petroleum products—all profoundly and specifically altered by processing . . .

"The nerve center of this mechanical organism is the control room with its control panel. Here are ensconced the human operators—attendants upon the little mechanical operators of the plant. The human operators watch, they sometimes help or correct the instruments, but only occasionally do they take over the major part of

operating responsibility . . .

"On the control panel are many things—indicators of measurements, indicators of valve positions, indicators of settings of controllers, knobs for changing these settings, facilities for shifting from automatic to manual control, knobs for effecting manual controls, alarms and safety devices, recordings of measurements for operation analyses, and recordings of measurements for accounting . . . Five hundred controllers, 400 motor-operated valves, 15,000 indicators and 800 recorders are in slight but significant motion at all times—like the steering wheel of a speeding motor car on a straight road."

The use of feedback is also described by John I. Snyder, Jr., president of U. S. Industries, Inc., which operates an "automatic factory," producing 155 mm. shells at its Rockford, Illinois, plant. Mr. Snyder writes:

"It is impressive to watch this tremendous plant operating and listen to the sounds of the metal being worked in so many ways at such a rapid pace, to see the whole operation being conducted through stations throughout the plant, full of blinking lights and clicking relays, attended by one or two men at each station. The control stations are actually a type of computer mechanism and are inter-connected so that trouble in any department is relayed forward or back along the line and the equipment is automatically slowed down or completely stopped, as each case requires, until the trouble spot has been corrected . . ."



ELECTRONIC COMPUTERS

Automation has also been introduced into American offices, most notably in the form of electronic computers.

For example, a variety of basic office functions are handled at the General Electric plant in Louisville, Kentucky, by a generalpurpose "UNIVAC." An article by Mina Rees in the "Scientific Monthly" for August 1954 describes its functions at this plant:

"UNIVAC will undertake the preparation of payrolls, basing its computations on information stored in its memory concerning wage rates, overtime, and the various deductions that must be made. It will compile sales records and prepare bills. It is expected ultimately to be used to make sales analyses, to note regional shifts in the sales of various appliances, and to modify production accordingly."

Stanford Research Institute has produced for the Bank of America an electronic computer which will do the jobs of many bank employees. When a check comes to the bank, an operator merely punches into the machine the amount on the face of the check. The check itself carries a code, printed in magnetic ink, which identifies the account number. The machine scans this code to identify the account. It then refers to its "memory bank," which contains information on 32,000 separate accounts, makes sure there is enough in the account to meet the check (if there is not, a warning "overdraft" light is blinked at the operator's desk) and deducts the amount of the withdrawal from the account. The machine also checks up to make sure that there is no stop-payment order against the account. The whole operation takes approximately one second.

The transaction is recorded, first in a "temporary memory" bank,

and is transferred later to a "permanent memory" bank. At the end of the month, the computer automatically calculates the service charge and then, connected to a high-speed printer which can print 800 characters a second, it prints the customer's complete monthly statement in less than five seconds. It is claimed that nine operators and one such machine can replace up to 50 bookkeepers.

One of the best-known special-purpose computers is American Airlines' Magnetronic Reservisor located in New York. Any one of a number of separate sales offices in the New York area can quiz the central drum of the computer to see whether seats are available for a certain number of passengers on a specific flight. A light flashes on the keyboard of the interrogating unit located in the sales office indicating whether or not seats are available. If the customer makes the reservation, the clerk informs the computer by using a key system, and the number of available seats for the flight is decreased by the number of seats sold to the customer. The Reservisor is interrogated, on the average, 35,000 times a day.

The Automatic Message Accounting System operated by the Bell Telephone System uses a combination of electronic units to record both local and long-distance calls, to assign these calls to the proper subscriber's account and to compile automatically and print the telephone bills. This system is making possible long-distance dialing, direct from the subscriber's phone.

SELF-REGULATING MACHINES

It is also worth noting several of the new types of individual selfregulating machines which have been developed.

The Sundstrand Machine Tool Company produces an automatic lathe, which gauges each part as it is produced, and automatically re-sets the cutting tools to compensate for tool wear. In addition, when the cutting tools have been worn down to a certain predetermined limit, the machine automatically replaces them with sharp tools. The parts are automatically loaded onto the machine and are automatically unloaded as they are finished. These lathes can be operated for five to eight hours without attention, except for an occasional check to make sure that parts are being delivered to the loading mechanism.

Minneapolis-Honeywell Regulator Company has developed a precision boring machine, used in aircraft equipment production, that

can bore holes with an accuracy of one-thousandth of an inch. Electronic signals from a tape move the blank metal back or forward, rotate it into position, and then turn on the boring mechanism to cut the hole exactly where it is desired. This automatic machine is specially suited for medium-sized production, in lots of several hundred parts.

An example of a high degree of automatic operation, through the use of feedback and computers in combination, is the automatic milling machine developed at MIT. This machine cuts out metal shapes by following instructions which are "programmed" into it by means of punched holes on a paper tape. The coded holes are "read" by a computing machine, which controls the motions of the milling machine. The entire operation is automatic, except for the coding of the punched holes on the tape.

WIDE APPLICABILITY OF AUTOMATION

These are not isolated examples. They reflect only a small fraction of the uses of automation. The new technology is applicable in at least part of most industries and commercial operations.

Automation is spreading, for example, in the railroad industry and in wholesale and retail trades, as well as in clerical operations and manufacturing. Robot tracklaying equipment, automatic signaling and communications systems, and devices for automatic handling and dispatching of freight cars are among the developments in railroading.

In warehousing, electronic selection mechanisms, automatic conveyors, and automatic loading and unloading equipment have been



combined with other advances to make operations at new ware-

houses largely automatic.

The retailing field is also putting automation to use, particularly in inventory control. The special-purpose inventory-control computer at the John Plain mail order house in Chicago is reported to handle 90,000 tallies a day, keeping track of inventory on the 8,000 items in the firm's catalog.

Some degree of automation is also evident to a significant extent, in such varied industries as baking, meatpacking, leather tanning,

and concrete mixing.

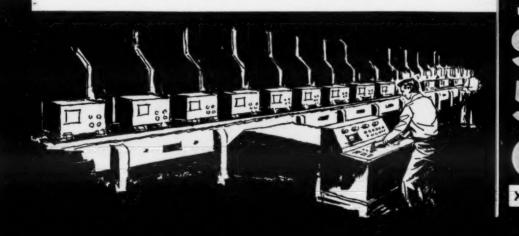
THE IMPACT OF AUTOMATION

No one can be certain, at present, whether such technological changes will be widely and rapidly introduced within the next ten years or spaced out slowly over decades. Some industrial processes, such as continuous-flow operations, lend themselves to easy conversion to automation. With others, automation can be introduced only after changes in the production process, and perhaps, in the re-design of the end-product itself. It is thus extremely difficult to estimate precisely the degree of automation's future effect on overall productivity and employment.

But it is clear that automation has had a profound effect whereever it has been applied. Let us look at a few examples of the effects

of the introduction of automatic equipment.

It has been estimated that 154 engine blocks run through the production line in an hour, at the Ford plant in Cleveland, requiring 41 workers on the line. The same production pace, under older methods, requires 117 men.



A completely automatic plant is now producing mixed and ready-to-use concrete for the Cleveland Builders Supply Company. Operated from an electronic control panel, the plant can produce and load into ready-mix trucks any one of some 1,500 different mixing formulas that may be demanded. This automatic plant has a capacity of 200 cubic yards of concrete per hour, as against 100 cubic yards per hour in the company's conventional plants. It uses no manual labor at any point in the process.

"The Wall Street Journal" reports that the Raytheon Manufacturing Co.'s television and radio division plant is able to produce 1,000 radios a day, with only two workers needed to run the line. To maintain that production rate, standard hand assembly requires a labor force of 200.

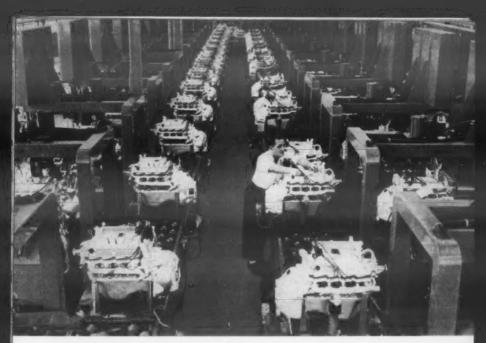
In their article in the March-April 1955 issue of the "Harvard Business Review," Peter B. Laubach and Lawrence E. Thompson, reporting on plans of a utility company for use of a computer for a variety of office functions, state:

"Management estimates that the general-purpose computer will operate two shifts per day and will take over the work of 200 clerical personnel and also will supplant a large block of punched-card equipment. The rental of the punched-card equipment which is being displaced is estimated to be about two-thirds of the rental cost of the computer."

Laubach and Thompson also report that a fairly large insurance company is to use a general-purpose computer for 7,000 daily premium billings and accountings, 20,000 monthly dividend calculations and accountings, and 130,000 monthly agency commission calculations and accountings. "Management feels," these authors write, "that it will run the computer an average of 60 hours a week and that there will be a saving of from 175 to 225 clerical personnel."

In 1955, the United States government turned loose what has been described as the world's largest electronic computing system on the Bureau of the Census' 1954 Census of Business. For the first time in the Bureau's history, the tabulation of the results of a full-





Automatic testing of motor blocks at the Plymouth Division of the Chrysler Corp.

scale national census have been done entirely automatically on the government agency's two computers which tabulate, check, edit and correct the statistics. Government officials say that the machines make possible substantial reductions in costs. One machine, Bureau of Census officials state, does the work of about 100 conventional tabulating machine operators.

The Air Force announced the award of a \$1,128,000 contract to the Convair Division of the General Dynamics Corp. on March 27, 1955, to develop the aircraft industry's first electronically-controlled milling machine. This automatic machine will be controlled by an electronic computer and will be based on the development of the automatic milling machine at MIT. It will be capable of producing prototype parts, as well as production parts. Convair engineers estimate that the machine will save as much as 85% of the lead time on some parts and about 15% of the lead time on very complex parts.

The automated production of electronic mechanisms is also making progress. General Mills, Inc., the breakfast food producer, has put on the market a fully-automatic machine for the production of

electronic equipment. Called "Autofab," this new machine, it is said, can assemble in a little over a minute the same number of multiple-part electronic units that takes one worker, using conventional machinery, a full day to assemble. It requires only two workers and a supervisor, and has a capacity of more than 200,000 assemblies a month, operating 40 hours a week.

IMPLICATIONS FOR THE NATIONAL ECONOMY

The new technology represents new tools for the production of economic abundance. It promises to raise productivity (output per manhour of work) rapidly and to provide the basis for great im-

provements in living conditions and increases in leisure.

But there are a host of possible problems that may arise during the transition to the widespread use of the new technology. And there are varying views of automation's social and economic impact. A pioneer in the development of the new technology says that it will produce disastrous unemployment, while the Chamber of Commerce, at the other extreme, declares that fear of dislocations aris-

ing from the growth of automation is merely a "Bogey."

Positive answers about the nature, extent, and degree of impact will depend on serious and continuing examination of the problem by government and private groups. It is clear, however, that the widespread introduction of automation in the coming decade or two will have a significant economic and social impact. Even a slower pace of introduction may well create dislocations, especially if the national economy fails to expand rapidly enough to minimize disruptive social effects.

Automation will increase productivity considerably. But increased manhour output without increased total production and growing consumer markets is a formula for depression. Without customers for the mounting output made possible by rising produc-

tivity, unemployment is inevitable.

Unfortunately, there is no automatically self-adjusting market to immediately absorb the yearly increases in the labor force, as well as workers who will be displaced or require retraining. And we lack a self-adjusting economic mechanism to provide immediately a rapidly-rising consumer buying power to sustain high levels of production and employment as the potential output of goods rises rapidly.

In recent years, the productivity of the national economy has been rising more rapidly than over the long-run past. But during

NO AUTOMATIC ANSWERS

We fully realize that the potential benefits of automation are great, if properly handled. If only a fraction of what technologists promise for the future is true, within a very few years automation can and should make possible a 4-day workweek, longer vacation periods, opportunities for earlier retirement, as well as a vast increase in our material standards of living.

At the same time, automation can bring freedom from the monotonous drudgery of many jobs in which the worker today is no more than a servant of the machine. It can free workers from routine, repetitious tasks which the new machines can be taught to do, and can give to the workers who toil at those tasks the opportunity of developing higher skills.

But in looking ahead to the many benefits which automation can produce, we must not overlook or minimize the many problems which will inevitably arise in making the adjustment to the new technology—problems for individual workers and individual companies, problems for entire communities and regions, problems for the economy as a whole.

What should be done to help the worker who will be displaced from his job, or the worker who will find that his highly specialized skill has been taken over by a machine? What about the businessman who lacks sufficient capital to automate his plant, yet has to face the competition of firms whose resources enable them to build whole new automatic factories? Will automation mean the creation of whole new communities in some areas, while others are turned into ghost towns? How can we increase the market for goods and services sufficiently and quickly enough, to match greatly accelerated increases in productivity?

Finding the answers to these questions, and many others like them, will not be an easy process, and certainly not an automatic one. Even if the greatest care is taken to foresee and meet these problems, adjustments for many people will prove difficult and even painful. If there is no care and no foresight, if we subscribe to the laissez-faire belief that "these things will work themselves out," untold harm can be done to millions of innocent people and to the whole structure of our economy and our free society.

WALTER P. REUTHER

Chairman of the AFL-CIO Economic Policy Committee (Statement, Oct. 17, 1955) most of the period from 1946 to mid-1953, and then again in 1955, the national economy's total production, too, expanded rapidly. It was this substantial economic expansion—achieved through growing markets and rising demand—that gave us high levels of employment in those years.

The growth of industrial research has helped produce a steppedup pace of improvement in conventional productive techniques, as well as in the more radical innovation of electronic control-devices. The widespread introduction of automation in the period ahead and the steady stream of other technological advances—is likely to accelerate the rate of productivity advances well above the increases of recent years.

To meet this challenge, full employment can be maintained only by sufficient economic expansion each year—based on rapidly growing consumer markets—to provide job opportunities for the increases in the labor force, as well as for workers who would otherwise be displaced by improved technology. But such expansion will not occur without forethought and planning by private and public groups.

The experience of the great depression of the 1930's stands as a reminder of what can occur when the economy's ability to produce outpaces its ability to consume. The great depression was, in good part, the result of a failure of the economy to adjust to the widespread introduction of mass production during the 1920's. The purchasing power of workers' wages lagged far behind rapidly rising productivity in the post-World War I years, and consumer markets did not grow fast enough to provide a sound foundation for economic health. The possibility of somewhat similar developments cannot be shrugged off when one considers the potential impact of automation.

Neither can we shrug off the possibility of labor displacement during the transition period with the belief that expansion will take place elsewhere in the economy to absorb immediately a large proportion of those who are displaced from factory and office employment. A displaced baker, billing clerk, or railroad worker cannot overnight become a skilled technician or an employee in an automatic-equipment-producing industry.

It is true, for example, that electronics industry employment has been expanding, but it is highly questionable whether it will expand sufficiently to absorb any large number of those who are displaced elsewhere in the economy. Productivity in the electronics industry is also expanding rapidly, with the introduction of labor

CONCERN FOR THE HUMAN FACTOR

It is clearly wrong to dismiss automation as nothing more than an extension of mechanization. We are clearly on the threshold of an industrial age, the significance of which we cannot predict and with potentialities which we cannot fully appreciate . . .

The fact that representatives of organized labor are watchful lest the material gains of automation become the sole objective, without recognizing the individual hardships that may be caused by job losses and skill displacements, ought not to be turned into a charge that labor, as such, is obstructive to new developments.

Whenever one has been in a position to have witnessed first hand the hardships experienced by the skilled and older worker in any line of endeavor—industrial or professional—suddenly wrenched from the job by the installation of a new machine, or new technology, one can scarcely be unmindful of the inequities which can come about where management and public policy have not given recognition to needs for retraining, relocation, severance pay, and other programs which tend to soften the transition . . .

However much we may welcome the fruits of advancing technology—however optimistic one may be that the problems of adjustment will not be serious—no one dare overlook or deny the fact that many individuals will suffer personal, mental, and physical hardships as the adjustments go forward . . .

The best and by far the most important single recommendation which the subcommittee can give is that the private and public sections of the nation do everything possible to assure the maintenance of a good, healthy, dynamic, and prospering economy, so that those who lose out at one place as a consequence of progressive technology will have no difficulty in finding a demand for their services elsewhere in the economy . . .

The subcommittee recommends that industry, and management for its part, must be prepared to accept the human costs of displacement and retraining as charges against the savings from the introduction of automation . . .

> SUBCOMMITTEE ON ECONOMIC STABILIZATION

Congressional Joint Committee on the Economic Report (Report, Nov. 25, 1955) saving devices, new materials and automation. A Department of Labor study states:

"Electronics output in 1952 was 275% higher than in 1947 but was produced by only 40% more workers . . . Output per manhour (in the electronics industry) may rise even faster during the next few years as a result of improvements in manufacturing techniques . . . These trends toward 'automation' may result in the greatest reduction in unit manhours in the industry's history during the next few years."

Even if automation is introduced slowly and the displacement of large numbers of workers does not occur, it is possible that the economy may not adjust rapidly enough, during the transition period, to provide sufficient job opportunities for new entrants into the labor force. We are entering a period when the growth of the labor force will begin to feel the effects of the rising birth rate since 1939. More young people will be looking for jobs in the coming decade than in recent years. In addition, there is a continuing trend towards an increasing number of women at work or seeking employment.

The Bureau of the Census expects the labor force to grow at an accelerating rate in the years ahead, when the great changes of automation will be made. From an average yearly increase of about 550,000 during 1950-1955, the civilian labor force is expected to increase by 866,000 a year during 1955-1960, and by 1,172,000 a year during 1960-1965. Will the economy expand fast enough to provide job opportunities for a rapidly growing labor force, in a period of radical technological change?

BASIC PROBLEMS OF NATIONAL SCOPE

The spreading use of automation equipment poses many problems for the national economy.

- Will consumer purchasing power rise sufficiently to provide the rapidly growing consumer markets needed to match the increasingly automated productive capacity of industry and commerce?
- Will economic activity expand fast enough during the transition period to provide job opportunities for new workers entering the labor market, as well as for workers who are displaced by automated machines and electronic computers?
- Will the costs of introducing automation be so great-and the

required output so large—as to produce an increased tendency toward concentration of the control of industry?

- What will be the effects of automation on business investment in new plant and equipment?
- Will automation speed up the increasing productivity of capital investment (output per unit of capital)? Will private consumption and government expenditures, in combination, grow sufficiently to maintain expanding markets, if the productivity of plant and equipment rises rapidly?
- Will automation result in the creation of much secondary investment and new jobs, as did the introduction of the automobile and the ensuing developments in road construction, steel, oil, rubber, and glass?
- How will automation affect plant location? Will firms prefer to build automated plants in new areas, rather than to renovate existing plants? Will automation encourage abandonment of existing facilities, loss of industry, and economic distress for many communities?
- Will power and natural resources be sufficient to gain the potential increased output made possible by automation?
- Are the schools training a sufficiently large and adequately skilled labor force to operate and maintain an economy that will be increasingly automated? Is the school system prepared to meet this responsibility?
- Will the nation's educational, cultural and recreational facilities be capable of meeting the challenge of increased leisure made possible by automation—longer vacations, reduced work-weeks, two-and-a-half or three-day weekends?

THE IMPACT ON WORKERS

Automation promises the elimination of routine, repetitive jobs. It makes possible the creation of greatly improved working conditions and the reduction in the length of the work-week.

But even in periods of high employment, the introduction of automated machines and electronic computers mean some workers are likely to suffer lay-offs, to be affected by the changing level of skill requirements, and to be confronted with other problems of adjustment. Academic assurances that all will work out well in the long-run can be of no help to the displaced worker and his family who are directly affected.

This presents a challenging test for the collective bargaining process and for the mutual concern of labor and management in assuring steady employment, equitable pay, and improved conditions of employment.

Workers and their unions are naturally concerned with the problems that automation is already posing and will raise in sharper focus in the coming years. They are seeking safeguards to minimize any dislocations, immediate and long-run, that will accompany the widespread introduction of automatic controls and electronic computers in industry and commerce.

The prospect of labor displacement can be eased, in part, by joint consultation between companies and unions and by management planning—to schedule the introduction of automation in periods of high employment, to permit attrition to reduce the size of the labor force, and to allow time for the re-training of employees.

The process of collective bargaining can and must be used to plan carefully for the introduction of automation so as to minimize the job and income losses of employees.

Organized labor is also alert to the need for workers to share adequately in the fruits of rising productivity. Substantial wage increases and—barring a sharp increase in international tension—a reduced workweek will probably be demanded, to spread the benefits of automation to the great mass of American families.

A financial cushion for workers where layoffs do take place, and a financial incentive for management to plan ahead to minimize employee dislocation, can be provided through labor-management agreements on guaranteed wage plans and severance pay provisions.

Collective bargaining can also provide other necessary safeguards. These include the need for fair and orderly procedures governing



by-offs, rehires, transfers, promotions, and changes of job classifications and wage structures. There are a multitude of important details to be worked out in labor-management negotiations.

The state of the same industry and area. The same including the same industry areas—table seniority provisions in collective bargaining contracts. Unions are giving much thought to the need for the broadening of seniority areas—company-wide or plant-wide seniority, for example—to assure equitable seniority protection for their members and the right to interdepartment and interplant transfers, based on seniority. Preferential hiring provisions are being considered, which would require all plants under contract with the union to give preference to laid-off workers in the same industry and area.

Also, seniority systems should assure senior employees a full opportunity to qualify for new higher-skill jobs. Such employees should not be passed over in favor of new or junior employees simply because of age or an employer unwillingness to provide the training to enable qualification for the job.

Significant changes will be required in wage structure. New job classifications and new wage structures will have to be worked out, as job content changes. With the upgrading of skills and rapidly rising productivity, wage rates will have to be revised upwards after automation is introduced into a firm. Existing job evaluation plans will have to be thoroughly revised or discarded; wage incentive systems may have to be eliminated.

Problems of down-grading will probably develop, as the need for certain types of skills are made obsolete by new automatic machinery, or as some workers, unable to adjust to changed jobs, are shifted to lower-rated jobs. Special job-and-wage protections will have to be worked out for them.

Pension plans may also have to be changed through the collective bargaining process, particularly to permit earlier retirement and the transfer of pension rights from one plant to another within an industry or area, so that displaced workers are not hit by loss of accrued pension rights.

Many unions will probably demand contract provisions for the re-training of workers at company expense. Some unions have already initiated training and re-training programs to familiarize members with new mechanical and electronic processes.

GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBILITY

Some special problems cannot of course be decided at the plant level alone, but may rather require government attention as well. Some of these questions which the spread of automation raise include the following:

• Will the federal, state and local governments, as well as management, assume their responsibilities in helping society to adjust to the new technology?

How will society, in general, and the various levels of government, in particular, meet the need to train workers for new and

complex skills?

• Will vocational training facilities be expanded sufficiently, to enable adult workers to acquire new skills, as well as to train the youth for responsibilities in automated plants and offices?

• What of older workers who are displaced and cannot find new jobs? The Social Security Act may have to be amended to provide an opportunity for earlier retirement.

 Will practices for aiding unemployed workers be improved to meet new needs?

With the spreading tendency of firms to shut down old plants and to build others in new areas, the demand for relocation allowances, under law, will grow stronger—to assist workers and their families to move to the locations of new job opportunities. Drastic improvements in unemployment compensation will also be required to cushion the impact of joblessness on displaced workers.

CONCLUSION

These developing issues and many others require responsible consideration by all segments of our society. Unions are now studying closely the effects of automation in their respective industries. Union staffs and technical consultants are working with negotiators to develop means of easing any adverse effects of the new technology.

In cooperation with management and the government, unions hope and expect to develop realistic solutions to the difficulties that may arise. The problems posed by automation can and must be worked out by the joint efforts of labor, management, government, and other groups in society, if the transition to the era of the new technology, and the achievement of its potential for vast improvement in our standards of living, is to be accomplished with a minimum of social dislocation and human suffering.

AFL-CIO PUBLICATIONS:

AFL-CIO News

A weekly newspaper with news, pictures and features about organized labor, its activities and programs.

\$1.25 per year.

• AFL-CIO American Federationist

A monthly magazine, illustrated, with articles by leaders of the AFL-CIO about labor's problems.

\$2.00 per year.

• Labor's Economic Review

A monthly analysis of principal economic problems. Published by the AFL-CIO Department of Research.

\$1.50 per year.

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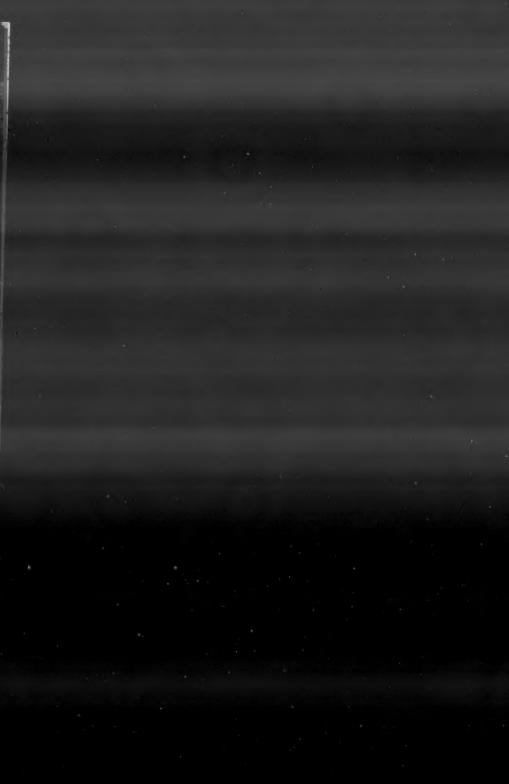
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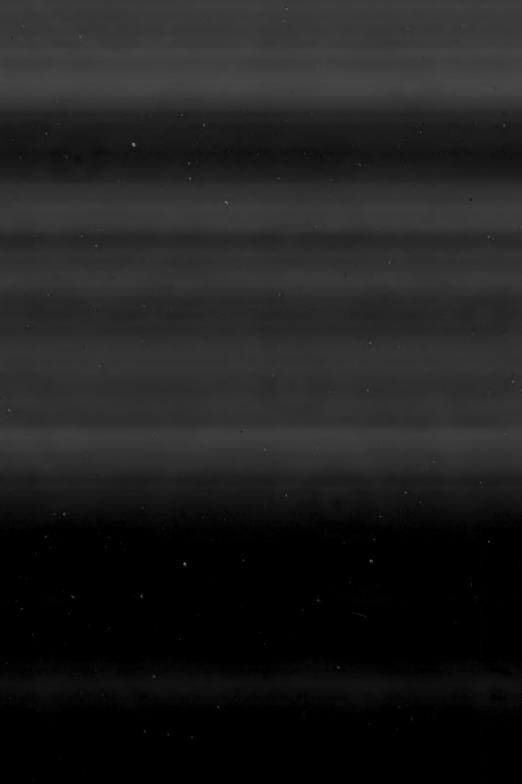
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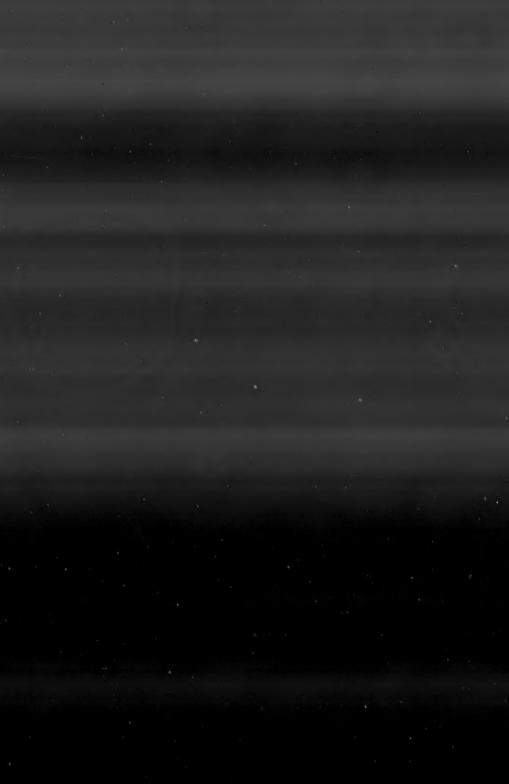


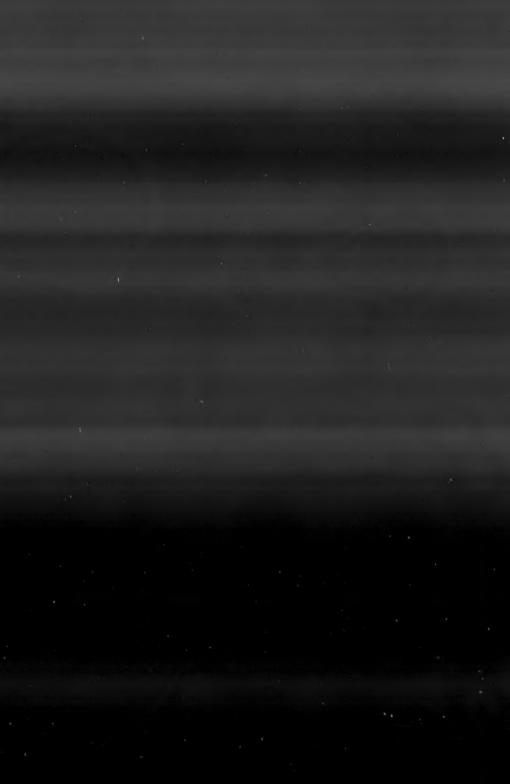
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AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

GEORGE MEANY, President
WILLIAM F. SCHNITZLER, Secretary-Treasurer

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

JOHN D. CONNORS, Director

TABLE OF CONTENTS

rage
Subject Index III-V
Title Index VI-VIII
Introduction 1
Check List for a Smooth Showing
Shipping Films
Preview the Film
Film-a-Month Program
Try a "Family Night"
Arrangement of Catalogue
Audio-Visual Equipment
Film Posters
Films for Building Unionism 7
Films for Special Use
Films for Union Training
Films on Civil Liberties & Civil Rights 28
Films on Farmer-Labor Cooperation
Films on International Problems
Films on Political Education
Films on General Welfare
Entertainment Films
Films for Use on TV
Other Film Sources
Film Order Forms

SUBJECT INDEX

Apprentice Training		Which Way for Human Rights	34
Apprentice Training	7	Whoever You Are	35
Atomic Energy		You Can't Run Away	35
A Is for Atom	51	Collective Bargaining	
Operation Ivy	51	Local 100	12
Automation		Strike in Town	14
	F0	Work or Wages Guaranteed	19
Project Tinkertoy	52	You Are There at the	
The Search Technique for Tomorrow	52 54	Bargaining Table	27
Civil Liberties	34	Co-ops and Credit Unions	
	00	King's X	54
Action Against the Law	28 30	There Were Three Men	54
Due Process of Law Denied First Seize His Books	31	What is a Co-op?	54
Freedom to Learn	31		
Freedom to Read	32	Entertainment Films	
Murrow-McCarthy Debate	33	Pages 6	0-64
National Security vs Individual	00		-
Rights	33	Farmer-Labor Cooperation	
Peaceful Assembly and Free	00	Common Ground	36
Speech	33	Farm and City	36
Sound of a Stone	34	Grain That Built a Hemisphere	36
The Story That Couldn't Be		Power and the Land	36
Printed	34	Seed for Tomorrow	37
Civil Rights		Topsoil	37
Brotherhood of Man	28	Films for Union Classes	
Charlie Martin, American	29	Discussion Technique	25
Color of Man	29	Facts About Film	25
Defining Democracy	29	Facts About Projection	25
Dr. Sammy Lee	29	Heart of the Union	25
Don't Be A Sucker	30	How to Conduct a Discussion	26
For Fair Play	31	Let's Talk About Films	26
High Wall	32	Parliamentary Procedure	26
The House I Live In	32	0 1 97 14	
Joe Davis—American	32	General Welfare	
Neighbors	33	Everybody's Handicapped	59
Segregation in the School	33	Inflation	59
The Story of Dr. Carver	34	To Promote the General	
The Sydenham Plan	34	Welfare	59

Health and Social Security		Stuff for Stuff	42
Charley's March of Time	56	To Help Themselves	42
Looking Ahead	57	The United Nations and	
Our Nation's Health	57	World Disputes	43
So Much for So Little	57	University of the World	43
They Need to Know	57	World Affairs are Your Affairs	43
Without Fear	57	The World is Rich	43
Your Social Security	58	World Trade for Better Living	43
Your Very Good Health	58	World Without End	44
Housing		Labor History	
The Baltimore Flan	54	Building Industrial Unionism	20
Farewell Oak Street	55	Faith in the Future	21
This is Tomorrow	56	How Green Was My Valley	10
		Imprint of a Man	10
Increasing Member		International Confederation	10
Participation		of Free Trade Unions	11
Brother John	7	ICFTU Film Report #5	11
Dues and the Union	8	Mr. CIO	20
Union at Work	17	Our Union—Local 91	22
		People of the Cumberland	13
Industrial Safety		POSSE	22
Carelessness Costs You	56	The Pursuit of Happiness	13
They Drive in Safety	56	The Seafarers	23
		State of our Union	23
International Problems		United Action for Victory	18
Afghanistan Moves Ahead	38	Unity is Strength	18
Assignment Children	38	We Serve the Public	24
Breakthrough	39	With These Hands	19
Earthquake in Ecuador	39		
Fate of a Child	39	Labor Legislation	
Free Labor Goes Forward	8	711 1	01
The Grand Design	39	Illegal	21
Indonesia Builds a Better Life	40	Injustice on Trial	11
I.L.O.	40	Should Taft-Hartley Be	07
New South Asia	40	Repealed	27
One World or None	41	11-61-1	
The Other Paris	41	Labor Schools	
Pattern for Peace	41	The Campus Comes to the	
The People's Charter	41	Steelworkers	7
Round Trip	41	Rubber Workers Go to School	13
Shoemaker and the Hatter	42	A Union Goes to School	17

Organizing		Public Power	
Faith in the Future	21	Miracle of Hydro	51
I. A. Documentary	21	The River	52
Local 100	12	Valley of the Tennessee	52
My Name is Mary Brown	22	Public Education	
People of the Cumberland	13		97
The Pursuit of Happiness	16	Freedom to Learn	31
The Story of the NLRB	16	School and the Community	58
24 Hours	17	Sound of a Stone	34
Union at Work	17	Who Will Teach Your Child?	59
Union in the Mill	18	Steward Training	
A Watch for Joe	18	The Grievance	9
With These Hands	19	Grievance Hearing	10
		The Shop Steward	16
Political Education			
Are You a Good Citizen?	45	Strike Action	
A Citizen Makes a Decision	45	Battle of Wall Street	20
Clinton, A Political Story	45	For the Record	21
The Congress	45	Millions of Us	13
How We Elect Our		Strike in Town	14
Representatives	45	United Action for Victory	18
The Legislative Process	46	Union Label	
Lest We Forget	46	Democracy on Display	8
Political Parties	47	Democracy on Display	0
Powers of Congress	47	Union Organization &	
Pressure Groups	48	Administration	
Public Opinion in our		Dues and the Union	8
Democracy	48	Each For All	8
Susan B. Anthony	48	Heart of the Union	25
They Said Labor Didn't Count	48	International Confederation	
Ticket to Freedom	49	of Free Trade Unions	11
Voices of the People	49	Structure of Unions	27
You Can Do It	49	24 Hours	27
You Can Win Elections	49	Union at Work	17
You the People	50	Union Local	18

TITLE INDEX

A Is for Atom	51	Everybody's Handicapped	59
Action Against the Law	28	Facts about Film	25
The Adventurer	60	Facts about Projection	25
The Adventures of Chico	60	Faith in the Future	21
Afghanistan Moves Ahead	38	Farewell Oak Street	55
(UN Screen Mag. #16)		Farm and City	36
Animals Unlimited	60	Fate of a Child	39
Apprentice Training	7	Fiddle Dee Dee	61
Assignment Children	38	First Seize His Books	31
Are You a Good Citizen?	45	For Fair Play	31
The Baltimore Plan	54	Free Labor Goes Forward	8
Battle of Wall Street	20	For the Record	21
The Big Roundtable	20	Freedom to Learn	31
Breakthrough	39	Freedom to Read	32
Brother John	7	Grain That Built a Hemisphere	36
Brotherhood of Man	28	The Grand Design	39
Building Industrial Unionism	20	The Great Chase	61
The Campus Comes to the		The Grievance	9
Steelworkers	7	Grievance Hearing	10
Carelessness Costs You	56	Heart of the Union	25
The Carpenter	20	High Wall	32
Charley's March of Time	56	Hot Ice	61
Charlie Martin, American	29	The House I Live In	32
Cholly Polly	61	How Green Was My Valley	10
A Circus Wakes Up	61	How to Conduct a Discussion	26
A Citizen Makes A Decision	45	How We Elect Our Repre-	
Clinton, A Political Story	45	sentatives	45
Color of Man	29	I. A. Documentary	21
Common Ground	30	ICFTU (1949 Congress)	11
The Congress	45	ICFTU-Film Report No. 5	11
Defining Democracy	29	I. L. O.	40
Democracy on Display	8	Illegal	21
Discussion Technique	25	Imprint of a Man	10
Dr. Sammy Lee	29	Indonesia Builds a Better Life	40
Don't Be A Sucker	30	(UN Screen Mag. #17)	
Due Process of Law Denied	30	Injustice on Trial	11
Dues and the Union	8	Inflation	59
Each for All	8	Joe Davis, American	32
Earthquake in Ecuador	39	King's X	54
(UN Screen Mag. #3)		The Legislative Process	46

Let's Sing a Western Song61Riot on Ice62Let's Talk About Films26The River52Local 10012Round Trip41Looking Ahead57Rubber Workers Go to School13Men at Work12Sandy Steps Out62Mickey Mouse Shorts62School and the Community58Midget Car Maniacs61The Seafarers23Millions of Us13The Search52Miracle of Hydro51Seed for Tomorrow37Mr. CIO20Segregation in the School33Murrow Interview withThe Shoemaker and the Hatter42President George Meany21The Shop Steward16
Local 100 12 Round Trip 41 Looking Ahead 57 Rubber Workers Go to School 13 Men at Work 12 Sandy Steps Out 62 Mickey Mouse Shorts 62 School and the Community 58 Midget Car Maniacs 61 The Seafarers 23 Millions of Us 13 The Search 52 Miracle of Hydro 51 Seed for Tomorrow 37 Mr. CIO 20 Segregation in the School 33 Murrow Interview with The Shoemaker and the Hatter 42
Looking Ahead57Rubber Workers Go to School13Men at Work12Sandy Steps Out62Mickey Mouse Shorts62School and the Community58Midget Car Maniacs61The Seafarers23Millions of Us13The Search52Miracle of Hydro51Seed for Tomorrow37Mr. CIO20Segregation in the School33Murrow Interview withThe Shoemaker and the Hatter42
Men at Work12Sandy Steps Out62Mickey Mouse Shorts62School and the Community58Midget Car Maniacs61The Seafarers23Millions of Us13The Search52Miracle of Hydro51Seed for Tomorrow37Mr. CIO20Segregation in the School33Murrow Interview withThe Shoemaker and the Hatter42
Mickey Mouse Shorts62School and the Community58Midget Car Maniacs61The Seafarers23Millions of Us13The Search52Miracle of Hydro51Seed for Tomorrow37Mr. CIO20Segregation in the School33Murrow Interview withThe Shoemaker and the Hatter42
Midget Car Maniacs61The Seafarers23Millions of Us13The Search52Miracle of Hydro51Seed for Tomorrow37Mr. CIO20Segregation in the School33Murrow Interview withThe Shoemaker and the Hatter42
Millions of Us 13 The Search 52 Miracle of Hydro 51 Seed for Tomorrow 37 Mr. CIO 20 Segregation in the School 33 Murrow Interview with The Shoemaker and the Hatter 42
Miracle of Hydro 51 Seed for Tomorrow 37 Mr. CIO 20 Segregation in the School 33 Murrow Interview with The Shoemaker and the Hatter 42
Mr. CIO 20 Segregation in the School 33 Murrow Interview with The Shoemaker and the Hatter 42
Murrow Interview with The Shoemaker and the Hatter 42
President Ceorge Meany 21 The Shop Steward 16
Tresident George Meany 21 The Shop Steward
Murrow-McCarthy Debate 33 Should Taft-Hartley be
My Name is Mary Brown 22 Repealed? 27
National Security vs. So Much for So Little 57
Individual Rights 33 Sound of a Stone 34
Neighbors 33 The Spider and the Ant 63
New South Asia 40 State of Our Union 23
No Indians, Please 61 The Story that Couldn't Be
One World or None 41 Printed 34
Operation Ivy 51 The Story of Dr. Carver 34
The Other Paris 41 The Story of the NLRB 16
Our Nation's Health 57 Strike in Town 14
Our Union—Local 91 22 The Structure of Unions 27
Parliamentary Procedure 26 Stuff for Stuff 42
Pattern for Peace 41 Susan B. Anthony 48
Peaceful Assembly and Free The Sydenham Plan 34
Speech 33 Technique for Tomorrow 54
People of the Cumberland 13 There Were Three Men 54
The People's Charter 41 They Drive in Safety 56
Political Parties 47 They Need to Know 57
POSSE 22 They Met at the Fair 23
Power and the Land 36 They Said Labor Didn't Count 48
Powers of Congress 47 The 32B Story 23
Pressure Groups 48 This Is the S. I. U. 23
The Princess & the Dragon 62 This is Tomorrow 56
Project Tinkertoy 52 Ticket to Freedom 49
Public Opinion in Our To Help Themselves 42
Democracy 48 Three Little Bruins in a Canoe 63
The Pursuit of Happiness 13 To Promote the General
A Report To You 22 Welfare 59

37	Who Will Teach Your Child?	59
17	Whoever You Are	35
17	The Wind from the West	63
17	With These Hands	19
27	Without Fear	57
17	Work or Wages Guaranteed	19
18	World Affairs are Your Affairs	43
18	The World Is Rich	43
18	World Trade for Better Living	43
	World Without End	44
43	You Can Do It	49
18		49
43	You Can't Run Away	35
52	You Are There at the	
	Bargaining Table	27
	You, the People	50
	Your Social Security	58
	Your Very Good Health	58
34	Meany	24
	17 17 17 27 17 18 18 18 43 18 43 52 49 18 24 54	17 Whoever You Are 17 The Wind from the West 18 With These Hands 27 Without Fear 19 Work or Wages Guaranteed 10 World Affairs are Your Affairs 10 The World Is Rich 11 World Trade for Better Living 11 World Without End 12 You Can Do It 13 You Can Win Elections 14 You Can't Run Away 15 You Are There at the 16 Bargaining Table 17 Your Social Security 18 Your Very Good Health 18 Youth Panel Meets George



INTRODUCTION

Movies will not solve the problem of organizing a first-rate education program for your union.

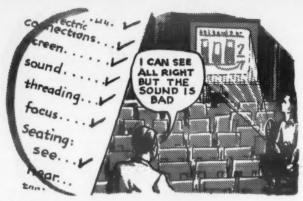
But properly used, they will help.

In developing an effective movie program for your union, these are some of the rules you must follow:

- Book your film far enough ahead of time so that you can publicize the showing, properly and dramatically, in your union leaflets and publications and with posters.
- Preview the film before you show it at your local union meeting.
- Plan your discussion with a group from your Education Committee or consider using leaders from community organizations. Arrange your hall and equipment properly before the meeting starts.
- For most films useful to labor, showing the film is 20 percent of the job.
- Discussing it is 80 percent.

Let's start with first things first. Let's start with what you do in order to make sure that your projection service measures up to the standard of your local movie theatre.

All films listed in this catalogue require a 16mm sound projector for showing.



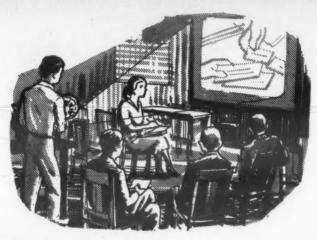
Check-list for a Smooth Movie Show:

- Make certain projector is in good running order, that you have spare lamps, etc. and spare take-up reels.
- 2. Check films to make sure they are the right selections.
- 3. Get there at least one hour before the meeting.
- 4. Set up screen, then distance projector (without film at first) so that light beam completely fills screen.
- 5. Clean projector, especially the gate; oil if necessary.
- 6. Connect speaker, place near screen well up off the floor.
- 7. Arrange seating so nobody can get in way of picture.
- 8. Make sure you can black-out hall and arrange for an assistant to turn lights off.
- Carefully thread film for short trial run to check on sound and focus. Re-thread to be ready for show.
- During show never leave projector. Be ready to adjust focus, volume and tone.
- 11. Do not rewind until after the meeting.

SHIPPING FILMS.

Films are shipped parcel post, special handling, under the postal regulations applying to educational films—Sections 38.84(e) and (h) P.L. & R.—which give films a rate similar to the book rate. Films should be returned in the same manner ON THE DAY FOLLOWING YOUR SHOWING.

A return shipping label will be enclosed with your film on which will be indicated the amount of postage needed to return the film. Penalties will be charged against film users who do not return films promptly.



PREVIEW THE FILM.

Normally your film will arrive two days before its showing. Arrange for the Education Committee to preview the film before your meeting. After the preview, work out a short introduction to be made before the film is shown and plan several questions for discussion. Discussion guides to assist you are available with many of the films.

A Film Report Form will be enclosed with your film shipment. Please fill this out and return it with the film.

FILM-A-MONTH PLAN.

For unions which plan to use films regularly as a part of their educational program or as an integral part of their monthly membership meetings, a Film-A-Month plan is available. Under this plan, unions may sign up in advance for a total of nine films for use during a 12-month period for a total cost of \$15.00. We have limited the number to nine, because we recommend that you omit the summer months and possibly December in your bookings in order not to conflict with vacations and holidays.

You may use one film each month, two during some months, or arrange the schedule in any way you desire just so long as the films are used

within a 12-month period.

The Department of Education will provide you with a specially selected list of films from which you may choose the nine films you wish or you may make your own selections from the catalogue. In order to assure a balanced program, however, we require that at least one film be selected from each of the following categories: Films for Building Unionism, Films on Civil Rights and Civil Liberties, Films for Political Education, Films on International Problems, Films on General Welfare. Entertainment films may not be booked as part of the Film-A-Month plan.

This plan is not meant to be in any sense a substitute for a well-rounded



education program, but, properly used, it will supplement your program and enable you to get the films you want with a minimum of expense and letter-writing.

Films are shipped to arrive several days in advance of the show date in order to give users an opportunity for preview. You will be billed for the entire series at the time the first film is shipped to you. Special arrangements may be made for unions wishing to retain each film in the series for a week, two-week, or month's period.

An order blank for the Film-A-Month program will be found in the back of the catalogue on page 71.

TRY A "FAMILY NIGHT".

Besides showing films at your local union meetings, you may want to consider special showings for the steward body or the executive board. Many unions are arranging showings of feature length films for a family night. The AFL-CIO Film Division will be glad to make suggestions on films in this field. Many unions are arranging Saturday morning film programs for children in the union hall. Both programs help build union loyalty on the part of the entire family.

You may find other groups in your community interested in a film forum. If so, your local union, can cooperate with them in sponsoring community showings of films listed in this catalogue.

ARRANGEMENT OF THIS CATALOGUE.

This catalogue combines the films contained in the libraries of the former AFL and CIO. *It does not include filmstrips*. A separate filmstrip listing may be secured from the Department of Education.



The catalogue lists films alphabetically under the following headings: Films for Building Unionism, Films of Special Interest, Films for Union Training, Films on Civil Liberties and Civil Rights, Films on General Welfare, Films on Farmer-Labor Cooperation, Films on International Problems, Films on Political Education, and Entertainment Films. Films of special interest are mainly those films made by the former AFL or former CIO or their affiliates which are primarily a history of one particular union.

At the end of the catalogue you will find several pages of order blanks to facilitate ordering films. Subject and title indices precede this introduction.

EQUIPMENT.

To show the films listed in this catalogue, you will need a 16mm sound film projector. The Department of Education can secure projectors, screens, and any other standard audio-visual equipment for AFL-CIO unions at substantial savings.

Most makes of equipment are satisfactory. The final decision on the kind to buy depends on the buyer's pocketbook and the use he plans to make of the equipment, 16mm sound projectors vary in weight from about 30 lbs. to over 100 lbs. List prices range from approximately \$400 for a small model to \$2,000 for a large auditorium model. The average projector, however, will list between \$400 and \$600, will come in one case (the light-weight models) or in two cases, with the speaker in a separate case, and will be suitable for use with audiences of up to 2,000, depending largely on the size of the speaker. AFL-CIO prices average about 20% - 25% off list.

POSTERS.

In order to aid local unions in publicizing film showings, the Department of Education has prepared $9\frac{1}{4}$ " x $10\frac{1}{2}$ " posters as illustrated here.

The posters are available in orange and in blue and may be purchased for 10ϕ each, 15 for \$1.00, 50 for \$3.00, or 100 for \$4.00. They have space for filling in the name of the film, place, date, and time of showing and are designed for posting on bulletin boards. Get a supply the next time you order films from the Department of Education and let these colorful posters help you attract people to your meetings.



FILMS FOR BUILDING UNIONISM

*All films listed are 16mm, sound. Unless otherwise indicated they are black and white.

APPRENTICE TRAINING. 30 min. 1952. Rental \$3.00.

Produced by U. S. Information Agency.

This is the story of the apprentice training program as seen through the eyes of young Tom Dunham, who learns to be a bricklayer. It shows meetings of the Apprentice Committee, explains how the committee selects applicants and follows up on the progress of the apprentices. It describes Tom's on-the-job training and points out the importance of his joining the union and working under union conditions.



On the job training is emphasized in Apprentice Training

BROTHER JOHN. 10 min. 1947. Rental 2.00.

Produced by United Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers of America.

Uses an empty chair at a union meeting to draw attention of union members to the many activities of the UAW education program and what it means to the individual union member. The film points out that even the best contract will not protect workers against today's economic problems—he needs to use his political arm.

THE CAMPUS COMES TO THE STEELWORKERS. 18 min. 1947. Rental \$2.50.

Produced by the United Steelworkers of America and Penn State College.

Local union members of the United Steelworkers of America attend a week long union training institute on the campus of Pennsylvania State College. Film closes with a statement by the late Philip Murray on the importance of this type of union activity.

DEMOCRACY ON DISPLAY. Color. 50 min. 1949. Rental \$4.00.

Produced by the AFL-CIO Union Label Trades and Services Department The film surveys our various union-industry exhibits at the annual Union Industries Show at Cleveland in 1949, demonstrating on-the-spot construction of union-made goods and showing union workers at their trades.



Union Label and Trades exhibits, Fifth Union Industries show from Democracy on Display

DUES AND THE UNION. 17 min. 1953. Rental \$2.50.

Produced by the National Film Board of Canada.

The importance of regular payment of union dues is told through the story of a young pipe-fitter, Frank Watson. New to the trade and to his responsibilities as a union member, Frank finds there is much to learn about both. Fortunately for him, his boss on the job—George Millbank, skilled tradesman and a founder of the union—has the patience to teach him. Through him Frank learns the significance of prompt dues payment and the services provided by them, and comes to enjoy the satisfactions of active and interested union membership.

EACH FOR ALL. 11 min. 1947. Rental \$2.00.

Produced by British Information Services.

Highlights of the British Trade Union movement which represents the British factory workers in the workshop and at the national conference table. The film gives a good sweep of the breadth of the movement. It was produced under the Atlee Labor Government.

FREE LABOR GOES FORWARD. 20 min. 1956. Rental \$2.50. Produced by U. S. Information Agency.

Highlights of the 1955 Congress of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions in Vienna. Includes shots of many U. S. labor leaders, AFL-CIO President George Meany addressing the group.

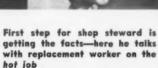
THE GRIEVANCE. 32 min. 1955. Rental \$3.00.

Produced by the National Film Board of Canada.

A man who refuses to work on a truck cab which he believes is too hot for safety is transferred to another job at lower pay. He takes up the grievance with his steward and it goes through a step-by-step procedure from the steward and the foreman to the chief steward and the superintendent and then to the union's grievance committee and the company's industrial relations' director. Obtaining no satisfaction, the local votes to take the case to arbitration and the film discusses the procedure involved here. It stresses the importance of orderly grievance procedures.



The cab is too hot—I won't work on it. This makes The Grievance







Final step in The Grievance—arbitrator tests hot jobs to help him make his decision in this case

GRIEVANCE HEARING. 15 min. 1953. Rental \$2.50.

Produced by McGraw-Hill Book Co.

Mary Carson, reporting back to work after a six weeks' absence due to illness, finds that because she didn't report in for an extension of leave, she is considered an "automatic quit" under the terms of the union contract. The case comes to the personnel manager, who chairs a meeting with the union's grievance committee and representatives from management.

HOW GREEN WAS MY VALLEY. 32 min. 1941. Rental \$3.00.

Produced by Teaching Film Custodians.

This excerpt from the feature film based on Richard Llewellyn's novel by the same name is designed for union use and concerns itself primarily with the lives of the Welsh miners and the conditions under which they worked. Shows men being fired for union activity, wages lowered again and again, unsafe working conditions causing cave-ins and death. Also retains much of the warm family life of the Morgan family, including the marriage of the eldest son, Hugh's first experience in school, and the sympathetic understanding which the family and the valley receives from Mr. Griffith, the minister.



Miners leave the pits determined to do something about wage cuts and working conditions in How Green Was My Valley

IMPRINT OF A MAN. 28 min. 1954. Rental \$3.00.

Produced by Philip Murray Memorial Foundation.

A film story of the life of the late CIO President, Philip Murray, showing his contribution to American labor and the well-being of our nation.

In telling the story of Philip Murray's contribution to American life, the film provides a record of the early struggles of labor with special emphasis on the developments after 1930—and the events that CIO helped to shape.

INJUSTICE ON TRIAL. 20 min. 1955. Rental \$2.50.

Produced by the AFL-CIO. Available on long-term lease for \$125 in color and \$75 in black and white.

This film presents labor's arguments against the misnamed "right-to-work" laws. It shows that these anti-union statutes are harmful to the welfare of the entire community and that states which have them have a lower per capita income than other states. Leading Catholic, Jewish, and Protestant clerics appear in the film and state their reasons for believing these laws immoral. The film is presented in the form of a trial and the audience is urged to be the judge at its conclusion.

(A special black and white 13-minute version of the film designed for television use is also available.)





injustice Under the Law says you the people must decide the unfairness of attempts to destroy union security through "right-to-work" laws

INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION OF FREE TRADE UNIONS. 25 min. 1950. Rental \$3.00.

Produced by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

Delegates representing fifty different nations and fifty million workers come together to outline the problems and goals of the world's democratic trade unions at the first ICFTU meeting in London in 1949. Trade union leaders underline the need for unity among democratic trade unions. (Write to the ICFTU, 20 W. 40th St., New York 18, N. Y., for literature on current ICFTU developments to distribute at your showing.)

ICFTU FILM REPORT NO. 5. 10 min. 1954. Rental \$2.00.

Produced by International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

Reviews events of trade union movements in the ICFTU. Shows how Dutch and Austrian organized workers help solve problems of their country. Film opens with shots of Allan Haywood, then Executive Vice President of the CIO, singing "Roll the Union On" at the 1953 CIO Convention.

LOCAL 100. 32 min. 1950. Rental \$3.00.

Produced by the National Film Board of Canada.

The sudden dismissal of Jim makes the other men in the shop realize they need a union. The film shows their approach to the national union, the assistance given by an organizer from union headquarters, the mass meeting and the signing up of workers, which resulted in Local 100's being declared the legal bargaining agent. The shop committee negotiates with the employer to obtain their first contract.



Foreman calls worker over to reject his "excuses" and fire him—this starts action to organize Local 100

MEN AT WORK. 27 min. 1954. Rental \$3.00.

Produced by the National Film Board of Canada.

Filmed in a washing-machine factory, this picture shows what can happen to human relations when a speeded-up conveyor system and a clash of temperaments disrupt the harmonious work group on the assembly line. The film does not attempt any answers, but it does expose the problems in human relations which are created by changing work situations and makes an effective plea for a little more human understanding.

New production methods put workers in a spin, breaking down human relations and feelings for the job in Men at Work



MILLIONS OF US. 17 min. 1938. Rental \$2.50.

Produced by American Labor Films, Inc.

Shows the struggles of a man not to scab on strikers during the depression. This is a dramatic warning from the soup kitchen years of the depression, especially good for showing in strike situations to build union morale. Here we see the threat of scabs hired by management to defeat organized labor's efforts to achieve higher standards of living and jobs for all.

PEOPLE OF THE CUMBERLAND. 18 min. 1938. Rental \$2.50.

Produced by Frontier Films, Inc.

A story of early struggles of labor in the South. Here are scenes of people and events helping to build the "new South" through trade union organization. Conditions of impoverished mountain communities are contrasted with the improved living conditions and new way of life that came with the formation of unions. This film is especially useful for showing the need to organize the South.

THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS. Color. 35 min. 1950. Rental \$4.00.

Produced by the Amalgamated Meat Cutters & Butcher Workmen of North America.

The story of Bill Smith, a typical member of the Amalgamated whose life and job conditions reflect the work of his union, shows how union protection stretches out over the great variety of jobs done by Amalgamated's 200,000 members and how the interests of Bill and the others are protected by grievance-handling through the local steward, and the active leadership of the international officers. Presents the whole range of a union's activities from collective bargaining, to political action, community activities, recreation and long-term benefits for the worker and his family.

RUBBERWORKERS GO TO SCHOOL. 16 min. 1953. Rental \$2.50.

Produced by United Rubber, Cork, Linoleum and Plastic Workers of America.

Features a Rubber Worker as he attends a weekend education conference conducted by his international union. You learn something about the classes. Best of all you see the worker back home explaining to his family what he thinks he has learned and what he plans to do with the information to improve the union and his community.

STRIKE IN TOWN. 38 min. 1955. Rental \$4.00.

Produced by the National Film Board of Canada.

The film opens on the eve of a strike deadline. The union and management are meeting in the mayor's office in an effort to resolve their differences. The setting is a small, one-industry town, the union a local of the International Woodworkers of America, and the company a furniture manufacturer. Flashback scenes show what has led to the current impasse. The main points at issue are a wage increase of 9¢ an hour, plant-wide rather than departmental seniority. There are excellent collective bargaining scenes, realistic union meetings, and a well done portrayal of the impact of the strike threat on the families of the men and the rest of the community.

This movie could be about your local. How bargaining involves a give and take exchange between the union and the management—how family disputes arise over the question of striking—how representatives of the local and the company plan their strategy—how people in the community feel about the issue. All this makes the film especially useful for union meetings and education sessions.



To strike or not to strike—woodworkers vote at union meeting after discussion pro and con to go out if necessary for contract demands in Strike in Town



Boss gets letter from union local announcing strike vote—prepares with his labor relations man his deadline offer



Woodworkers on night shift talking about the midnight strike deadline wonder what's going to happen in Strike in Town

THE SHOP STEWARD. 22 min. 1952. Rental \$2.50.

Produced by the National Film Board of Canada.

In this film you watch a good shop steward in action. His responsibilities to the members and the union, his problems in handling grievances —these are dramatically shown through the story of Johnny Walachuk, newly elected steward for a local of the United Steelworkers of America.

The film opens with Johnny Walachuk's election as shop steward. Then you see him take on the responsibilities of the job. As he says, you can work in a place for fifty years and not see the things you notice as soon as they make you a shop steward. You follow him as he works on three grievances.

The core of the film revolves around Johnny's handling of the case of the older worker fired because his production has fallen off sharply. This is a tough case. Johnny studies production figures, ponders the problem and finally discovers a work supply hold-up is the real answer.

Made in Canada, this film applies equally well in all shops where shop stewards or committeemen handle grievances in the first step.



The Shop Steward learns that an older worker is being transferred to another department—the union wants to know why?

THE STORY OF THE NLRB. 23 min. 1955. Rental \$2.50.

Produced by Rutgers University.

Workers in a textile plant in New Jersey decide to form a union and, when their employers will not recognize the union without an NLRB election, they familiarize themselves with the functioning of the National Labor Relations Board, Region 2. The film shows how the NLRB runs an election and explains how it handles complaints from employees and employers in order to protect both sides, impartially, from unfair labor practices.

24 HOURS, Color, 38 min. 1954, Rental \$4.00.

Produced by the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America.

The round-the-clock activities of a typical business agent of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters' union are portrayed in this film designed to acquaint the union's members with the strength of their international and its concern with their welfare as human beings both on and off the job. The film is narrated by Leon Ames, who introduces Dave Larson, business agent, and shows some of the problems he helps to solve. The film was awarded first place in the Business and Economics category at the 1955 Golden Reel Film Festival.

UNION AT WORK. 24 min. 1949. Rental \$2.50.

Produced by Textile Workers Union of America.

This is a comprehensive account of how a union works—on picket lines, board meetings, in union halls and in homes of textile workers.

It's the story of the union for members and the general public.

The film is recommended for high school and college classroom use. Labor history, strikes, political action, and union democracy are dealt with in an intimate, human way. A first person narration by an organizer tells the story and gives the audience an appreciation of the struggles of ordinary Americans building a better life for themselves and their fellow men.

UNION AND COMMUNITY. 18 min. 1950. Rental \$2.50.

Produced by U.S. Armed Forces.

Film story of a local union community services program. It shows how this program is expanded and developed as the needs of the group are recognized. Useful as an introduction to local Community Services Committee activities, and for helping other groups in the community understand another aspect of unions and the community.

A UNION GOES TO SCHOOL. 18 min. 1951. Rental \$2.50.

Produced by International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

What happens at an international trade union school conducted by the ICFTU? How does attendance at such a school affect a local trade union leader? These are the themes of the film. It's a story of an experiment in international democratic self-help. But it doesn't lose track of the fact that a local union leader doesn't live and work in an atmosphere of "broad international understanding". It concludes that the best guarantee for peace is a steady improvement in the working conditions and living standards of people everywhere.

UNION LOCAL. 30 min. 1951. Rental \$3.00.

U.S. State Department Overseas Information Office.

This film tells the story of how a local of the American Machinists Union functions and how it benefits its members. It shows the local union electing officers, and the way these new officers work with the International Union's representative to prepare for contract negotiations. They work out a set of demands with the membership and then start bargaining with management. We see the way in which a "job rate" conflicts with an "engineered" process and how this grievance is worked out. This film should be carefully previewed before it is shown.

UNION IN THE MILL. 18 min. 1951. Rental \$2.50.

Produced by the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers.

Shows why the employees of a paper company decided they needed a union and how they organized one. The film depicts the tactics which management used to discourage organization and the assistance the workers received from the Paper Makers. Ends with the union organized and the newly elected negotiating committee meeting with managemnt.

UNITED ACTION FOR VICTORY. 33 min. 1940. Rental \$3.00.

Produced by United Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers of America.

This is a UAW story of its members. Here are scenes from UAW Tool and Die Makers strike of 1938-39. It is important for an understanding of the problems and issues unions face in building their membership.

It brings you face to face with problems that UAW faced when it organized. The effects of injunctions are clearly demonstrated. There is an especially good scene of a worker trying to explain the strike to his wife. One of the results of farm-labor understanding is shown when farmers provide food for strikers. Scene after scene of this film illustrates the real meaning of "solidarity forever". The film is useful for labor history and strike situations.

UNITY IS STRENGTH. 30 min. 1946. Rental \$3.00.

Produced by Amalgamated Engineering Union of Great Britain.

Story of the Amalgamated Engineering Union from its beginnings about 130 years ago. Shows the debt that American labor owes to earlier trade unions and the need for unions all over the world to stand together in the struggle for a better life.

A WATCH FOR JOE. Color. 45 min. 1951. Rental \$4.00.

Produced by the Retail Clerks International Association.

Pictures the everyday lives of retail store workers. Shows the economic problems which Joe, a clerk who is determined to be self-sufficient, faces with a pinch-penny and arrogant employer. Illness from overwork causes Joe to think things over and he comes to the conclusion that one man

alone cannot progress far. The film shows how he and his fellow workers succeed in organizing a union, the employer being won over partially by the pro-union arguments of his business friends who deal with unions. A bargaining session is shown and we see the operation of the new grievance machinery in reinstating an older employee with long service.



Fellow employees pledge an old timer fired for aging on the job that they will form a union and stop the unfairness of A Watch for Joe

WITH THESE HANDS. 50 min. 1950. Rental \$4.00.

Produced by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

Tells the story of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union as seen through the eyes of Alexander Brody, cloak operator, and the role he, as a rank-and-filer, played in his union from the days of struggle in 1909 to the present, when we see him retired on his union pension. Brody remembers tragic and climactic events such as the bitter strike for recognition, the terrible Triangle Waist fire, and the 1926 struggle to resist Communist domination of the union. He counts the gains which the union has brought in better living conditions, health and medical care, facilities for cultural and recreational development, education, and the final security of a pension plan: "The Union is a way of life."

WORK OR WAGES GUARANTEED. 17 min. 1955. Rental \$2.50.

Produced by United Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers of America.

This film was made by the UAW to explain their guaranteed employment plan.

The film dramatizes the details of the UAW Guaranteed Employment Plan by showing a mock bargaining session where a union bargaining committee presents the program to management. Each step in the program is outlined by the various members of the bargaining team as management asks questions; and the commentator explains each point with illustration. Printed sub-titles further establish each portion of the plan.

FILMS FOR SPECIAL USE

BATTLE OF WALL STREET. 20 min. 1949. Rental \$2.50.

Produced by Atlantic and Gulf Districts Seafarers' International Union.

This on-the-spot movie of the 32-day strike of the employees of the New York Stock and Curb Exchanges emphasizes the role of the militant Seafarers' Union which swelled the picket lines and organized food and literature distribution. It documents press coverage and police action and demonstrates inter-union solidarity.

THE BIG ROUNDTABLE. 28 min. 1952. Rental \$3.00.

Produced by United Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers of America.

Scenes from UAW's 1952 National Education Conference in Cleveland, Ohio at which they discussed uses of atomic energy, realignment of political parties, Senate Rule 22 and other current problems.

BUILDING INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM. 18 min. 1946. Rental \$2.50.

Produced by United Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers of America.

A picture of an early UAW education program. Some of the men and women who helped to build the UAW are shown training for shop and community leadership, with John Brophy, CIO's first director of organization, presenting diplomas at the end of the program. A good reminder of the activities and promises which gave courage to industrial workers of the thirties.

THE CARPENTER. Color. 55 min. 1950. Rental \$4.00.

Produced by the United Brotherhood of Carpenters & Joiners.

Brotherhood members are shown in modern saw mills, high-speed plywood mills, and on jobs where wood goes into the construction of everything from dams to kitchen cabinets. The film demonstrates the wide scope of Brotherhood skills.

MR. CIO. 10 min. 1952. Rental \$2.00.

Produced by Transport Workers Union of America.

Tribute to one of the pioneers of CIO, Mr. Allan Haywood. It shows scenes of Haywood at the Transport Workers Convention and the CIO Convention, and uses many still photographs to illustrate Haywood's contribution to the growth and progress of the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

FAITH IN THE FUTURE. Color. 20 min. 1954. Rental \$2.50.

Produced by the Glass Bottle Blowers Association.

Written and narrated by Lee W. Minton, GBBA President, the film traces the growth of the country and the history of the trade union movement. It discusses the many technological changes which have taken place in glass making and points out that the union has never fought new methods so long as labor has received its fair share of the resultant increased productivity. Mr. Minton uses charts to show the increase in membership and wages in the union, and the pension benefits, paid holidays, etc., which the GBBA member receives.

FOR THE RECORD. 21 min. 1946. Rental \$2.50.

Produced by Brandon Films.

Story of the 1946 strikes—their causes and the meaning of the victories. The cut in take-home pay at war's end is measured against the rise in prices, and the need for political action. The pitting of veterans and the community against labor by management does not succeed. There are warm scenes of the tremendous community support the strikers received all over the country. This is compared to the violence and strikebreaking after World War I. The film closes with a warning that a hard fight still lies ahead.

I.A. DOCUMENTARY. 25 min. 1948. Rental \$3.00.

Produced by the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees and Moving Picture Operators of the U. S. and Canada.

The story of the growth of the union from 1893 to 1948 is told through the medium of John G. Williams, first president of the Alliance, as he recalls to Richard F. Walsh, the present head of the union, the conditions before the formation of the Alliance, the first successful strike of stagehands, the trials and tribulations of the road companies, the transformation of the theater, and the expansion of the union with the development of the movies.

ILLEGAL. Color. 10 min. 1955. Rental \$2.00.

Produced by Wisconsin CIO.

Presents an effective case against the notorious Catlin Act. It points out that the Act is a punitive measure against Wisconsin labor which makes every Wisconsin worker a second class citizen, and urges workers to work harder in politics and increase their voluntary political contributions.

MURROW INTERVIEW WITH PRESIDENT GEORGE MEANY. 12 min. 1954. Rental \$2.00.

Produced by "Person to Person", CBS Television.

President Meany appeared on Edward R. Murrow's program, "Person to Person" in January, 1954, and this kinescope shows him being interviewed in his Maryland home.

MY NAME IS MARY BROWN. Color. 15 min. 1955. Rental \$2.50.

Produced by the Northeastern Dept., Int'l. Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

This film, done in semi-animation with a sound track which incorporates the music and lyrics by Michael Johnson used in the original choral production of the same name, tells in simple terms the reasons why Mary Brown and thousands like her joined the ILGWU to gain strength through a union.

OUR UNION-LOCAL 91. Color. 30 min. Rental \$3.00.

Produced by Local 91, Int'l. Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

The functions of Local 91 and the educational, health, and recreational facilities which it offers its membership are described as the film develops the history of the local and the changes it has effected in working conditions. It includes a strong plug for political action.

POSSE. 28 min. 1955. Rental \$3.00.

Produced by International Association of Machinists.

POSSE stands for "Protect Our Social Security Equity" and this film was made largely as a tribute to Lee Thomas, former editor of the "Machinists' Journal", who originally set up POSSE when he became concerned about the dangers of raiding the social security trust fund. Lee Thomas was a good man who spent his years helping others to help themselves through organization and the film tells a moving story of his life as he joined the I.A.M., marched on picket lines, and organized.

THE RESEARCH DIRECTOR. 18 min. 1955. Rental \$2.50.

Produced by the National Film Board of Canada.

This film shows the working routine of the research director of the United Steel Workers' Union in Canada and emphasizes the importance of research activities to the labor movement.

A REPORT TO YOU. 24 min. 1951. Rental \$2.50.

Produced by Communications Workers of America.

This is the story of the 1951 Convention for the Communications Workers of America. The film opens with a commentary by CWA President Beirne, in which he describes the convention (the first held under the two-evel structure) as the largest ever held by a telephone union.

There are scenes of a meeting of the nine-member Executive Board held prior to the convention. You see scenes from the various convention committee meetings, and the delegates on the floor of the convention. Noteworthy are the scenes of the eleven hour Convention debate on increasing the per capita dues structure.

THE SEAFARERS. Color. 25 min. 1953. Rental \$3.00.

Produced by Atlantic & Gulf Districts, Seafarers' International Union.

A vivid portrayal of the Seafarers' International Union showing the many benefits which S. I. U. members derive from their union and the many ways in which the union affects their daily lives, with services ranging from hiring halls and cafeterias in union headquarters to maternity benefits and scholarships for their children.

STATE OF OUR UNION. Color. 25 min. 1954. Rental \$3.00.

Produced by United Steelworkers of America.

Film compares the welding of the thirteen colonies into a United States with the building of the United Steelworkers of America. Shows background and operations of the union. President David J. McDonald is the film commentator.

THEY MET AT THE FAIR. 17 min. 1948. Rental \$2.50.

Produced by District 3, United Packinghouse Workers of America.

This film takes us down on the UPWA picket lines of 1948 when National Guard troops, company thugs and local police helped herd scabs through the lines. It shows funeral scenes of three workers killed in their efforts to raise their standard of living. There are natural and impressive scenes of Negro and white workers "building their union strong".

Especially useful is the section of the film dramatizing the union's efforts to build a better understanding between farmers and industrial workers. Scenes from county fair exhibits prepared by UPWA are included.

THE 32B STORY. 30 min. 1954. Rental \$3.00.

Produced by Local 32B, Building Service Employees International Union.

This film, made in celebration of Local 32B's 20th anniversary, tells the story of the 36,000 custodial employees in more than 5,000 New York buildings who are its members. The film closes with interviews with a number of old-time members who contrast their present working conditions with those which prevailed in pre-union days.

THIS IS THE S.I.U. 18 min. 1949. Rental \$2.50.

Produced by Atlantic & Gulf District, Seafarers' International Union.

Shows the function and operation of the headquarters of the Seafarers' Union, Atlantic and Gulf District, through the eyes of a rank-and-filer home from a voyage. Indicates the educational and recreational facilities available; and shows how the union helps its members get jobs, settle grievances, etc.

WE SERVE THE PUBLIC. Color. 50 min. 1948. Rental \$4.00.

Produced by Hotel & Restaurant Employees & Bartenders International Union.

Shows how the great service industries have grown up through the needs of more and more people living in cities. Pictures the wide variety of work done by union members, indicating the improved working conditions which the union has brought.

YOUTH PANEL MEETS GEORGE MEANY. 30 min. 1953. Rental \$3.00.

Produced by National Broadcasting Co.

A kinescope of George Meany's appearance on the television program, "Youth Wants to Know", October 24, 1953. The AFL-CIO head gives forth-right answers to a wide variety of questions ranging from the New York dock situation to political action, Taft-Hartley, labor unity, and John L. Lewis.

FILMS FOR UNION TRAINING

DISCUSSION TECHNIQUE. 30 min. 1951. Rental \$4.00.

Produced by U. S. Dept. of the Army.

Discussion between two Army information officers shows the "do's" and "don'ts" for discussion leadership. Good discussion techniques and a variety of devices to stimulate discussion are shown in a review of the advantages of the forum, symposium, debate, panel, and conference methods.

FACTS ABOUT FILM. 10 min. 1948. Rental \$2.00.

Produced by International Film Bureau.

This is a film which points up the care and handling of 16mm film. It is almost exciting to learn how to project a motion picture perfectly, and by so doing not damage the film for the next showing. Harmful effects to film caused by failure to clean the projector before showing, careless threading, improper rewinding and careless handling of film are shown. Proper methods of cleaning the projector, threading and handling of 16mm film are demonstrated. This film is recommended for showing to all 16mm projector operators.

FACTS ABOUT PROJECTION. 11 min. 1950. Rental \$2.00. Produced by International Film Bureau.

A companion film to "Facts About Film," described above. This film is made specifically for those who are learning to run a movie projector and gives many valuable hints on setting up and threading a projector for a successful show. Screen the film yourself to brush up on your own projection "know-how." Use this film as part of the training program for the projection squad in your local.

HEART OF THE UNION. 45 min. 1953. Rental \$4.00.

Produced by the International Association of Machinists.

The wrong and right ways of running a union meeting are graphically depicted in this film. The first half shows all the wrong ways of conducting the union's meeting—the hall is dirty and messy, the officers arrive late, the secretary mumbles so no one can understand the minutes, and the presiding officer is unable to keep the meeting in hand. The second half shows the same union meeting in a spruced up hall with the officers opening the meeting promptly and conducting it properly with all members given an opportunity to state their points of view under correct parliamentary procedures. Particularly useful for union officers.

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HOW TO CONDUCT A DISCUSSION. 22 min. 1953. Rental \$4.00.

Produced by Encyclopedia Britannica Films.

This film promotes the idea of learning by discussion rather than by lecture. It shows the way formal and informal discussion groups may increase their understanding of important questions of the day.

Eleven basic principles of discussion leadership are explained with illustrations. Each principle is dramatized, and all are pulled together by the narrator, who is introduced as a seasoned administrator of discussion programs. A wide range of groups and discussion topics is depicted. This film should be used only in a training session to build a group's appreciation of the importance of the discussion technique to union education programs.

LET'S TALK ABOUT FILMS. 18 min. 1953. Rental \$3.00.

Produced by the National Film Board of Canada.

Those responsible for and interested in stimulating the use of films and film discussion will find this extremely helpful. It opens with a film leader floundering in his attempts to get discussion started and later shows him discussing the problem with other discussion leaders who have had similar experiences. They are then shown a film of a successful discussion and, following the showing, their discussion of the film highlights the techniques which were used to bring about a lively and informal exchange of opinion.

PARLIAMENTARY PROCEDURE. 18 min. 1955. Rental \$3.00.

Produced by the National Film Board of Canada.

The film shows and explains the functions of the chairman, the purpose and correct manner of presenting a motion, an amendment, point of order, and other points up to and including the motion for adjournment. It is made in an informal manner, with some humorous touches, and fills a long-felt need for a really good parliamentary procedure film for union use.



Film commentator talks to your audience and the people in the film to emphasize each point in Parliamentary Procedure

SHOULD TAFT-HARTLEY BE REPEALED? 12 min. 1954. Rental \$2.00.

Produced by America Film Forum, Inc.

Brief debate on the merits of Taft-Hartley Law by ex-Congressman Fred Hartley and Gerhard Van Arkel, former General Counsel for the National Labor Relations Board. Van Arkel raises his objections to the law; Hartley offers some tough questions in reply. Marquis Childs is the moderator.

Since neither side has time to present its arguments fully, this film is a good way to introduce a speaker on the subject or start a discussion. It is not complete enough to stand by itself—don't use it unless you have time for discussion.

THE STRUCTURE OF UNIONS. Color. 10 min. 1954. Rental \$2.00.

Produced by the National Film Board of Canada.

This film, done in animation, describes the structure of the local union, its relationship to other locals and to the international. It shows how the membership of the local elects its own officers in secret ballot elections. It shows how the local sends delegates to the convention of the international and points out that these convention delegates are the supreme governing body of the union.

UNION BUZZ GROUPS. 20 min. 1953. Rental \$2.50.

Produced by the United Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers of America.

This film shows the buzz group technique in action at a UAW summer school. A class is studying political action. They "buzz" on questions about realignment of the major political parties and about Senate Rule 22. Useful in classes for political education or at general meetings to create interest and support for union education.

YOU ARE THERE AT THE BARGAINING TABLE. 50 min. 1955. Rental \$5.00.

Produced by American Management Association.

This is a closed-circuit television record of what took place at a collective bargaining session between the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers and a corporation in Northeastern Connecticut. Issues under discussion are wage rates and methods by which wages shall be determined, with the corporation's "share of production" method of incentive payment under special attack by the union. This is a film which will be of interest to union negotiators, but it is long-drawn out and somewhat repetitious and is not designed for general use.

FILMS ON CIVIL LIBERTIES & CIVIL RIGHTS

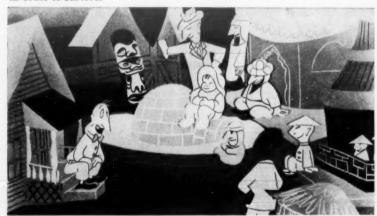
ACTION AGAINST THE LAW. 28 min. 1954. Rental \$3.00.

An excerpt from "The Lawless" produced by Teaching Film Custodians. Tension between the townspeople of a small California village and the fruit pickers, scornfully called Cholos (half-breeds) by their neighbors, results in a riot as town boys invade a fruit pickers' dance. In fleeing, a young fruit picker startles a girl at a nearby farm, causing her to fall and injure herself. The youth is jailed and when Wilder, the newspaper editor, saves him from being lynched, irresponsible townspeople wreck the newspaper office. The editor decides to leave town, but when he becomes aware of the profound gratitude of the fruit pickers and is assured of the support of the town's decent citizens, he decides to stay and revive his newspaper.

BROTHERHOOD OF MAN. Color. 10 min. 1947. Rental \$2.00.

Produced by United Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers of America.

Based on the popular scientific pamphlet, "Races of Mankind," this cartoon film describes man's likenesses regardless of race, creed, or color. The film emphasizes the fact that the world is becoming smaller every day and that the different peoples of the world must learn to live together in order to survive.



Henry learns in Brotherhood of Man that the people's of the world are living in his backyard.

CHARLIE MARTIN, AMERICAN. 20 min. 1953. Rental \$2.50. Produced by Teaching Film Custodians.

Edited version of Hollywood movie, "A Medal for Benny" about a poverty stricken Mexican-American whose son, killed in World War II, is cited for a Congressional Medal of Honor. Town leaders, ashamed of Charlie Martin's house, try to get him to accept the medal in a better section of town. Charlie refuses to go along and accepts the medal in the hero's home.

COLOR OF MAN. Color. 10 min. 1955. Rental \$2.00.

Produced by the University of California.

This is a description of the conditions which brought about the development of color differences among primitive men. Chief among these conditions were mountain barriers and lack of transportation which for long periods of time isolated groups of people from each other. Those living in equatorial areas were able to survive only if they developed dark skins which provided protection against burning. Those in the North needed light skins in order to absorb enough sun shine to stay healthy. This is a short, factual film which can do much to shed light rather than heat on the whole emotionally charged area of race relations.

DEFINING DEMOCRACY. 18 min. 1954. Rental \$2.50.

Produced by Encyclopedia Britannica Films.

In deciding where a community rates on the democracy-despotism scale, it is important to search first for two signs of democracy—shared respect and shared power. Shared respect implies that a community respects the dignity of the individual. Restricted respect is a characteristic sign of despotism. Power is concentrated in a community where decision-making is handled by a few individuals. A community is democratic when its citizens share in the making of important decisions through free, secret elections. Economic balance and enlightenment are also necessary if democracy is to thrive.

DR. SAMMY LEE. 25 min. 1955. Rental \$3.00.

Produced by Paul Coates' "Confidential File".

This tells the story of Dr. Sammy Lee, former Olympic diving champion, who was unable to buy a house in the area in which he wished to live in California because he was an Oriental. It also shows what happens to other minority groups as they try to find employment, housing, schooling, etc. The latter half of the film is devoted to some encouraging aspects of the problem as Mr. Coates interviews people who have friends among minority groups, work with them, hire them, and believe in true democracy.

DON'T BE A SUCKER. 20 min. 1943. Rental \$2.50.

Produced by U. S. Armed Forces.

A German professor exiled to the United States explains to a young veteran, who is listening to the race propaganda peddled by a soap-box orator, the dangers of racial and religious discrimination. The professor reviews briefly the story of four young Germans who fell victim to Nazi theories of the master race. He draws a parallel between events in Hitler Germany and attempts by similar groups here toward the same goal. You see what happened to a farmer and a worker who "fell for" the Nazi program. Don't Be a Sucker is a sharp warning to all who are tempted to believe bigots. And remember, says the professor in conclusion, that we don't merely tolerate minorities, "America is minorities."

DUE PROCESS OF LAW DENIED. 29 min. 1943. Rental \$3.00.

Edited version of Hollywood movie, "The Ox-Bow Incident" by Teaching Film Custodians.

This film features Henry Fonda and Dana Andrews. It is a story of frontier lynching in the Old West. Andrews and several equally innocent companions are rounded up by a self-appointed mob of vigilantes and are falsely accused of cattle rustling and murder. Cast in traditional western story style, this is one of the most effective films on civil rights.



The right to trial by jury is denied in this frontier lynching of Due Process of Law Denied

FIRST SEIZE HIS BOOKS. 20 min. 1940. Rental \$2.50.

An excerpt from "The Mortal Storm" produced by Teaching Film Custodians.

A highly respected German professor of Jewish extraction is being honored by his students on his sixtieth birthday when the radio announces that Adolf Hitler has been made Chancellor of Germany. As time goes on the students accept the Nazi theories of the superiority of Aryan blood, boycott the professor's classes, and burn his books. He is finally arrested and the final sequence of this excerpt shows his wife visiting him in prison, where he still retains his beliefs in the dignity of man and the rightness of the course he has pursued.

FOR FAIR PLAY. 30 min. 1955. Rental \$3.00.

Produced by the Pennsylvania State Commission on Industrial Race Relations.

Shows how a white machinist becomes concerned because a colored machinist cannot find a job in town and what he does about it. Elliott Smith, a machinist, has a son who has a friend named Raymond Parker, a Negro. Through the boy, Smith learns that Parker, a machinist, is unable to find a job because he is a Negro. Smith wonders how it would feel to be in Parker's place and the sequence which follows shows him discovering what it would be like as he tramps from place to place looking for work. Realizing the unfairness of what is happening to Parker, Smith talks to his friends, discusses the situation at a church meeting, talks to the hiring boss at work, and finally Parker is given a job in the plant. After reviewing all this in his mind, Smith points out that the new wing of the plant is now hiring without discrimination, that there is more money in the community, delinquency is down, the slums are dwindling, and everyone has a better conscience.

FREEDOM TO LEARN. 27 min. 1954. Rental \$3.00.

Produced by the National Education Association.

This timely film discusses the question: "Should high school students learn about Communism or other controversial subjects in their classes?" Mrs. Orin, a high school teacher, is under attack from parents because she has taught students about Communism. Parents' fears are whipped up by a lunatic-fringe organization which is taking advantage of the current hysteria to attack the schools. At an open School Board meeting Mrs. Orin explains her belief that teaching must deal with "controversial" subjects if students are to be prepared to understand the problems they will face as adults. An interesting section of the film shows Mrs. Orin's class discussing labor-management problems, which, she says, is an example of a controversial subject the schools cannot ignore. This is an excellent film in defense of the freedom to learn and teach without censorship.

FREEDOM TO READ. 14 min. 1954. Rental \$2.50.

Produced by the Center for Mass Communication of Columbia University Press.

Freedom to Read asks its audience to answer the question: "How can a library best serve our freedom?" A new kind of discussion film, it is made in two parts. We do not recommend its use unless you plan time for discussion.

A Citizens Committee asks the local public library to remove all books by authors who are Communist or Communist sympathizers. The head librarian opposes this move on the grounds that Americans have by tradition the right to read all sides of public issues. Both sides present their views to the Library Board.

At this point the audience is asked to discuss what they would do if they were the Board. The end of the film, to be used after the discussion, restates the question but provides no answer. An excellent film which will start people thinking.

HIGH WALL. 32 min. 1951. Rental \$3.00.

Produced by the Anti-Defamation League.

This is an interesting, absorbing film that will appeal to a wide audience. Its scenes and commentary provide rich material for discussion on mental health and personality development, on community and intergroup relations, on education and child development, and on the ethics emphasized in religious teaching. It is well suited to groups at the adult level and readily adapts itself to a variety of programs.

THE HOUSE I LIVE IN. 10 min. 1946. Rental \$2.00.

Produced by Young America Films.

This is a plea for democracy and tolerance starring Frank Sinatra singing Earl Robinson's well-known song, "The House I Live In," and talking about Pearl Harbor to a neighborhood gang of small fry attacking another youngster because "they don't like his religion." Frank persuades these kids to "use your good American heads; don't let anyone make suckers of you." They walk off with a new pal instead of a scapegoat.

JOE DAVIS, AMERICAN. 13 min. 1952. Rental \$2.50.

Produced by Congress of Industrial Organizations.

Need for a national Fair Employment Practices law is the point of this film, which tells the story of Joe Davis, a Negro college graduate with an engineering degree, pounding the pavements trying to find a job in his field. When Joe comes for an interview, the job has suddenly been "filled." In addition to the dramatic impact of Joe Davis' experience, the case for a National Fair Employment Practices Act is presented by U. S. Senator Wayne Morse of Oregon. The Senator emphasizes the danger of waiting for each state to pass FEPC legislation and points out that the states most needing such legislation would be the least likely to pass it.

MURROW-McCARTHY DEBATE. 45 min. 1954. Rental \$4.00.

Highlights from TV program, on "See It Now", produced by Freedom House.

About half of film is devoted to Murrow's presentation of arguments against McCarthy and the other half shows McCarthy's reply. Murrow's presentation includes shots of the Congressional hearing on the Annie Lee Moss case to show why he objects to McCarthy's tactics during investigations. These are controversial issues which the film raises, and it is best used with a discussion period following.

NATIONAL SECURITY VS. INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS. 25 min. 1955. Rental \$3.00.

Produced by "See It Now", CBS-TV.

This tells the story of Milo Radulovich, the young officer who was dismissed from the Air Force as a security risk because of the alleged activities of his sister and father.

NEIGHBORS. Color. 10 min. 1952. Rental \$2.00.

Produced by National Film Board of Canada.

This Academy Award short gets across a serious message with humor and imagination. The way wars develop is symbolically depicted in the story of two neighbors, friends until a flower grows on the borderline between their properties. A petty argument over ownership of the beautiful, fragile flower develops into a violent flight in which they kill each other and destroy the flower. The surprise ending draws the moral "Love Thy Neighbor."

PEACEFUL ASSEMBLY & FREE SPEECH. 25 min. 1953. Rental \$3.00.

Produced by "See It Now", CBS-TV.

Edward R. Murrow's TV Show, showing the friction between the American Legion and the American Civil Liberties Union in Indianapolis when the ACLU is unable to get a meeting hall in the town. Representatives of the Legion, the Minute Women, the ACLU and the Pastor of St. Mary's Catholic Church (which offered ACLU use of its parish hall), present their opinions with force and drama.

SEGREGATION IN THE SCHOOL. 25 min. 1954. Rental \$3.00. Produced by "See It Now", CBS-TV.

This "See It Now" program, televised shortly after the Supreme Court school segregation decision, records the reactions of a cross section of the population of Gastonia, N. C., and Natchitoches, La. Provides an excellent basis for discussion.

SOUND OF A STONE. 27 min. 1955. Rental \$3.00.

Produced by the Board of Social and Economic Relations of the Methodist Church.

Shows a young teacher faced with a whispering campaign and demands that he resign after a parent accuses him of assigning a subversive book. Film is particularly good in showing that once this sort of thing starts in a community, it spreads out, like the ripples from a stone thrown into the water, and there is no telling who will be involved or when suspicion will end.

THE STORY THAT COULDN'T BE PRINTED. 11 min. 1942. Rental \$2.00.

MGM Passing Parade Series.

The story of John Peter Zenger, pre-Revolutionary War printer and publisher, who is arrested, put in stocks, and tried for publishing reports reflecting upon the honesty of His Majesty's Colonial Representative. This was an early victory in the fight for freedom of the press. The film ends with the impression that our press is "free". This film, therefore, should be used with care and a discussion of how our press operates.

THE STORY OF DR. CARVER. 10 min. 1942. Rental \$2.00. Produced by MGM.

A Hollywood made film, outlining the life story of Dr. George Washington Carver, the great Negro scientist. Born in slavery, he worked his way through Iowa State College, and became a top U. S. scientist as a result of his agricultural experiments in the laboratory at Tuskegee Institute.

THE SYDENHAM PLAN. 10 min. 1949. Rental \$2.00.

Produced by Film Publishers.

Brief, interesting account of the work being done in our only truly inter-racial hospital. Negro and white doctors and nurses serve on an equal footing to help the sick and ailing of all the races and creeds found in New York City. Film indicates briefly some of the special problems of crowded and underprivileged Harlem in New York City.

WHICH WAY FOR HUMAN RIGHTS? 9 min. 1954. Rental \$2.00.

Produced by the Center for Mass Communication of Columbia University Press.

Discusses the UN Declaration of Human Rights and contrasts the rights of people set forth in that document with conditions as they are now. Should the UN Declaration be followed by a binding covenant on human rights? Must it also be backed by force? The film does not spell out answers, but urges the audience to discuss them.

WHOEVER YOU ARE. 20 min. 1947. Rental \$2.50.

Produced by International Film Bureau.

This presents intolerance as a community problem on which action must be taken. We are shown how a neighborhood in New York City's West Side sets about changing itself and its attitudes. Parents are brought to realize that they must overcome their own prejudices if they are going to expect their sons and daughters to get along with one another.

YOU CAN'T RUN AWAY. 30 min. 1949. Rental \$3.00.

Edited version of "Intruder in the Dust", produced by MGM.

Shows a Negro being arrested and about to be tried for murder. A white southern lawyer and a small boy take an interest in the case and help to track down the real murderer. The film ends with the mob slowly leaving the county jail.

FILMS ON FARMER-LABOR COOPERATION

COMMON GROUND. 12 min. 1952. Rental \$2.00.

Produced by CIO.

This film was produced by the CIO for the 1952 campaign. It deals with the interrelationship of prosperity for the farmer and the worker. Here you see a dairy farmer being convinced by events in the community where his milk is sold that workers' wages do make a difference to him.

FARM AND CITY. 8 min. 1948. Rental \$2.00.

Produced by U. S. Dept. of Agriculture.

Shows the relation of farm and city. Bears out that "What's good for one is good for the other." Very useful for getting locals interested in farm problems.

GRAIN THAT BUILT A HEMISPHERE. Color. 11 min. 1943. Rental \$2.00.

Produced by the Institute for Inter-American Affairs.

A cartoon prepared to help improve understanding among peoples of the Western Hemisphere. The film tells the story of corn from the early discoveries of its uses by the Indians down to its present-day position of vital importance, not only as a food or liquor but in the scientific manufacture of an ever-increasing number of products for the home, farm and industry. Show this film at county and state fairs to attract attention to your union fair booth or at a farmer-labor meeting.

POWER AND THE LAND. 38 min. 1948. Rental \$4.00.

Produced by U. S. Dept. of Agriculture.

Outstanding documentary presentation of the story of a typical familysize farm before and after electrification. The actors are real farm people, members of a Rural Electrification Administration cooperative. The film is useful for explaining farm problems to union members and pointing up the tremendous achievements of REA.

SEED FOR TOMORROW. 20 min. 1947. Rental \$2.50.

Produced by the National Farmers Union.

This is a film about farmers, about people who work the land and their need for organization, education, cooperatives, and political action to help in their struggle to stay on the farm. It's the Farmers' Union program.

TOPSOIL. 10 min. 1948. Rental \$2.00.

Produced by U. S. Dept. of Agriculture.

An introductory study of soil conservation and the story of the soil—one of our richest treasures. Film aims to help city people get a better understanding of their stake in good soil conservation programs. We are shown how the topsoil which has taken many centuries of work by nature to create can be destroyed in a short time by poor farming methods or general misuse of our soil and water resources.

FILMS ON INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS

AFGHANISTAN MOVES AHEAD. (Screen Magazine No. 16.) 10 min. 1953. Rental \$2.00.

Produced by United Nations.

Tells how Afghanistan, a small isolated country of 7,000,000 people whose way of life has changed little in the past 2,000 years, is modernizing her industry and agriculture with the aid of the UN Technical Assistance Program.

ASSIGNMENT CHILDREN. Color. 20 min. 1955. Rental \$2.50.

Produced by UNICEF.

Danny Kaye is the star and narrator of this heartwarming human interest film showing the activities of the United Nations' Children's Emergency Fund, better known as UNICEF. He travels with various UNICEF teams in Asia and is an interested observer of their fight against Malaria in India, polio treatment in Japan, distribution of powdered milk in Korea, maternal and child care in Burma, and the continuing work against yaws in Thailand. This is an outstanding film to bring home to union members the human aspects of international relations.



Pied Piper Danny Kaye leads children away to play after their innoculations arranged by UNICEF in Assignment Children

BREAKTHROUGH. 18 min. 1950. Rental \$2.50.

Produced by International Cooperation Administration.

The history of the completion of Aura, the Norwegian power project and the largest in Europe, as told by an Aura man. Begun in 1913, the successful building of Aura pictures more than the construction of a power plant; it is the story of the organization of a union, the struggle of men and machines against nature, and the rescue and completion of Aura through Marshall aid machinery. We see clearly what new tools for work and cheap power mean to the people of Aura and through them we understand its significance for Norway and for the other European countries which will use its power. The best film of the former FOA to show a union situation.

EARTHQUAKE IN ECUADOR. (Screen Magazine No. 3.) 13 min. Rental \$2.00.

Produced by United Nations.

As soon as this catastrophe occurred, the plight of the people of Ecuador became the immediate concern of the United Nations. The organization through its member nations and specialized agencies mobilized forces to give assistance to the victims. Food, medicine, clothing, shelter and technical advice to prevent epidemics and restore the land, were supplied. The earthquake lasted 8 minutes—the country faces 20 years of reconstruction.

FATE OF A CHILD. 17 min. 1951. Rental \$2.50.

Produced by United Nations.

This picture deals with some of the major problems facing the underdeveloped areas of Latin America. The story is told in simple, human terms, chiefly through the members of one small family. No specific country or region is mentioned. The everyday lives of the characters expose the economic problems with which the UN and its specialized agencies are concerned; for these problems manifest themselves most strongly in the underdeveloped areas, where living standards are low. The Latin American countries decided to lay their problems before the UN, and the Economic Commission for Latin America was set up.

THE GRAND DESIGN. 9 min. 1951. Rental \$2.00.

Produced by United Nations.

This film reviews the problems which faced the United Nations and its specialized agencies during the first six years of UN existence. Here are emphasized the day-to-day progress against man's ancient enemies—disease, poverty, hunger, ignorance, aggression, and war—and the step by step progress made by the United Nations.



Fate of a Child shows the fate of too many children in under-developed areas of the world—poverty, disease and death

INDONESIA BUILDS A BETTER LIFE. (Screen Magazine No. 17.) 10 min. 1953. Rental \$2.00.

Produced by United Nations.

Tells how Indonesia, with the aid of the UN Technical Assistance Program, is attempting to improve the standard of living for her 70,000,000 people by a mass campaign to eliminate illiteracy and a widespread effort to eradicate the tropical disease, yaws. Shows how people can help themselves if given the means of doing so.

I. L. O. 11 min. 1953. Rental \$2.00.

Produced by the National Film Board of Canada.

Traces history of the International Labor Organization from its beginning in 1919 to the 29th conference in Canada. Describes structure, method of representation, and procedures. Shows how maritime conditions have been improved through international agreements regulating standards of health, safety, and welfare. (Write to I.L.O., 917 15th St., N.W., Washington 5, D. C., for literature on current I.L.O. developments.)

NEW SOUTH ASIA. 30 min. 1954. Rental \$3.00.

Produced by the National Film Board of Canada.

This report of social and economic progress in the free nations of Southern Asia—India, Burma, Ceylon, Indonesia, Thailand, and Pakistan—portrays the new surge of independence and determination to work out their own future which has permeated every phase of national life for this one-half of the world's population. The UN's assistance is shown in providing the knowledge and the means with which the people are developing new fields of economic and social welfare and are moving toward a new progressive economy in agriculture and industry.

ONE WORLD OR NONE. 10 min. 1946. Rental \$2.00.

Produced by Film Publishers in cooperation with the National Committee on Atomic Information.

Points out that the destructive power of atom bombs, the vulnerability of our cities, and the lack of effective defense make it imperative that the peoples of the world learn to live together in peace.

THE OTHER PARIS. 25 min. 1952. Rental \$3.00.

Produced by International Cooperation Administration.

A picture of the Paris where the working man lives, showing the communist influence on French trade unions, the work of the former Mutual Security Agency and labor representatives in helping the French to build free, democratic trade unions.

PATTERN FOR PEACE. 20 min. 1947. Rental \$2.50.

Produced by British Information Services.

This film analyzes the UN structure and purposes with the assistance of animation and symbols. This film admits that the UN is not the perfect instrument toward its ends. But it reminds us that the UN does exist and urges us to give it a proper try; which means understanding its set-up and functions.

THE PEOPLE'S CHARTER. 17 min. 1947. Rental \$2.50.

Produced by United Nations.

This first film produced by the UN Film Section reviews events that led to the organization of the UN. The film shows the first meeting of the General Assembly, where representatives of the nations expressed their hope and determination to make the UN the "pathway to a secure future for all people." The film ends with President Roosevelt declaring the United Nations is an "association not of governments, but of peoples." The whole film is a reminder that it is the responsibility of the people of the world to make the UN its agency for peace and security.

ROUND TRIP. 20 min. 1947. Rental \$2.50.

Produced by The World Today, based on a report by the Twentieth Century Fund.

This film will help bring understanding of (1) U. S. aid to Europe; (2) renewal of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act program; and (3) the International Trade Organization of the UN. These are three interlocking parts of the U. S. Foreign Economic Policy to expand world production, to raise living standards, and to promote world economic recovery. One section of this film might be interpreted as justifying wage differentials. A statement on this should be made when showing this film.



The engineer in the cab reminds us that he likes to pull full loads both ways on a Round Trip to port cities

THE SHOEMAKER AND THE HATTER. Color. 20 min. 1951. Rental \$2.50.

Produced by International Cooperation Administration.

An animated cartoon showing how "Mr. Shoemaker," by increasing production and stimulating free trade between nations, is able to expand his business, while "Mr. Hatter," who depends on high prices, restricted production, and trade barriers, fails.

STUFF FOR STUFF. 16 min. 1947. Rental \$2.50.

Produced by Phil Ragan Productions.

This is an animated story of the history of world trade showing the need for expanded trade in a developing international community. The film says that although methods have changed greatly through the years, most of our basic concepts remain unchanged. It emphasizes that the more goods a man, a group, or a nation can produce for exchange with other individuals, groups, or nations, the greater their prosperity. Also, it is this "stuff for stuff" on a fair basis of exchange, that contributes to global understanding.

TO HELP THEMSELVES. 28 min. 1954. Rental \$3.00. Produced by CARE.

Describes the work of the relief agency, CARE, with particular reference to its self-help program designed to assist the people of Europe and Asia to help themselves toward better health and higher standards of living. The film shows the CARE board, representing the 26 agencies which are members of this world-famous cooperative, including the AFL-CIO, deciding to promote the idea of the self-help package. Groups in the U. S. take up the program with enthusiasm, and film ends by showing scenes of the receipt of a plow in Greece, of a midwifery kit in India, and of an iron lung in Japan, and how they are put to use.

THE UNITED NATIONS IN WORLD DISPUTES. 21 min. 1950. Rental \$2.50.

Produced by U. S. Army.

A quick informative preview of three cases where United Nations action has halted or avoided a shooting war—Indonesia, Israel, and India. Analyzes the events leading to the Korean crisis and the United Nations' role in finding a solution.

UNIVERSITY OF THE WORLD. (Screen Magazine No. 4.) 10 min. Rental \$2.00.

Produced by United Nations.

Deals with the UN Fellowship Program, an international system for the exchange of knowledge and skills, carrying them from where they are to where they are needed for solving peacetime problems.

WORLD AFFAIRS ARE YOUR AFFAIRS. 25 min. 1952. Rental \$3.00.

Produced by Encyclopedia Britannica Films.

Points out the importance of world affairs and the need for everyone to take an intelligent interest in them, since decisions made by governments in the field of foreign policy may well shape the future for their individual citizens. The film shows the work of the Cleveland Council on World Affairs, how it operates, and the interest which it has engendered among the people of Cleveland. It concludes with suggestions on how to start a World Affairs Council in other cities.

THE WORLD IS RICH. 43 min. 1947. Rental \$4.00.

Produced for the British Ministry of Food.

This film dramatizes the plans of the FAO (Food and Agriculture Organization of the UN) for increasing food production and insuring fairer distribution to all peoples of the world. The film goes beyond the war-provoked disruption to food channels, It charts a course to bring new life to the peoples of the world. Sir John Orr, FAO's former chairman and the late Fiorella LaGuardia, Director of UNNRA, open the door to new ideas. They remind us that we have the skills and the knowledge—that the world is rich. This film is long and should always be followed by discussion. It is the sort of film which should be planned as part of a union-community program. It is excellent material for farmer-labor programs where members of both groups can discuss the problem.

WORLD TRADE FOR BETTER LIVING. 20 min. 1951. Rental \$2.50.

Produced by Encyclopedia Britannica Films.

Illustrates how the exchange of goods and services between countries contributes to the welfare of the world's peoples. Points out that the na-

tions which produce the most have the highest standard of living and therefore it is in the interest of people everywhere to encourage each country to increase production and to stimulate world trade.

WORLD WITHOUT END. 45 min. 1954. Rental \$5.00. Produced for UNESCO.

This documentary shows the work of UNESCO, the Food and Agriculture Organization, the World Health Organization and the UN Children's Fund (UNICEF) in two countries—Mexico and Thailand. It shows how these UN agencies, by pooling the talents of persons from many countries, are putting the world's knowledge of medicine, agriculture and education to work for the people of the world.

Featured in the film are UNESCO's training center for teachers in Fundamental Education in Mexico; the work of FAO in reforestation and fisheries in Mexico, and the story of WHO and UNICEF-aided campaigns against the crippling tropical disease of "yaws." The film sets this modern campaign against the background of the ancient cultures of the two countries.

With human interest and understanding this film shows what the work of UN agencies means to the people of other countries, and gives a sense of real accomplishment and pride in the work of the UN.

FILMS ON POLITICAL EDUCATION

ARE YOU A GOOD CITIZEN? 10 min. 1949. Rental \$2.00.

Produced by Coronet Films.

Suggests ways of working with other groups in a community to achieve common political goals. Calls for civic action on the part of all adult persons to realize the promises and benefits of our system of government. Not too exciting, but useful in COPE activities. Shows how citizens, working together, are able to get a new playground for the youngsters in the community.

A CITIZEN MAKES A DECISION. 22 min. 1954. Rental \$2.50. Produced by Young America Films, Inc.

Case study of a citizen facing a community problem to which there are several possible political answers. The film shows steps taken in the process of making an individual political decision—determining the problem—securing information about solutions—weighing and sifting the facts through discussion—and making his decision count through active citizenship.

CLINTON, A POLITICAL STORY. 13 min. 1952. Rental \$2.50. Produced by Congress of Industrial Organizations.

Tells the story of a housewife who failed to vote, but becomes interested in local government when she receives a notice of a possible rent increase. She learns about the organization and activities of the CIO-PAC in her neighborhood.

She pitches in and helps get people registered and working on politics. Senator Humphrey, interviewed in the films, says, "Politics is the people's business, and if they don't engage in it, someone will give them the business." He urges unions to be more active in politics.

THE CONGRESS. 10 min. 1949. Rental \$2.00.

Produced by March of Time.

A summary of the way Congress enacts legislation and the machinery a bill must go through before it becomes a law.

HOW WE ELECT OUR REPRESENTATIVES. 10 min. 1947. Rental \$2.00.

Produced by Coronet Films.

The story of a girl, just turned twenty-one, this film is pretty tame for our members. It takes Mary Carter through the process of registering and voting in both primary and general elections. To learn about various candidates, she reads newspapers of different political opinions, discusses candidates with other voters, reads literature about all the candidates. The mechanics of marking a ballot and the duties of election officers in counting ballots are also shown. Valuable for showing to new voters.

One weakness of film is that there are no suggestions for studying candidates' records other than newspapers, family, and friends. You should mention this shortcoming in your introduction; and it's up to you to supplement the film by providing other sources of information.

THE LEGISLATIVE PROCESS. 28 min. 1954. Rental \$3.00.

Produced by Indiana University.

This film, using the General Assembly of Indiana as an example of a state legislature in action, presents detailed information about the various steps through which bills must pass to become laws, and the organization of a state legislative body. It explains the two houses of the legislature; the progress of bills through each house; the work of committees, the Legislative Bureau, and the Attorney General in the preparation of bills for legislative action; and the part played by lobbyists in legislation.



Action by State legislature is one step in the Legislative Process

LEST WE FORGET. 25 min. Rental \$3.00.

Produced by the Democratic National Committee.

A newsreel story of the United States from President Woodrow Wilson to the re-election of President Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1944.

POLITICAL PARTIES. 13 min. 1947. Rental \$2.50.

Produced by Coronet Films.

When one of the neighborhood kids is hurt because of school location, a committee of citizens goes to the mayor of a typical American town to ask for the new school promised in his campaign. The mayor and his political party brush them off without satisfaction. Determined to show that the voters do count in city administration, the citizens' committee becomes active in the next election.

The film shows organization of campaign on precinct level, collection of money to finance the campaign, doorbell ringing, etc.; underlines the importance of understanding campaign issues in every election and of comparing campaign promises with a candidate's record. Illustrates the role of political parties under a democratic system of government.

Very good for mixed meetings with non-labor groups.

Mr. Mayor . . . the citizens . . . want action — then they get active in the next election for Political Parties



POWERS OF CONGRESS. 13 min. 1947. Rental \$2.50.

Produced by Coronet Films.

A fantasy which defines and explains these powers. Mr. Bentley, a man who isn't interested in politics and thinks the only reason government exists is to levy taxes, drops off to sleep and finds himself in a world in which the powers of Congress have been suspended. When he wakes up he has a new insight into the powers of government and his own responsibility in the selection of Congressmen.

In using the film you should point out to your audience the fact that representative government does not automatically work in the interests of the people.

PRESSURE GROUPS. 20 min. 1952. Rental \$2.50.

Produced by Encyclopedia Britannica Films.

This film explains that pressure groups are people organized to promote legislation in which they are interested and that, when democratically used, they are a necessary instrument for decision-making in a democracy. The work of the democratic pressure group is illustrated and in contrast to the democratic workings of this group, there is also shown the undercover group which does not discuss the issues, but which relies on suggestion of bribery and blackmail to achieve its objectives.

PUBLIC OPINION IN OUR DEMOCRACY. 13 min. 1951. Rental \$2.50.

Produced by Coronet Films.

Poses the problem faced by the city transit authority and a private company which wishes to take over operation of the system. Both groups use various media in an effort to explain the situation to an apathetic public. Individual interviews show the average citizen does not feel that his opinion matters and is not interested in the outcome. The film urges individuals to make city issues their concern, to become informed on city, state, and national affairs, and to realize that the individual's opinion does count in a democracy.

SUSAN B. ANTHONY. 1955. 28 min. Rental \$3.00. Produced by CBS-TV.

This is a movie about a dramatic moment in the history of the fight for democracy when a woman committed the crime of voting in a Presidential election. It tells the story of Susan B. Anthony and her untiring fight for women's suffrage which culminated in the passage of the 19th

THEY SAID LABOR DIDN'T COUNT. 8 min. 1948. Rental \$2.00.

Produced by United Packinghouse Workers, District 3.

A short film that doesn't pull any punches in putting across its one message—that every November labor must show that it does count. The movie is built around Iowa's labor holiday in 1948, when all organized labor, CIO, AFL, and the Railroad Brotherhoods, joined together, 25,000 strong, in a demonstration at the Iowa capitol protesting state right-towork laws. The film reminds Iowa workers of their governor's statement to them that they did count in terms of Iowa legislation. It calls on all voters to be counted in future elections.

TICKET TO FREEDOM. 14 min. 1952. Rental \$2.50.

Produced by Ford Motor Co.

Narrated by Edward R. Murrow, this film points out to Mr. Average Citizen the importance of his right to vote, which is his ticket to freedom. The film explains why the secret ballot is the important freedom we have. It names the most common excuses for not voting and exposes the fallacies of these arguments. It stresses the importance of registering and voting, of being active in primaries and in the selection of candidates, of being informed on issues, and in following up on an elected official after he takes office.

VOICES OF THE PEOPLE. 18 min. 1949. Rental \$2.50.

Produced by U. S. Army.

This film points out the importance of discussion in a democracy. The film shows that our nation was founded by discussion which led to action. It emphasizes that Congressional action on domestic and foreign affairs can be guided by "the voices of the people." Unions can use this film to emphasize the importance of discussion for solving union problems.

YOU CAN DO IT! 10 min. 1952. Rental \$2.00.

Produced by the United Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers of America.

This is a lively non-partisan documentary film to stimulate interest in our various elections—local, state and national. It emphasizes the problem of the Four I's—indifference, inconvenience, illness and ignorance, which keep half of our population out of politics.

The film shows different individuals participating in politics for what they can get out of it and urges all people to participate to get those things helpful to all the people—good schools, slum clearance projects, improved streets and recreational facilities. This is a good film to help make people aware of the individual's responsibility in a democracy.

YOU CAN WIN ELECTIONS. 25 min. 1954. Rental \$3.00.

Produced by Roosevelt University and the Independent Votors of Illinois.

This film is designed to show the independent voter how he can increase his political effectiveness by helping other people register and vote for his candidates. The film opens with a statement by Melvyn Douglas, the narrator, on the importance of exercising the right to vote. We next meet young Arthur Barnes, who tells what he did in the last election, when he decided to take part by helping to get out the vote for his candidates. Art learns the four steps political workers must take to help elect their candidates: (1) check registration lists; (2) identify the vote on your side and persuade those who can be persuaded; (3) be sure your people vote; and (4) watch the count. The film shows Arthur following these steps in his own precinct and ends with the workers at campaign headquarters listening to returns.

Voluntary action in an organized effort before election time puts win in You Can Win Elections



YOU, THE PEOPLE. 21 min. 1941. Rental \$2.50.

Produced by MGM as a part of the "Crime Does Not Pay" series.

The story of a mayoralty election in which a crooked city machine fights the independent candidate with all the dirty tricks in the book (shooting, burning ballots, etc.). This is a thriller-diller in true Hollywood style. The film ends with a little guy behind a counter being told he can't gripe about city political conditions, because he wouldn't vote in the last election.

Follow film with practical discussion, and it can be useful in getting across the point that everyone has a vote that counts. The film does not give any guidance on how to judge a political machine or a candidate. You can provide this through discussions. Good for use with non-labor groups.

FILMS ON GENERAL WELFARE

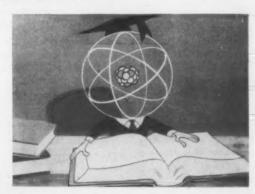
Atomic Energy and Power Resources

A IS FOR ATOM. Color. 151/2 min. 1953. Rental \$2.50.

Produced by General Electric Company.

This film explains the facts of life about atomic energy in a fashion which makes them reasonably comprehensible to the layman. Animation is used with great effectiveness to explain and clarify the complex subject matter. The potential of atomic energy for peaceful uses as opposed to its destructive power is stressed.

A is for Atom explains developments in atomic energy as an opportunity and a challenge



MIRACLE OF HYDRO. 10 min. 1945. Rental \$2.00.

Produced by 20th Century-Fox.

This is the story of hydro-electric development in the Pacific Northwest. We see Bonneville and Grand Coulee dams and hear of plans for future dams. Film is short and emphasizes power and machinery, but it is a good introduction to discussion of hydro-electric possibilities at home and abroad.

OPERATION IVY. 45 min. 1954. Rental \$1.00.

Produced by the Atomic Energy Commission.

Photographs of the H-bomb test in the Pacific show the destructive power of the H-bomb of 1952 and what it could do to an American city. The film is introduced by President Eisenhower's UN speech on atomic energy and closes with comments by Val Peterson, Federal Civil Defense Administrator.

THE RIVER. 32 min. 1939. Rental \$3.00.

Produced by the U. S. Dept. of Agriculture.

This is one of the famous films produced by the U. S. government during the New Deal. The film traces life in the valley of the Mississippi River during the last 150 years—the early days of cotton culture, lumbering operations in the North, farming in the valley. The consequences of share-cropping, soil exhaustion, unchecked erosion, and the floods which follow, are pictured.

The film concludes with scenes on the results of regional planning, TVA development and other federal efforts, emphasizing that "we have taken the valley apart and we can put it together again."

VALLEY OF THE TENNESSEE. 30 min. 1944. Rental \$3.00. Produced by the U. S. Office of War Information.

This is a film showing the contributions which the Tennessee Valley Authority has made toward improving the life of the common people. Shows how the TVA project contributes to practical democracy by providing for a better life for the people through harnessing a river for power and introducing land reclamation and progressive agriculture in the

valley. This film is especially valuable to a union working on a similar river valley plan for its own area.

Automation

PROJECT TINKERTOY. 28 min. 1953. Rental \$3.00.

Produced by the U. S. Navy.

A report on a project to develop a new system of electronics design and manufacture using the "building block" principle by which resistors, capacitors, tube sockets, and other parts of common design are machine assembled into functional electronic products. A highly technical film and useful only with a discussion leader.

THE SEARCH. 25 min. 1955. Rental \$3.00. Produced by CBS-TV.

Research specialists from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology demonstrate and explain various types of automated machines. Starting with a huge hydraulic press, which merely substitutes machine muscle for man's muscle, they progress to an automatic milling machine which can do in a few hours what it takes a skilled machinist several days to do. Included in the survey are M.I.T.'s "Whirlwind" electronic calculator, which can do in 15 minutes a problem which would take a man 15 years to solve, and "Harry, the Mouse", a life-like metal rodent which correctly finds its way out of a maze. Problems of manpower displacement and retraining are skipped over rather lightly.



Then things began to happen over the hill , . . and up and down the $\mbox{\it Valley}$ of the $\mbox{\it Tennessee}$



The TVA is yours—built for the people of the United States of America and not just the Valley of the Tennessee

TECHNIQUE FOR TOMORROW. 25 min. 1954. Rental \$3.00.

Produced by Ford Motor Co.

This film shows automation in action at the Ford foundry and engine plant near Cleveland. It emphasizes that automation does not mean throwing men out of work, but rather saving them for better and more skilled jobs, while machines do the hard work.

Co-ops and Credit Unions

KING'S "X". 30 min. 1954. Rental \$3.00.

Purchased by the Credit Union National Association.

This film tells the story of a plant engineer who needed to borrow \$100. A friend suggests the plant's credit union and the credit committee approves a loan of \$100 which he agrees to repay at the rate of \$2.25 each payday. As the treasurer explains, the credit union, unlike other lending agencies, believes that a reputation for honesty is more important than collateral. The treasurer also explains that credit union savings and loans are insured. He points out that through the credit union, members can learn how to get the most out of their paychecks. The film stresses the point that the credit union is not a company affair but is run by the workers themselves. It includes sequences on the historical development of credit unions.

THERE WERE THREE MEN. Color. 10 min. 1947. Rental \$2.00.

Produced by the Cooperative League of the USA.

A cartoon film in which Ike, the farmer, and Mike, the worker, learn to join forces and outwit G. K. Boodle, the world's gimcrack king. Film is not factual, but sets the stage for an information-session on co-ops.

WHAT IS A CO-OP? 20 min. 1949. Rental \$2.50.

Produced by the Cooperative League of the U.S.A.

Shows the various kinds of cooperatives in existence in the U. S., explains how they operate, and the benefits they have brought to their members.

Housing

THE BALTIMORE PLAN. 21 min. 1953. Rental \$2.50.

Produced by Encyclopedia Britannica Films.

This film deals with housing. It's the story of a municipal housing plan. It opens with a walk through one of the worst slum sections in the city

of Baltimore. We "flash back" to look at citizen pressures to draft a new housing ordinance with minimum standards of health and decency. We see the loopholes in this procedure, and how once again the citizen groups campaign for a special court to make minimum housing standards a legal requirement.

Then we see the program go into action, as block by block the property owners, renters, neighbors and housing authorities rebuild and refurbish the blighted housing areas. We see the "Plan" work, but we are cautioned against expecting good housing out of hopelessly outworn housing.

FAREWELL OAK STREET. 20 min. 1953. Rental \$2.50. Produced by the National Film Board of Canada.

Oak Street represents one of the slum areas in Toronto before a slum clearance and public housing project transform it into Regent Park. The film opens as one of Regent Park's families hangs curtains in their new home. Flashback scenes then show how this family and others like it lived in the old Oak Street tenements, where one bathroom served nine families; where kitchen, living room, dining room, and often bedroom were all one; where tempers were short, delinquency rates high, broken marriages and alcoholism all too prevalent. Shows the devastating psychological effects of slum living and gives impressive evidence of the desirability of slum clearance and public housing programs, both for the individual families concerned and for the community at large.



It's Farewell Oak Street when public housing makes homes in a blighted area

THIS IS TOMORROW. 10 min. 1943. Rental \$2.00.

Produced by John Nesbitt for "The Passing Parade" series. Includes sequences from "The City".

The effect of slums and congestion of unplanned communities on people makes this a "better housing" film. The crowded, chaotic, unhealthy conditions of the present day cities and towns are contrasted with communities designed and planned for working, living and playing. Here is a plea for bigger plans than we can make as individuals—plans for whole communities, cities or towns. The film does not show how these changes can be achieved, but the contrasts are so sharp that a desire is stimulated to take whatever action is necessary.

Industrial Safety

CARELESSNESS COSTS YOU. 15 min. Rental \$2.50.

Produced by IBEW, Local 1031.

This dramatic presentation of the dangers of carelessness shows how a young couple, about to be married, suffer injuries on the job. They find they cannot collect compensation because the accidents are caused by their own carelessness, and as a result they have to postpone their marriage. Their plight brings home the consequences of disregarding basic shop safety rules.

THEY DRIVE IN SAFETY. Color. 15 min. Rental \$2.50.

Produced by the Los Angeles Joint Council of Teamsters.

Demonstrates the ways in which labor and management may cooperate to bring about traffic safety. The example given is the Drivers' Safety Center in California, sponsored by local union and management people, which provides for thorough periodic physical examination and driving tests.

Health and Social Security

CHARLEY'S MARCH OF TIME. Color. 9 min. Rental \$2.00.

Sponsored by the British Ministry of National Insurance.

Here is an animated cartoon of British Charley (worker) riding his bike through time—from the time when there was no security against sickness, accident or depression, to the National Insurance Act which covers every Briton and gives him security from fear of sickness, unemployment, and old age. Use this film to review man's struggle for social security. Good introduction for discussion of our own health and welfare legislative program.

LOOKING AHEAD. 13 min. 1952. Rental \$2.00.

Produced by the Social Security Administration.

Tells the story of Henry Foster, just retired after 30 years' work, and shows the benefits which he and others receive through social security.

OUR NATION'S HEALTH. 13 min. 1953. Rental \$2.50.

Produced by Congress of Industrial Organizations.

Presents the case of a national health insurance program. It shows what happens to one family hit by a sudden illness and illustrates the unfairness of our present medical system of too little and too late.

Dr. Theodore Sanders, interviewed in the film, points to the increasing shortages of doctors, dentists and nurses and blames the American Medical Association (AMA) for lobbying against and stopping Federal legislation to aid medical schools and colleges. Dr. Sanders calls for an extension of our Social Security System to include a comprehensive national health insurance program. He reminds us that the opponents of social security cried "socialism" when old age and survivors' insurance and unemployment insurance were first discussed. Show this film to stimulate discussion on the problem of adequate medical care.

SO MUCH FOR SO LITTLE. Color. 11 min. 1949. Rental \$2.00.

Produced by U. S. Public Health Service.

A cartoon film prepared for the U. S. Public Health Service. Shows how the life of one person is affected by the services made available through Public Health. This film helps explain the role of the U. S. Public Health Service under our Federal System. Explains how little it costs to provide these services, and the necessity for pushing for the continuance and expansion of this program. It is very good for union counselling programs.

THEY NEED TO KNOW. 13 min. 1954. Rental \$2.00.

Produced by the Social Security Administration.

A dramatized story emphasizes what workers, wives, and children should know about social security survivors' insurance benefits payable upon the death of the family breadwinner.

WITHOUT FEAR. 30 min. 1952. Rental \$3.00.

Produced by California Machinists Non-Partisan Political League.

A kinescope of a television show presented to stress the arguments for National Health Insurance. Cites statistics and actual case histories to show the need for improved medical facilities and more doctors. Attacks the AMA position on health insurance and allied issues.



Your Social Security card should be a key to your future

YOUR SOCIAL SECURITY. 18 min. 1955. Rental \$2.50.

Produced by Social Security Administration.

This is a revision of the older Social Security film by the same title, bringing it up-to-date to incorporate the latest amendments to the Social Security Act. It explains who is covered by the Act, with special emphasis on the newly covered. It explains how death benefits and retirement income are determined and describes steps to take to qualify for payments.

YOUR VERY GOOD HEALTH. Color. 10 min. 1949. Rental \$2.00.

Produced for the British Ministry of Health.

This is another Charley cartoon film showing how the British National Health Service, sponsored by the Labor Government, will affect the average worker and his family. Use this film to offset wild stories about those services and to introduce discussions of the proposed U. S. National Health Insurance Bill.

Public Education

\$CHOOL AND THE COMMUNITY. 14 min. 1952. Rental \$2.50.

Produced by United Productions of America.

This is a cartoon film emphasizing the role of the school in the community. It shows why a school isolated from the community is a poor school and then describes how a school can be a part of the daily lives of the people of a community. It suggests some ways in which school buildings and teachers can be used for the community's betterment, as well as ways in which the community can help the school. The film should be followed by discussion on what labor can do to improve the school system. Ask someone from the school system to come to answer questions on problem schools in your locality.

WHO WILL TEACH YOUR CHILD? 24 min. 1948. Rental \$3.00.

Produced by the National Film Board of Canada.

Shows why good teachers are important to our children. The movie compares the effect of a poorly trained teacher on a class with the way a good teacher helps students to grow and to learn. Use it with union and community groups to arouse interest in your schools.

(See also descriptions of "Freedom to Learn" and "Sound of a Stone")

Others

EVERYBODY'S HANDICAPPED. 20 min. 1953. Rental \$2.50.

Produced for the National Film Board of Canada by Graphic Associates Film Production Limited.

Shows the importance of job placement for handicapped workers, points out that everyone is handicapped for some job and that the important things is not what a man has lost, but what he has left. Scenes show the handicapped working in a wide variety of occupations and demonstrating their skills. The film points out that the handicapped worker has a better absentee record and a lower accident rate than the non-handicapped.

INFLATION. Color. 20 min. 1953. Rental \$2.50.

Produced by Encyclopedia Britannica Films.

Animation sequences show the clothes, food, housing, and other goods we buy in relation to the money available, and how new money which has become available competes with the old. During the war, the film points out, government controls kept the lid on, but since then there has been no effective means of keeping prices in line. The long-run answer, according to the film, is to increase productivity and the short-term answer is to decrease the supply of money.

TO PROMOTE THE GENERAL WELFARE. 13 min. 1954. Rental \$2.50.

Produced by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

This film is built around a speech made by former President Truman when he received the annual award of the Sidney Hillman Foundation. The film opens with scenes of union members at work in various industries. Truman then discusses the responsibilities of government in today's world, with scenes showing the public housing, better schools, social security and other measures he advocates.

ENTERTAINMENT FILMS

Entertainment shorts (10 min. and under) rent for \$1.00 per reel, with the understanding that a minimum of three must be booked together, or that the minimum rented is \$3.00, even if only one is selected.

THE ADVENTURER. 18 min. Rental \$2.50.

Charlie Chaplin escapes from prison to enter high society. Famous old comedy with sound added.

THE ADVENTURES OF CHICO. 55 min. 1937. Rental \$7.00.

Produced by International Film Bureau.

One of the finest films that has ever been made for children, this is the story of a Mexican boy and his pets. This film meets the great need for high quality films for children. All unions ought to be concerned with the kinds of movies that are being shown to our children today and give their children an opportunitty to see this excellent and entertaining film. The New York Times said about it, "If it is not the best animal picture ever made, we hope someone will tell us where to go to look for its equal."



Chico makes friends by being a friend—one of the real experiences in the Adventures of Chico

ANIMALS UNLIMITED. Color. 20 min. 1950. Rental \$5.00.

Produced by Films of the Nations.

This film is different! The actors are live African animals filmed in a large animal park in South Africa. The photography is brilliant and the full color printing makes the film really alive. Union members will enjoy it; so will their kids. Book it for a family night, a children's program of for a community showing.

CHOLLY POLLY, 10 min. Rental \$1.00.

Produced by U. S. Office of War Information.

An animated cartoon of a bird and a cat, illustrating the "divide and conquer" technique. Film was made during World War II to show how the Nazis used this, with a warning against allowing ourselves to be taken in by the same tricks.

A CIRCUS WAKES UP. 10 min. Rental \$1.00.

This is a look behind the scenes before the performance of the big show. Animals are groomed and practiced. The clowns get dressed and take their place in the line for the opening parade.

FIDDLE DEE DEE. Color. 4 min. Rental \$1.00.

This short was awarded top honors in the arts, crafts and music division of the World Film Festival. The violin plays the familiar tune "Listen to the Mocking Bird," while the color animation on the screen suggests the rapid unrolling of a starting textile pattern. Use this short film to open a program and liven up a group.

THE GREAT CHASE. 10 min. Rental \$1.00.

W. C. Fields in his own inimitable manner captures a bank bandit and becomes a "bank dick" as a reward. Then things begin to happen fast and furiously.

HOT ICE. 9 min. Rental \$1.00.

Exciting short on hockey, "the world's fastest game." Scenes all the way from the local kids playing to the thrills of professional matches at the Garden. This hockey film is especially good for boys since kids' hockey teams are shown in the film.

LET'S SING A WESTERN SONG. 10 min. Rental \$1.00.

Everybody can sing, "Home on the Range," "Red River Valley," and other western songs with this film. Music is by Fred Waring and his Pennsylvanians; words are on the screen against a background of western scenes.

MIDGET CAR MANIACS. 10 min. Rental \$1.00.

Imagine the Abbott and Costello comedy team let loose on a midget car track and you begin to realize what is in store for you.

NO INDIANS, PLEASE! 9 min. Rental \$1.00.

Abbott and Costello on an Indian reservation. Indians on horseback chase the comedians, who drive an old flivver over mountains and under rivers in a wild chase. An old comedy and a good one.

Mickey Mouse shorts will be shipped as Group I or II Rental \$2.00 per group

1

ALL AMERICAN MICKEY, 5 min.

Mickeys plays a football hero as his team beats the Alley Cats in the last quarter.

GOLD RUSH MICKEY, 5 min.

Mickey, a piano player in a Klondike saloon, rescues poor Minnie from the clutches of a trapper.

MICKEY AND THE GIANT, 5 min.

Mickey plays the role of Jack in the Bean Stalk story. Especially good for young children.

11

MICKEY AND THE LILLIPUTIANS, 5 min.

Mickey, as Gulliver, in the famous "Gulliver's Travels" story.

MICKEY SAVES THE AIRMAIL. 10 min.

Mickey, the mail pilot, battles Bandit Pete and saves the mail.

MOVIE STAR MICKEY, 5 min.

Mickey dreams of a Hollywood premiere. Caricatures of stars.

☆ ☆ ☆

THE PRINCESS AND THE DRAGON. 10 min. Rental \$1.00.

A marionette show based on an old European fairy tale about a dragon that threatened to destroy a kingdom. The King offers his daughter to the man who can kill the dragon. A shoe-cobbler turns the trick after several knights fail.

RIOT ON ICE. 10 min. Rental \$1.00.

Abbott and Costello on ice—there are plenty of thrills and spills as this tamous Hollywood comedy pair become skating waiters at an exclusive hotel dining room.

SANDY STEPS OUT. 9 min. Rental \$1.00.

Have the children go along with the friendly pup, Sandy, as he spends a day on a country farm with lots of his animal buddies. Excellent for young children.

THE SPIDER AND THE ANT. 10 min. Rental \$1.00.

Andy and the ant are trapped in mean Mister Spider's web—and things look mighty bad for Andy until Sampson, the snail, comes to the rescue. These are fascinating characters that will appeal to every child's imagination.

THREE LITTLE BRUINS IN A CANOE, 10 min. Rental \$1.00.

The ring-leader entices his comrades into a canoe at the head of the rapids. Last one aboard moves the craft into the stream and what follows is fast. Through rapids, whirlpools and hair-raising dangers this film brings thrills and laughs for every audience.

THE WIND FROM THE WEST. 18 min. 1946. Rental \$3.00. Produced by Films of Nations.

This picture, produced and photographed by an outstanding Swedish producer, is a combination of fact and fantasy. The land of the Lapps in the northern end of Sweden is the setting. In a schoolhouse, young Nils sits dreamily longing to go with the older Lapps and reindeer herds on their yearly migration to the mountains. Presently, the boy dozes and in his dream he goes on a visit to the mountains. The customs of the people are explained in the film, including a scene where Nils climbs to an eagle's nest, high in the mountains to retrieve the jawbone of a reindeer. By this act young Nils fulfills one of the tests of "growing into manhood."

RENT A 40 MINUTE FILM PACKAGE FOR ENTERTAINMENT AND PARTIES

Films for children's parties and entertainment are very popular. These film-packages of four or five 8-10 minute cartoon and comedy films are spliced together to make a movie of 40 minutes.

Each rents for \$5.00.

Package Reel No. 1:

Gold Rush Mickey; Hurry, Hurry—featuring W. C. Fields; Chimp on the Farm; Dirty Work, an old Laurel and Hardy sequence; Knights of the Bath with Abbott and Costello.

Package Reel No. 2:

Circus Slicker with W. C. Fields; Chimp, the Cowboy; Gobs in a Mess—Abbott and Costello and Woody Woodpecker Plays Santa. (In October.)

Package Reel No. 3:

All American Mickey; Riot on Ice with Abbott and Costello; Donald Duck, the Mechanic; Three Bruins Make Mischief; No Indians, Please! with Abbott and Costello.

FILMS FOR USE ON TV

The following listing of films cleared for TV use is not an attempt to select from "Films for Labor" those which are considered best for this use. These are the ones that are, or possibly can be cleared for such public use. Films cleared for TV:

Battle of Wall Street Pursuit of Happiness Breakthrough Common Ground A Report to You Clinton, A Political Story Shoemaker and the Hatter Democracy on Display State of Our Union Each for All There Were Three Men Freedom to Read They Need to Know For Fair Play This is the SIU High Wall 24 Hours Imprint of a Man Union Goes to School Injustice on Trial We Serve the Public Joe Davis, American What is a Co-op? King's X Operation Ivy Which Way for Human Rights

The following films can be cleared for TV use in most situations:

The Carpenter

Write to: United Brotherhood of Carpenters
and Joiners, 222 East Michigan

Street, Indianapolis 4, Indiana

Grievance Hearing Write to: Sterling Television, 205 E. 43rd Street, New York, N. Y.

High Wall Write to: McGraw Hill Book Co., 330 West 42nd St., New York 36, N. Y.

The Legislative Process Write to: Audio-Visual Aids, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana

Pressure Groups Write to: Encyclopedia Britannica Films, 1150 Wilmette Ave., Wilmette, Illi-

nois

With These Hands
(Special 40 min.
TV version)

Write to: International Ladies' Garment
Workers, 1710 Broadway, New
York 19, N. Y.

You Can Win Elections Write to: Emerson Films Inc., 301 East Erie Street, Chicago, Ill.

Television clearance for some films produced by the National Film Board of Canada may be obtained only through negotiation with the National Film Board of Canada, 630 Fifth Avenue, New York 20, N. Y.

Please direct any further questions about the use of films listed in Films for Labor on TV to the Film Division, AFL-CIO Education Department, 815 16th Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

OTHER 16mm FILM SOURCES

Your local or state public library; a university labor-management or worker's education center; regional or national offices of the Anti-Defamation League, or Jewish Labor Committee; official distribution centers for United Nations Department of Public Information films; or the state and national union film libraries listed:

Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America—15 Union Square, New York, 3, New York

Communications Workers of America—1808 Adams Mill Road, N. W., Washington, D. C.

International Chemical Workers Union—1659 W. Market Street, Akron 13, Ohio

International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union—1710 Broadway, New York 19, New York

Iowa State CIO Council-604 Teachout Building, Des Moines, Iowa

Kentucky State Federation of Labor—312 Armory Place, Louisville 2, Kentucky

Missouri State Labor Council—112 A East High Street, Jefferson City, Mo. Ohio CIO Council—218 E. State Street, Columbus 15, Ohio

United Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers of America—8000 East Jefferson Ave., Detroit 14, Michigan

United Rubber, Cork, Linoleum and Plastic Workers of America—URWA Building, High at Mill Streets, Akron 8, Ohio

Washington State CIO Council—2419 Second Avenue, Seattle 1, Washington

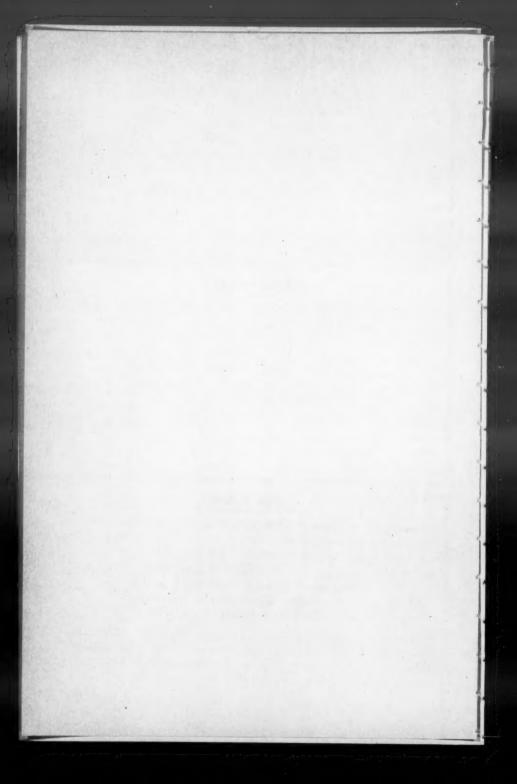
Most of these organizations have a limited number of films available. Write to them for catalogue or film listing.

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(Posters are 10¢ each; 15 for \$1.	.00; 50 for \$3.00; 100 for \$4.00.)
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	William F. Schnitzler, Treasurer, AFL-CIO)
	ers for advertising our film showings.
(Posters are 10¢ each; 15 for \$1.	00; 50 for \$3.00; 100 for \$4.00.)
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DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, AF Please reserve the following film for showing on (Make checks payable to Also send us—poste (Posters are 10¢ each; 15 for \$1.	CRDER BLANK L-CIO, 815 16th St., N.W., Washington 6, D. Composition of the composition of



ORDER BLANK

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, AFI	L-CIO, 815 16th St., N.W., Washington 6, D. C.
(Make checks payable to	(date). Rental enclosed. Please bill
(Posters are 10¢ each; 15 for \$1.	ers for advertising our film showings. 00; 50 for \$3.00; 100 for \$4.00.)
Name————	Title
Organization	
Address ——	

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DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, AFI	L-CIO, 815 16th St., N.W., Washington 6, D. C
(Make checks payable to	(date). Rental enclosed. Please bill William F. Schnitzler, Treasurer, AFL-CIO) ers for advertising our film showings. 00; 50 for \$3.00; 100 for \$4.00.)
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(Make checks payable to	(date). Rental enclosed. Please bill Rental enclosed. William F. Schnitzler, Treasurer, AFL-CIO)
	ers for advertising our film showings.
(Posters are 10¢ each: 15 for \$1.	00; 50 for \$3.00; 100 for \$4.00.)
Name-	Title
Organization	
Address	



ORDER BLANK FOR FILM-A-MONTH PLAN

AFL-CIO DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, 815 16th St., N. W., Washington 6, D. C.

We wish to participate in the Film-A-Month Plan.

We understand that under this plan the Department of Education will:

- 1. Provide the films indicated below, on the dates we have selected.
- Send us a written confirmation of this schedule. (If previous commitments require substitutions, these will be indicated on the confirmation sheet.)
- 3. Send films to reach us one or two days in advance of our scheduled showing.
- 4. Provide discussion materials for use with films.

In return for this service, we agree to:

- 1. Pay \$15.00 for the series.
- Select at least one film from each of the following categories: Building Unionism, Civil Liberties and Civil Rights, General Welfare, International Problems, Political Education.
 - Fill out and return the film report forms provided by the Department of Education.
 - 4. Return all films parcel post, special handling, the day after using.

We have listed below the 9 films we wish to use and the dates on which we wish to use them. (Films must be used within a 12 month period.)

Name of Film	Date of Showing
Name	Title
Address —	
Enclosed is \$15.00 to cover Schnitzler, Treasurer, AFL-Cl	cost. (Please make checks payable to William
(II-l: 6-1	



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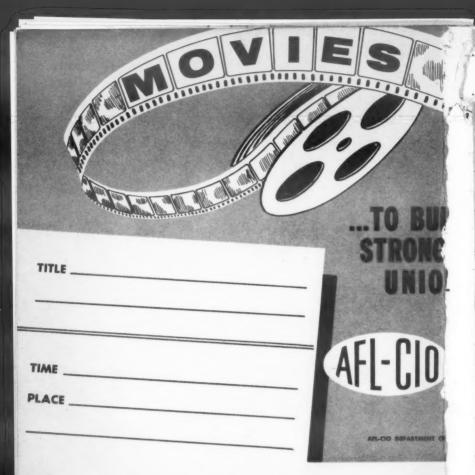
- AFL-CIO EDUCATION NEWS AND VIEWS....\$1.00 per year Monthly survey by the AFL-CIO Education Department, of current workers' education programs, suggestions, and reviews of books, pamphlets and films.
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 Monthly publication of the AFL-CIO Research Department presenting
 facts for action on current economic issues.
- AFL-CIO COLLECTIVE BARGAINING REPORT...\$1.00 per year

 Monthly report from the AFL-CIO Research Department of significant developments in collective bargaining, and other news of labor-management relations.

Send your subscription with check or money order to:

AFL-CIO 815 Sixteenth Street, N. W. Washington 6, D.C.

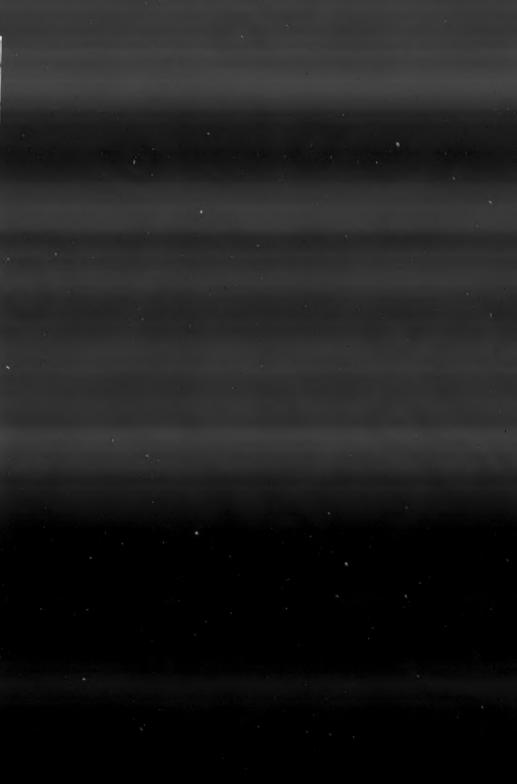


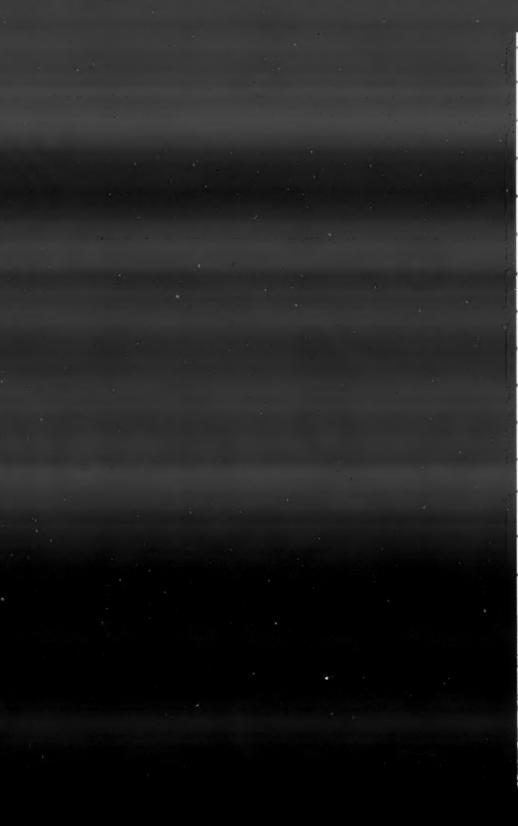
USE AFL-CIO MOVIE POSTERS TO ANNOUNCE YOUR FILM SHOWINGS.

Handy 8 ½" x 11" size suitable for bulletin board posting. Available in two colors for variety in attraction. 10¢ each; 15 for \$1.00; 50 for \$3.00; and 100 for \$4.00. Order a quantity today.

AFL-CIO DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION 815 Sixteenth Street, N. W.

Washington 6, D. C.





YOUR RIGHTS ...

UNDER STATE AND LOCAL FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE LAWS

MINNESOTA '55

MICHIGAN '55

NEW MEXICO '49

OREGON '49

MASSACHUSETTS'46

CONNECTICUT '47

RHODE ISLAND '49

NEW JERSEY '45

SYLVANIA '55

NASHINGTON '49

NEW YORK '45



YOUR RIGHTS ...

UNDER STATE AND LOCAL FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE LAWS

Do you know your rights as an American citizen?

Certainly, you know your constitutional rights to worship as you please, and to express your opinions. You know that if you're arrested you can't be held without a charge; and that you're entitled to choose your own lawyer, to receive a speedy and public trial, and to face the witnesses against you. Then, there's your right to vote, to assemble peacefully and to petition your government if you have grievances. These are some of the rights that make America a free country.

But these aren't all. Some modern rights, though actually based on the Constitution, aren't spelled out in that great document. They have been established through the years to meet the changing needs of our free people, and they are mighty important, too: your right to equal opportunity, regardless of your race, religion or national origin; your right to be judged on your merits, without discrimination. You can't really enjoy "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" without these rights.

For instance, suppose you hear of an opening at some office or factory. You have the necessary training and experience for the job. So you fill out an application. Among the questions you find:

Race_______Religion______Father's Place of Birth______

You wonder what those questions have to do with your qualifications for the job. But you answer them anyway because you have no choice.

The man who does the hiring picks up your application. He takes a quick look at "Race, Religion and Father's Place of Birth." He doesn't look any further.



"Sorry," he says. "We can't use you."

"But," you reply, "I've got the experience the job calls for. The best references. What's wrong?"

He just gives you a cold, fish-eye look. "Sorry."

Or maybe he smiles a little. Wants to let you down easy.

But the smile doesn't help much. You know you've been treated unfairly. Your abilities fit the job. You must have been turned down for other reasons. Your church? The color of your skin? Your national origin?

And then it dawns on you. You've been a victim of discrimination!

WHAT ARE YOUR RIGHTS?

Just what are your rights to fair employment? Can you do anything about discrimination, or must you sit back and take it?

Here are the answers:

- Every part of the United States comes under Federal executive orders that forbid discrimination on some jobs.
- · Fifteen states have laws against discrimination on most jobs.
- Thirty-seven cities, many of them outside these fifteen states, have city ordinances against discrimination on most jobs.

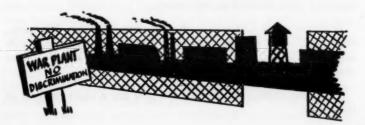
These Federal, state and city measures assure fair employment practices to more than one-third of the nation's citizens. For your own protection you should know these laws.

FEDERAL FEP MEASURES

Four executive orders bar discrimination on some jobs throughout the nation.

Three of these deal with work under Government contracts; the fourth covers work directly for the Federal Government:

- Executive Order 8802 (1941) forbids discrimination by any company holding defense contracts.
- Executive Order 9346 (1943) orders the inclusion, in all Government contracts, of a clause preventing the contractor from discriminating against any employee or applicant for employment because of race, creed, color or national origin. During World War II, Orders 8802 and 9346 were policed by a Federal Fair Employment Practice Committee. After the war, both executive orders remained on the books; but when President Truman tried to make FEPC a permanent agency, Congress refused to appropriate the money to keep it going.
- Executive Order 10479 (1953) declares that non-discrimination is Government policy and creates a Government Contract Committee to replace President Truman's earlier Committee on Government Contract Compliance (E.O. 10308). The Committee on Government Contracts receives complaints against Government contractors, charging discrimination in employment, upgrading, demotion or transfer; in recruitment or recruitment advertising; in layoff or termination; in rates of pay or other forms of compensation; or in selection for training, including apprenticeship. The Committee sends such complaints to the Federal agency which holds the contract. That agency must investigate the charges and take appropriate steps to correct discriminatory practices.



Executive Order 10590 (1955) sets up a President's Committee on Government Employment Policy to supervise the non-discrimination program in Federal employment. This order replaces President Truman's Fair Employment Board, created within the Civil Service Commission in 1948. The new President's Committee is authorized to determine whether departments and agencies of the Government are carrying out the non-discrimination policy, to render advisory opinions on cases referred to it, and to make such inquiries and investigations as are necessary to carry out its responsibilities. The order directs department and agency heads to establish regulations to insure non-discrimination, to appoint Employment Policy Officers to administer the regulations, and to report all complaints to the President's Committee.

But what if your job or prospective job is not in a Federal agency or a plant with a Government contract? Do you have any protection then?

The answer is: it all depends on where you live. Many states and cities have their own FEP measures which forbid discrimination on most jobs.

Let's look at these laws.

STATE FEP MEASURES

In fifteen of the forty-eight states, fair employment practices are written into law.

However, three states — Indiana, Kansas and Wisconsin — have made no provision for enforcement. And in Colorado, the law can be enforced against state, county and municipal governments and their subdivisions but not against private employers, except while engaged in public work financed by tax money.

In eleven states—Connecticut, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island and Washington—job applicants and employees enjoy almost complete protection.

The tables starting on page 16 will give you a bird's-eye view of these laws.

What Do The Laws Cover?

Under state FEP laws, private employers are forbidden to discriminate in hiring, firing, upgrading, or working conditions, and labor unions are barred from withholding the rights and privileges of membership. The states with enforceable FEP laws also ban discrimination by employment agencies in accepting or referring applicants.

Bias in state employment is illegal under the "equal protection" clause of the Fourteenth Amendment to the U. S. Constitution and, in some states, under FEP and civil service laws as well. However, in states without FEP laws, persons experiencing discrimination in civil service must usually seek redress through private legal action.

Advertisements, inquiries or application forms asking the race, creed or national origin of job seekers are banned in all eleven states with enforceable fair employment practice laws. Also, persons filing complaints are expressly protected against reprisals.

How Are The Laws Enforced?

Each state with an enforceable FEP law has an official agency, generally called the Fair Employment Practice Commission or the Commission Against Discrimination, which investigates complaints, attempts conciliation and, if necessary, holds hearings. If these efforts fail, the Commission may apply for a court order to enforce its recommendations.

Laws Without Teeth

Indiana, Kansas and Wisconsin also have Fair Employment Commissions; but they only have power to conciliate, not to enforce by court action. Nevertheless, every attempt should be made to use these laws. In Wisconsin, for example, the Circuit Court of Milwaukee has upheld a cease and desist order of the Industrial Commission.

In California, which does not have any FEP law, the Attorney General has ruled that the Employment Stabilization Commission has the right to receive and investigate complaints of discrimination, hold public hearings and publicize the facts in the case. This gives the California Employment Stabilization Commission some of the powers of an FEPC, though it has no authority to render decisions based on its investigations, or to enforce its findings by applying to the courts.

Arizona, which is also without an FEP law, does have a new statute prohibiting discrimination in public employment and in private employment on Government contracts, but there is no commission to enforce or administer this law.

CITY FEP MEASURES

Suppose your job or prospective job isn't covered either by *Pederal* or *state* measures. You may still find *city* laws that can help you.

Thirty-seven cities and towns have their own fair employment ordinances. Thirty-four of these assure fair practices in both public and private jobs; three cover only city agencies, or businesses having contracts with the city.

The cities barring discrimination in both public and private employment are:

IOWA

Des Moines

ILLINOIS

Chicago

INDIANA

East Chicago

Gary

MICHIGAN

Ecorse

Hamtramck Pontiac

River Rouge

MINNESOTA

Duluth Minneapolis

St. Paul

OHIO

Campbell Cleveland

Girard

Hubbard

OHIO (cont'd.)

Lorain

Lowellville

Niles

Steubenville Struthers

Toledo

Warren

Youngstown

PENNSYLVANIA

Braddock

Clairton

Duquesne

Erie

Farrell Johnstown

Monessen

Philadelphia Pittsburgh

Sharon

WISCONSIN Milwaukee In addition, the following cities give limited protection:

CALIFORNIA

Richmond — Covers both city agencies and firms doing business with the city.

IOWA

Sioux City — Covers both city agencies and firms doing business with the city.

OHIO

Cincinnati - Covers only city agencies.



HOW TO FILE AN FEP COMPLAINT

Let's suppose your case is covered by an anti-discrimination law or executive order. First of all, remember this: The law is on your side. But the law needs evidence, not emotion. The enforcement authorities need all the facts in order to help you. If you don't supply the details, your sense of outrage won't do you any good.

Here's what you can do:

- 1. Get the complete name and address of the individual or firm you are charging with discrimination.
- 2. Get the names and addresses of witnesses, if any.
- Put all details of the incident in writing as soon as possible. Don't trust your memory.

- 4. If an FEP Commission office is near you, take your complaint there in person. The names and addresses of all the Commissions are listed in this pamphlet. In those communities which have both city and state FEP laws, it is generally preferable to appeal to the State Commission. However, occasionally a local ordinance may cover a specific complaint which the state law does not include.
- 5. If no appropriate commission is nearby, have several copies of your complaint sworn to before a notary public. If possible, include the names and signatures of witnesses. This complaint is necessary to establish your case. Mail the original copy to the appropriate commission or official. (The New Jersey Division Against Discrimination requires two copies.) Keep at least one carbon copy of the complaint, and give a copy to any union or organization which you may consult.

In preparing your complaint, it may be helpful to consult your local union or a local branch of a reputable national civil rights organization — such as The American Jewish Committee, the Anti-Defamation League, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, or the Urban League. If you need legal help, one of these organizations may be able to provide it. In addition, the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations has a Civil Rights Committee; the United Auto Workers has a Fair Practices and Anti-Discrimination Department; the United Steelworkers of America has a Committee on Civil Rights; the United Rubber Workers Union has a Fair Practices Committee; and other international unions have similar departments or committees. In almost every town there are individuals and groups ready and willing to help you — if you bring them the facts.

Complaints to Federal Commissions

Suppose your grievance is against a plant holding a Government contract. If it's a union plant, take the matter up with the leaders or the Fair Practices Committee of your local union. They will carry it to the international union or the Committee on Government Contracts. Otherwise, send your complaint directly to:

Committee on Government Contracts Department of Labor Washington 25, D. C. If the plant is in a state or city which also has an enforceable FEP law, send the original complaint to the FEP Commission and copies to the Committee on Government Contracts and the union.

If your complaint involves employment by a Federal department or agency, send it to the agency's Employment Policy Officer in Washington, D.C., or to the Deputy Employment Policy Officer of the agency, if there is one in your area. The President's Committee on Government Employment Policy will review the decisions of the various Federal agencies and departments.

Complaints to State Commissions

If the violation occurs in an FEP state, send your complaint to the appropriate commission listed below:

State	Name and Address	Time Limit	
California	Employment Stabilization		
	Commission		
	1025 P Street		
	Sacramento 14, Calif.	No limitation	
Colorado	Anti-Discrimination Division		
	Industrial Commission of Colorado		
	1065 Broadway		
	Denver 3, Colo.	Three months	
Connecticut	Commission on Civil Rights		
	500 Capitol Avenue		
	Hartford 15, Conn.	Six months	
Indiana	Department of Labor		
	Division of Labor		
	Indianapolis, Ind.	No limitation	
Kansas	State Anti-Discrimination		
	Commission		
	State Capitol		
	Topeka, Kan.	No limitation	

State	Name and Address	Time Limit	
Massachusetts	State Commission Against Discrimination 41 Tremont Street		
	Boston 8, Mass.	Six months	
Michigan			
Lansing	Fair Employment Practices Commission		
	State Capitol Lansing, Mich.		
Detroit	Fair Employment Practices Commission Cadillac Square Building		
	Detroit, Mich.	Ninety days	
Minnesota	Fair Employment Practices Commission State Capitol		
	St. Paul, Minn.	Six months	
New Jersey	Division Against Discrimination Department of Education 1060 Broad Street Newark 2, N. J.	Ninety days	
New Mexico	Fair Employment Practice Commission Box 1726		
	Santa Fe, N. M.	No limitation	
New York	State Commission Against Discrimination		
Main Office:	270 Broadway New York 7, N. Y.		
Branch Offices:			
Albany	212 State Street Albany 6, N. Y.		
Binghamton	221 Washington Street Binghamton, N. Y.		
Buffalo	65 Court Street Buffalo 2, N. Y.		

State	Name and Address	Time Limit
Rochester	155 West Main Street Rochester, N. Y.	
Syracuse	306 South Salina Street Syracuse, N. Y.	
White Plain	white Plains, N. Y.	Ninety days
Oregon		
Portland	Fair Employment Practices Division Bureau of Labor State Office Building 1400 S. W. Fifth Avenue Portland 1, Ore.	
Salem	Fair Employment Practices Division Bureau of Labor State Office Building Salem, Ore.	No limitation
Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania Fair Employme Practice Commission	ent
	Department of Labor and Ind	lustry
	Harrisburg, Pa.	Ninety days
Rhode Island	State Commission Against Discrimination State House Providence 2, R. I.	One year
Washington	State Board Against Discrimination in Employment	
	905 Dexter Avenue	6:
	Seattle 9, Wash.	Six months
Wisconsin	Industrial Commission of Wisconsin	
	794 North Jefferson Street	
	Milwaukee 2, Wis.	No limitation

Complaints to City Commissions

If the violation occurs in an FEP city, send your complaint to the appropriate office listed below:

State	City	Address
California	Richmond	City Solicitor City Hall Richmond, Calif.
Illinois	Chicago	Commission on Human Relations 54 West Hubbard Street Chicago 10, Ill.
Indiana	East Chicago	Fair Employment Practice Commission 4010 Deal Street East Chicago, Ind.
	Gary	Fair Employment Practice Commission 306 City Hall Gary, Ind.
Iowa Des Moines Sioux City	Commission on Job Discrimination City Hall Des Moines, Iowa	
	Sioux City	Commission on Job Discrimination 313 Toy National Bank Building Sioux City 14, Iowa
Michigan	Ecorse	City Attorney City Hall Ecorse, Mich.
	Hamtramck	City Solicitor City Hall Hamtramck, Mich.
	Pontiac	Fair Employment Practice Commission City Hall Pontiac, Mich.
	River Rouge	City Solicitor Mayor's Office 1381 Coolidge Street River Rouge, Mich.

State	City	Address
Minnesota	Duluth	City Attorney City Hall
		Duluth, Minn.
	Minneapolis	Fair Employment Practice Commission 407-A Minneapolis City Hall Minneapolis 15, Minn.
	St. Paul	Fair Employment Practice Commission City Hall St. Paul, Minn.
Ohio	Campbell	City Solicitor
0.010	Campbell	City Hall
		Campbell, Ohio
	Cincinnati	Fair Employment Practices Commission
		Office of the Mayor
		214 City Hall
		Cincinnati, Ohio
	Cleveland	Community Relations Board
		39 City Hall
		Cleveland 14, Ohio
	Girard	Fair Employment Practice Commission
		City Hall
		Girard, Ohio
	Hubbard	City Solicitor
		City Hall
		Hubbard, Ohio
	Lorain	Community Relations Board
		City Hall
		Lorain, Ohio
	Lowellville	City Solicitor
		City Hall
		Lowellville, Ohio
	Niles	City Solicitor
		34 West State Street
		Niles, Ohio

State	City	Address
	Steubenville	Fair Employment Practice Commission Municipal Building Steubenville, Ohio
	Struthers	Fair Employment Practice Commission City Hall Struthers, Ohio
	Toledo	Fair Employment Panel Board of Community Relations City Hall Toledo, Ohio
	Warren	Community Relations Board City Hall Warren, Ohio
	Youngstown	Fair Employment Practice Commission City Hall Youngstown, Ohio
Pennsylvania	Braddock	Fair Employment Practices Commission City Hall Braddock, Pa.
I F	Clairton	City Solicitor 535 Miller Avenue Clairton, Pa.
	Duquesne	Fair Employment Practice Commission Department of Public Affairs City Hall Duquesne, Pa.
	Erie	City Solicitor City Hall Annex Erie, Pa.
	Farrell	Fair Employment Practice Commission City Hall Farrell, Pa.
	Johnstown	Fair Employment Practice Commission City Hall Johnstown, Pa.

State	City	Address
	Monessen	Fair Employment Practice Commission City Hall Monessen, Pa.
	Philadelphia	Commission on Human Relations Room 615 Market Street National Bank Building Philadelphia 7, Pa.
	Pittsburgh	Commission on Human Relations Office of the Mayor Pittsburgh, Pa.
	Sharon	Fair Employment Practice Commission Municipal Building 50 Chestnut Avenue Sharon, Pa.
Wisconsin	Milwaukee	Mayor's Commission on Human Rights City Hall Milwaukee 2, Wis.

SUPPOSE YOU'RE NOT COVERED BY ANY FEP LAW

If your job or prospective job is not in a plant with a Government contract or in a Federal agency, and there is no FEP law in your state or city, you have no legal protection. That is why national legislation to guarantee fair employment is a must for all workers in the United States.

As a citizen, you have the Constitutional right to work for such legislation, no matter where you live. You can urge your union, your business group, your church or social club to get behind the campaign for a Federal FEPC. In that way, you can assure future protection for yourself and your family.

ANALYSIS OF STATE FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE LAWS

COLORADO

Right to employment without discrimination:

Declared a civil right.

Covered by the Act:

Private employers of six or more.

Labor organizations. Employment agencies.

The State and its political subdivisions.

Excluded from the Act:

Persons employed by family.

Domestic servants.

Educational institutions and school districts.

Illegal practices:

Discrimination by:

Public or private employers.

Labor organizations.

Employment agencies.

Refusal to work with members of minority groups.

Who may file complaint:

The aggrieved person.

Complaints to be filed within:

Three months.

Administered by:

Full-time Director of FEP under the Division of the Industrial Commission, and seven-member advisory Human Relations Commission, appointed by Governor.

Salary per member:

None.

Commission empowered to:

Receive and investigate complaints.

Conciliate complaints.

Subpoena witnesses.

Conduct hearings on complaints against public employers or contractors or subcontractors of the State.

Refer cases involving *public* employers or State contractors or subcontractors to Attorney General for prosecution.

Investigate existence, causes and extent of discrimination and formulate plans to eliminate it.

Report biennially to Governor and Legislature.

Review and enforcement:

By the courts, when public employers are involved.

CONNECTICUT

Right to employment without discrimination:

Not specified as a civil right.

Covered by the Act:

All enterprises, including charitable and non-profit, employing five or more.

Labor organizations.

Employment agencies.

The State and its political subdivisions.

Excluded from the Act:

None.

Illegal practices:

Discrimination by:

Employers.

Labor organizations.

Employment agencies.

Advertisements or inquiries specifying race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry.

Refusal to work with members of minority groups.

Reprisals against persons filing complaints.

Who may file complaint:

The aggrieved person.

The Commission.

Employers whose employees refuse or threaten to refuse to comply with the law.

Complaints to be filed within:

Six months.

Administered by:

Commission on Civil Rights, and ten-member panel of hearing examiners, appointed by Governor.

Salary per member:

\$25 per day when conducting hearings.

Commission empowered to:

Receive, initiate and investigate complaints.

Conciliate complaints.

Subpoena witnesses.

Develop educational programs.

Recommend policies and legislation for the elimination of prejudice.

Issue publications and reports.

Hearing Tribunal empowered to:

Conduct hearings. Subpoena witnesses.

Issue cease and desist orders.

Review and enforcement:

By the courts.

INDIANA

Right to employment without discrimination:

Declared a right, a privilege and public policy.

Covered by the Act:

All enterprises conducted for profit.

Labor organizations.

Excluded from the Act:

Non-profit enterprises.

Persons employed by family.

Domestic servants.

Illegal practices:

None specified.

Who may file complaint:

Not specified: any person with knowledge of discriminatory practices.

Complaints to be filed within:

Not specified.

Administered by:

Commissioner of Labor, and nine-member advisory board, appointed by Governor.

Salary per member:

None.

Necessary expenses provided.

Commission empowered to:

Receive, initiate and investigate complaints.

Investigate discrimination in State agencies and recommend corrective legislation.

Conciliate complaints.

Recommend legislation and formulate plans for the elimination of prejudice.

Review and enforcement:

Not specified.

KANSAS

Right to employment without discrimination:

Declared a civil right.

Discrimination in employment declared a matter of State concern, to be eliminated by conferences, conciliation and education.

Covered by the Act:

Employers of eight or more.

Labor organizations.

Persons acting for employers, including employment agencies.

The State and its political subdivisions.

Excluded from the Act:

Non-profit religious, charitable, fraternal, social, educational and sectarian associations or corporations.

Parents.

Domestic servants.

Illegal practices:

Not specified.

Who may file complaint:

Not specified: any person with knowledge of discriminatory practices.

Complaints to be filed within:

Not specified.

Administered by:

Five-member commission, appointed by Governor.

Salary per member:

None.

Necessary expenses provided.

Commission empowered to:

Receive and investigate complaints.

Seek to adjust complaints by conciliation and conference.

Study existence, character and causes of discrimination, and ways of eliminating it.

Cooperate with, and furnish technical and mediation assistance to, employers, labor unions and other groups.

Make recommendations.

Prepare comprehensive educational program.

Review and enforcement:

Not specified.

MASSACHUSETTS

Right to employment without discrimination:

Declared a right and a privilege.

Covered by the Act:

All enterprises conducted for profit and employing six or more.

Labor organizations.

Employment agencies.

The State and its political subdivisions.

Excluded from the Act:

Non-profit enterprises.

Persons employed by family.

Domestic servants.

Illegal practices:

Discrimination by:

Employers.

Labor organizations.

Employment agencies.

Advertisements or inquiries specifying race, creed or national origin.

Failure to post provisions of the Act.

Reprisals against persons filing complaints.

Who may file complaint:

The aggrieved person.

The Commission.

The Attorney General.

Employers whose employees refuse or threaten to refuse to comply with the law.

Complaints to be filed within:

Six months.

Administered by:

Three-member Commission Against Discrimination, appointed by Governor with advice and consent of State Legislature.

Salary per member:

\$4,000; Chairman, \$5,000. Necessary expenses provided.

Commission empowered to:

Receive, initiate and investigate complaints.
Conciliate complaints.
Subpoena witnesses.
Conduct hearings.
Issue cease and desist orders.
Develop educational programs.
Issue publications and Annual Report.

Review and enforcement:

By the courts.

MICHIGAN

Right to employment without discrimination: Declared a civil right.

Covered by the Act:

Employers of eight or more.

Labor organizations.

Employment agencies.

The State and its political subdivisions.

Contractors and subcontractors with the State or its political subdivisions.

Excluded from the Act:

Domestic servants.

Illegal practices:

Discrimination by:

Employers.

Labor organizations.

Employment agencies.

Advertisements or inquiries specifying race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry.

"Position wanted" ads specifying or indicating race, color, religion or ancestry.

Failure to post provisions of the act.

Reprisals against persons filing complaints.

Who may file complaint:

The aggrieved person.

Employers whose employees refuse or threaten to refuse to comply with the law.

Complaints to be filed within:

Ninety days.

Administered by:

Six-member Fair Employment Practices Commission, appointed by Governor with advice and consent of State Senate.

Salary per member:

\$25 per day.

Necessary expenses provided.

Commission empowered to:

Receive and investigate complaints.

Conciliate complaints.

Conduct hearings.

Petition court for subpoena in event of witness' refusal to appear, testify or produce records.

Issue cease and desist orders.

Adopt rules and regulations.

Create advisory agencies.

Recommend educational programs.

Issue publications and Annual Report.

Review and enforcement:

By the courts.

MINNESOTA

Right to employment without discrimination:

Declared to be the public policy, but not specified as a civil right.

Covered by the Act:

Employers of eight or more.

Labor organizations.

Employment agencies.

The State and its political subdivisions.

Excluded from the Act:

Persons employed by family.

Domestic servants.

Religious and fraternal corporations or associations, with respect to qualifications based on religion.

Illegal practices:

Discrimination by:

Employers.

Labor organizations.

Employment agencies.

Advertisements or inquiries specifying race, color, creed, religion or national origin.

Reprisals against persons filing complaints.

Who may file complaint:

The aggrieved person.

The Commission.

Employers whose employees refuse or threaten to refuse to comply with the law.

Labor unions whose members refuse or threaten to refuse to comply with the law.

Complaints to be filed within:

Six months.

Administered by:

Nine-member State Fair Employment Practices Commission and twelve-member Board of Review, both appointed by Governor with advice and consent of the State Senate.

Salary per member:

None.

Necessary travel expenses provided for Commissioners.

\$25 per day and necessary travel expenses provided for Board of Review members.

Commission empowered to:

Receive, initiate and investigate complaints.

Conciliate complaints.

Subpoena witnesses.

Adopt rules and regulations.

Develop educational programs.

Conduct research.

Issue publications and Annual Report.

Board of Review empowered to:

Hold hearings.

Subpoena witnesses.

Adopt rules of practice with respect to hearings.

Issue cease and desist orders.

Review and enforcement:

By the courts.

NEW JERSEY

Right to employment without discrimination:

Declared a civil right.

Covered by the Act:

All enterprises conducted for profit and employing six or more.

Labor organizations.

Employment agencies.

Excluded from the Act:

Non-profit enterprises.

Persons employed by family.

Domestic servants.

Illegal practices:

Discrimination by:

Employers.

Labor organizations.

Employment agencies.

Refusal to work with members of minority groups.

Advertisements or inquiries specifying race, creed or national origin.

Reprisals against persons filing complaints.

Who may file complaint:

The aggrieved person.

The Commissioner of Labor.

The Attorney General.

Employers whose employees refuse or threaten to refuse to comply with the law.

Complaints to be filed within:

Ninety days.

Administered by:

Division Against Discrimination in State Department of Education and eight-member advisory board, appointed by Governor with advice and consent of the State Senate,

Salary per member:

None.

Necessary expenses provided.

Division empowered to:

Receive and investigate complaints.

Conciliate complaints. Subpoena witnesses.

Conduct hearings.

Issue cease and desist orders.

Adopt rules and regulations.

Develop educational programs.

Issue publications and Annual Report.

Maintain liaison with appropriate local, state and Federal agencies and officials.

Review and enforcement:

By the courts.

NEW MEXICO

Right to employment without discrimination:

Declared a civil right.

Covered by the Act:

Employers of four or more.

Labor organizations.

Employment agencies.

Persons inciting violations of the Act.

The State and its political subdivisions.

Excluded from the Act:

Non-profit enterprises.

Persons employed by family.

Domestic servants.

Illegal practices:

Discrimination in employment from whatever source, for whatever cause.

Who may file complaint:

The aggrieved person, or anyone acting on his behalf.

The Industrial Commissioner.

The Attorney General.

Employers whose employees refuse or threaten to refuse to comply with the law.

Administered by:

Five-member Fair Employment Practice Commission, appointed by the Governor with advice and consent of the State Senate.

Salary per member:

None.

Expenses not to exceed \$10 per diem.

Commission empowered to:

Receive, investigate and pass upon complaints.

Conduct hearings.

Subpoena witnesses.

Adopt rules and regulations.

Create state, regional and local advisory agencies and conciliation councils.

Issue publications.

Report annually to Governor.

Review and enforcement:

By the courts.

NEW YORK

Right to employment without discrimination:

Declared a civil right.

Covered by the Act:

All enterprises conducted for profit and employing six or more.

Labor organizations.

Employment agencies.

The State and its political subdivisions.

Excluded from the Act:

Non-profit enterprises.

Persons employed by family.

Domestic servants.

Illegal practices:

Discrimination by:

Employers.

Labor organizations.

Employment agencies. Refusal to work with members of minority groups.

Advertisements or inquiries specifying race, creed or national origin.

Reprisals against persons filing complaints.

Who may file complaint:

The aggrieved person.

The Industrial Commissioner.

The Attorney General.

Employers whose employees refuse or threaten to refuse to comply with the law.

Complaints to be filed within:

Ninety days.

Administered by:

Five-member Commission Against Discrimination, appointed by Governor with advice and consent of the State Senate. Salary per member:

\$13,700.

Necessary expenses provided.

Powers of Commission:

Receive and investigate complaints.

Conciliate complaints.

Subpoena witnesses.

Conduct hearings.

Issue cease and desist orders.

Adopt rules and regulations.

Develop educational programs.

Create advisory councils.

Use the services of all government departments and agencies. Issue publications and Annual Reports.

Review and enforcement:

By the courts.

OREGON

Right to employment without discrimination:

Declared a civil right.

Covered by the Act:

Employers of six or more.

Labor organizations.

Employment agencies.

Persons inciting violations of the Act.

Excluded from the Act:

Non-profit social, fraternal, charitable, educational or religious associations or corporations.

Parents.

Domestic servants.

Illegal practices:

Discrimination by:

Employers.

Labor organizations.

Employment agencies.

Refusal to work with members of minority groups.

Advertisements or inquiries specifying race, creed or national

Reprisals against persons filing complaints.

Who may file complaint:

The aggrieved person.

Employers whose employees refuse or threaten to refuse to comply with the law.

Administered by:

Fair Employment Practices Division of the Bureau of Labor.

Commission empowered to:

Receive, investigate and conciliate complaints.

Conduct hearings.

Issue cease and desist orders.

Investigate existence, causes and extent of discrimination.

Study ways of eliminating discrimination and formulate plans therefor.

Publish and disseminate reports of findings.

Confer and cooperate with appropriate official and private agencies.

Transmit recommendations to Governor and Legislature.

Review and enforcement:

By the courts.

PENNSYLVANIA

Right to employment without discrimination:

Declared a civil right.

Covered by the Act:

Employers of twelve or more.

Labor organizations.

Employment agencies.

The State and its political subdivisions.

Excluded from the Act:

Religious, fraternal, charitable or sectarian corporations or associations, unless supported in whole or in part by public appropriation.

Agricultural employment.

Domestic servants.

Illegal practices:

Discrimination by:

Employers.

Labor organizations.

Employment agencies.

Refusal to work with members of minority groups.

Advertisements or inquiries specifying race, color, religious creed, ancestry, age or national origin of applicants for employment.

Reprisals against persons filing complaints. "Position wanted" ads specifying race, color, national origin.

Who may file complaint:

The aggrieved person.

The Commission.

The Attorney General.

Employers whose employees refuse or threaten to refuse to comply with the law.

Complaints to be filed within:

Ninety days.

Administered by:

Nine-member Pennsylvania Fair Employment Practice Commission within the Department of Labor and Industry, appointed by Governor with advice and consent of the State Senate.

Salary per member:

\$15 per day when on official business.

Commission empowered to:

Receive, initiate and investigate complaints.

Conciliate complaints.

Subpoena witnesses.

Conduct hearings.

Issue cease and desist orders.

Adopt rules and regulations.

Create advisory agencies.

Develop educational program.

Conduct research.

Issue publications and Annual Report.

Review and enforcement:

By the courts.

RHODE ISLAND

Right to employment without discrimination:

Declared a civil right.

Covered by the Act:

Employers of four or more. Labor organizations. Employment agencies.

Persons inciting violations of the Act.

Excluded from the Act:

Non-profit religious, charitable, fraternal, social, educational, sectarian corporations or associations.

Parents.

Domestic servants.

Illegal practices:

Discrimination by:

Employers.

Labor organizations.

Employment agencies.

Refusal to work with members of minority groups.

Advertisements or inquiries specifying race, color, religion or national origin.

Reprisals against persons filing complaints or assisting in proceedings under the Act.

Who may file complaint:

The aggrieved person.

The Commission.

Organizations combatting discrimination, or promoting full or equal employment opportunities.

Complaints to be filed within:

One year.

Administered by:

Five-member Commission on Fair Employment, appointed by Governor with advice and consent of the State Senate.

Salary per member:

\$2,500 per annum.

Necessary expenses provided.

Commission empowered to:

Receive, investigate and pass upon complaints.

Subpoena witnesses.

Conduct hearings.

Adopt rules and regulations.

Use voluntary and uncompensated services.

Create advisory agencies and conciliation councils.

Issue publications and Annual Report.

Review and enforcement:

By the courts.

WASHINGTON

Right to employment without discrimination:

Declared a civil right.

Covered by the Act:

Employers of eight or more.

Labor organizations.

Employment agencies.

The State and its political subdivisions.

Excluded from the Act:

Non-profit religious, charitable, educational, social or fraternal associations or corporations.

Parents.

Domestic servants.

Illegal practices:

Discrimination by:

Employers.

Labor organizations.

Employment agencies.

Advertisements or inquiries specifying race, creed or national origin.

Reprisals against persons filing complaints.

Who may file complaint:

The aggrieved person.

The Board Against Discrimination.

Employers whose employees refuse or threaten to refuse to comply with the law.

Complaints to be filed within:

Six months.

Administered by:

Five-member Board Against Discrimination in Employment, appointed by Governor.

Salary per member:

\$20 per day when on official business.

Board empowered to:

Receive, investigate and pass upon complaints.

Subpoena witnesses. Conduct hearings,

Issue cease and desist orders.

Use services of government departments and agencies. Adopt rules and regulations.

Review and enforcement:

By the courts.

WISCONSIN

Right to employment without discrimination: Declared public policy.

Covered by the Act:

All enterprises conducted for profit. Labor organizations.

Excluded from the Act:

Non-profit enterprises.

Persons employed by family.

Illegal practices:

Discrimination by:

Employers.

Labor organizations.

Who may file complaint:

Not specified: any person with knowledge of discriminatory practices.

Administered by:

Industrial Commission and seven-member advisory committee, appointed by Governor.

Salary per member:

None.

Necessary expenses provided.

Powers of Commission:

Receive and investigate complaints.

Subpoena witnesses.

Conduct hearings or proceedings.

Publicize findings.

Recommend legislation and formulate plans for the elimination of prejudice.

Issue publications.

Review and enforcement:

Not specified. However, in January 1954 the Circuit Court of Milwaukee upheld a cease and desist order entered by the State Industrial Commission.

Be sure to read regularly:

- AFL-CIO-NEWS Official weekly publication reports up-to-the-minute labor news. \$1.25 per year
- AFL-CIO AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST Labor's own monthly magazine, containing timely articles by leading labor spokesmen on issues of interest to all who work. Illustrated. \$2.00 per year
- LABOR'S ECONOMIC REVIEW Monthly 8-page bulletin devoted to the outstanding economic problems confronting the nation. \$1.50 per year
- AFL-CIO EDUCATION NEWS AND VIEWS Eight-page monthly newsletter on workers' education programs and techniques.

 \$1.00 per year

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

815 Sixteenth Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C.



Publication No. 23

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

815 Sixteenth Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C.

65

Second printing, May 1956

Discrimination Costs YOU Money



If you treat a man with scorn,
For the place where he was born,
Or the color of his skin,
Or the church he worships in—

That's what's called DISCRIMINATION, In a union, or a nation— And it isn't very funny, And what's more, it costs YOU money. Here was Joe, who didn't know,
Discrimination costs you dough.
He came into a union shop
And almost made the whole works stop.





Joseph's bench was set between
Sidney Cohen and Frederick Green,
With Nick Petrone on Freddy's right—
A team that worked with main and might.

When Joe came in he blew his top,
"Now I don't mind a union shop—
But I won't work with Green or Cohen,
Or any guy named Nick Petrone."





Now Al, shop steward, heard him say:
"I won't work with those guys one day"
And watching Joey slowly burn,
Al thought, "This boy has much to learn."

Al took our little Joe in hand—
"Just let me make you understand.
Don't talk so big and act so funny.
Discrimination costs you money."



"Who me?" said Joe, "I'd like to know How this is gonna cost me dough."



"Its quite a simple thing to see— Just look at union history.



"In stockyard, railroad, plant and mill, The union battles were up-hill Because some workers, dumb as you, Said, "Keep out Negro, Catholic, Jew.





"Instead of helping one another, Worker battled working brother. And when they added up the cost, Strikes were broken, battles lost.



"In spite of all the fight and strain, The workers' struggles were in vain. There was no chance for victory, Because there was no unity." Good unions have to meet the need
Of every color, race and creed.
If each man has a union card,
No man will scab because he's barred.





For men with kids who cry for bread Might break a strike to see them fed, Unless they know that when it's done They'll get their share of all that's won"But look," said Joe, "I still don't see What this has got to do with me." "You chump," said Al, "d'ya think this shop Was born with a contract buttoned up?"



"We had our battle—fought it hard— But all of us had a union card. Petrone and Green and Cohen and me, We worked it all together. See?"





"No man would scab against his neighbor, For all of us were union labor, And no one fell an easy prey To bosses offering lower pay."



"We battled on with belts pulled tight— But sticking together, we won our fight. Wages went up; hours went down. We made this place a union town!" "We didn't put our fight across
With a Jim-Crow union or restricted clause.
We all helped you to sit in clover—
Now you go home and think that over!"





Our Joey thought it over right.

Al's words stayed with him through the night.

He dreamed of Cohens, Petrones and Greens,

All putting money in his jeans.

The dawn came up, the sun shone bright.
"I got it now—I see the light"
He grabbed his pail and rushed to work,
And shouted, "Boys, I was a jerk."





"I didn't know—I couldn't see
That workers need their unity.
That I need you and you need me,
And that's what makes democracy!"



Be sure to read regularly:

AFL-CIO NEWS — Official weekly publication reports up to the minute labor news. \$1.25 a year

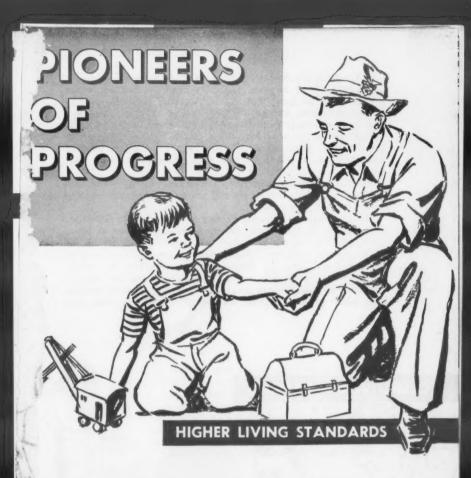
AFL-CIO AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST — Labor's own monthly magazine, containing timely articles by leading labor spokesmen on issues of interest to all who work. Illustrated. \$2.00 a year

LABOR'S ECONOMIC REVIEW — Monthly 8-page bulletin devoted to the outstanding economic problems confronting the nation. \$1.50 per year



Publication No. 24

American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations 815 Sixteenth Street, N.W. Washington 6, D.C.



REE trade unions are Pioneers of Progress.

Workers advance themselves through labor unions on three broad fronts.

First, trade unions attack the economic problems of workers in order to gain a better living standard for workers. This is done by collective bargaining aimed at increasing wages, shortening hours, and improving working conditions. These gains

enable the worker to provide a better education, more recreation, and a fuller cultural life for his wife and children.

However, "economic advance" goes beyond hours and wages. It includes working conditions—that great variety of items which make a job attractive and satisfying and meaningful. Working conditions include such matters as the establishment of proper grievance machinery for the settlement of those causes of fric-

tion that arise day to day in employment; they include provision for arbitration of disputes, when the employer and employees cannot agree on them; they provide seniority rights for promotion opportunities and as a guard against arbitrary dismissal. The basic economic gain, however, is in wages, which have increased by as much as four times in the last twenty years in some unions. These economic gains help to make U.S. workers good workers, good citizens, and good providers for their families.

Secondly, unions also carry on the struggle for improved conditions for workers, organized and unorganized, on the governmental front.

The American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations and its state and territorial federations of labor throughout the United States have primary responsibility for labor's legislative program. This program ranges from seeking to improve Social Security legislation and supporting the public school system, to working for labor standards legislation and the enactment of equitable tax programs. In this way many workers have added protection from "sweatshop" conditions, from eco-





nomic insecurity in old age, from unrestricted child labor. Organized labor supported the passage of a federal minimum wage law in 1938, old age and survivors' insurance, unemployment compensation and workmen's compensation legislation. Unions represent their members' interests not only in legislation but also in the courts, before administrative bodies, and in public meetings. Through these processes, governmental bodies are made aware of workers' needs and aspirations. From these activities, direct benefit flows to the public.

Thirdly, unions attack the social problems of American workers. The social gains made by labor unions, such as the establishment of the forty-hour workweek and improved public housing programs, have made life better for all in American society. But these gains did not come easily. Even before the United States won its independence, Americans joined trade unions to struggle for a fair wage and a decent standard of living for themselves and their families in a pioneer civilization. Even in those early days, against unfriendly courts and uncompromising employers, gains were made. In 1881 several trade unions affiliated together in the American Federation of Labor. The cigarmaker Samuel Gompers was the first president of the A.F.L. Today the American Labor Movement has grown into the world's greatest labor federation, dedicated to the service of its members.

In all this progress, American workers have maintained their freedom. Our members have built unions which are free of government domination but democratically responsive to the will of

the membership. They have never depended upon government or political party or employer to maintain their unions; they have contributed their efforts and paid their own dues. They elect their own officers and decide their own goals and their own tactics. As free men and women, our members keep their unions free—free to win more of the better things of life for themselves and their families.

By joining in this great movement you can help to gain "more . . . now" for yourselves, your families, and your fellow workers. It costs little . . . The gains are great . . . Join Today!

"I invite all wage-earners to join the free trade union movement to win a better life in a free and peaceful world."

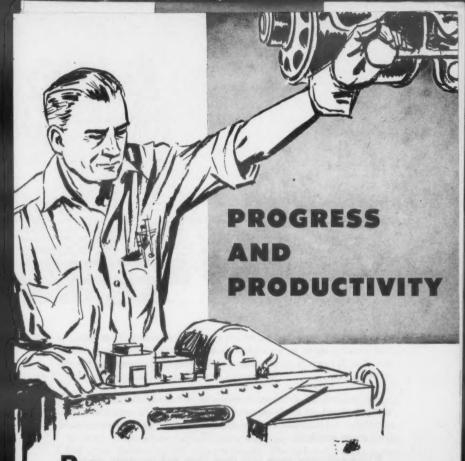
GEORGE MEANY, President
American Federation of Labor and
Congress of Industrial Organizations

PUBLICATION NO. 25

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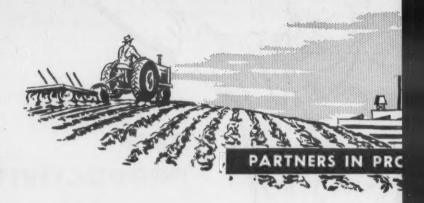
GEORGE MEANY, President
WILLIAM F. SCHNITZLER, Secretary-Treasurer
815—16th Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.





RODUCTION is the creating of something of economic value, such as the goods and services resulting from workers' efforts on the job. To improve our rate of production—that is, to increase our productivity—American workers cooperate with their employers, on two conditions.

First, it must be agreed that the advanced productivity will not be based on forcing the worker to work faster and faster—the "speed-up"—to meet new and always higher "norms" or "standards." Where production "rates" are fixed, they should always be set by collective bargaining agreement based on the independent studies of both the union's and the employer's experts. U. S. unions will not tolerate the "speed-up."



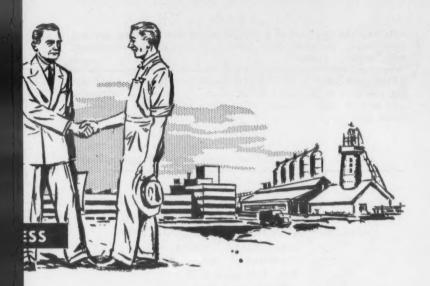
The second condition on which increased productivity is based is that workers share in the higher profits through higher wages. Without this, the added production would have little meaning for the workers.

We believe that production alone is of no real value. Products, whether goods or services, are valuable, in human terms and economically, only insofar as they are consumed by people and improve their living standard.

Where employers agree with these ideas and cooperate, there can be a partnership in production and a partnership in prosperity. Whether there will be any real increased production is not simply a matter for organized labor to decide. The idea of "partnership" is that each contributes. This means that improved management practices are a most important factor in raising total production. We believe that management must first do its part before turning to workers to increase their production.

It is true that, today, labor and employers are forming responsible partnerships in production, for their mutual benefit. As they do this, our country grows stronger and more prosperous, our people live better.

Not only can workers provide needed goods and services for their families but, by frugal living, some can save small amounts of money.



Because a man is able to earn higher wages, he will buy more food, he will purchase more and better clothes, acquire better housing, buy household articles that he and his family like to have. The well-paid worker is industry's best customer.

When the working man buys more food, he helps the farmer make more money and thus he, the farmer, can buy more goods and services from the city worker. When he buys more clothes, he helps the workers in the textile factories earn more money and they, then, can buy more goods that aid other workers. The industrial wage earner helps provide work for the carpenter, the mason, the electrician, and the plumber, and they provide work for him.

When a worker buys household goods and countless other items, he helps workers engaged in all these enterprises to earn more and, therefore, to buy more. This is known as creating a mass market—one in which the masses of the people participate; a market, too, where the employer makes a fair profit and the worker a fair wage.

Mass production, with proper management, labor cooperation, and improved machines, means more for all. Thus material progress is achieved.

The free trade union, through the process of collective bargaining, obtains for a worker a fair share of the fruits of his labor and presses for the best possible conditions of work. Our unions nego-

tiate with the employer as a partner in our free economy, not as a class enemy. We want him to prosper—so that we, too, can prosper with "more . . . now!"

"Your contribution to the free trade union is an investment in bringing you more of the better things of life. If you take a responsible part in your union, you and your family will enjoy a happier and richer life."

GEORGE MEANY, President
American Federation of Labor and
Congress of Industrial Organizations

PUBLICATION NO. 26

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GEORGE MEANY, President
WILLIAM F. SCHNITZLER, Secretary-Treasurer

815—16th Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.





HE three basic goals of free trade unions everywhere are higher pay, shorter hours, and better working conditions. These are the goals toward which trade union members in the United States are constantly striving.

HIGHER PAY—Traditionally, American trade unions have championed the principle of "more . . . now." Through trade unions, and the process of collective bargaining, great gains have been made. Through their joint efforts organized workers in the U. S. now make far better wages than they did in the past.

American workers experienced the hardships which the workers in some other countries are still suffering. For example, in 1880 one dollar a day was considered "adequate" pay. Unions were weak and few. Any worker asking for more risked prompt discharge.

In those early days the young unions met bitter and even violent opposition to their efforts. Despite these obstacles they gradually won pay increases and better conditions for their members. Trade



unions proved to employers that workers deserve better pay and that both employers and workers can prosper together. With higher wages workers became better customers for the things they manufactured. Workers share in the rewards of increasing productivity.

The gains in wages, through trade unions, have been very great.

In 1901, the beginning of this century, the average industrial worker made just 15¢ per hour and worked more than a 58-hour week. Some twenty years ago, in 1935, the average wage in manufacturing was 55¢ per hour with an average of 36.6 hours of work each week. This was still during the great depression of the 1930's and many workers had only part-time employment, so that the average workweek was very low. More recently, in 1955, the average industrial worker worked a 40.7-hour week and earned \$1.88 per hour.

Thus the increase has been from \$8.44 per week for 58 hours of work in 1901, to \$76.52 per week for 40.7 hours of work in 1955. With adjustments for price rises considered, this is a gain of well over 250% more per hour.

SHORTER HOURS—Over-long hours of work, as noted before, prevailed during the early organization period of U. S. unions.

These led to ill health and generally poorer living standards. Today some unions have reduced the workweek well below forty hours—at the same time increasing the real purchasing power of their members.

Instead of decreasing total national output, shorter hours have actually helped in reaching new records in production. This is true because healthier and happier skilled workers, together with more satisfactory conditions, better management, and improved machines, produce far more in fewer hours than before.

Most union contracts now provide for overtime rates of pay, usually at time-and-one-half the regular rate, for over forty hours per week and for over eight hours per day.

BETTER WORKING CONDITIONS—Improvement in working conditions has long been a major goal and a proud achievement in U. S. trade union progress.

The keynote of union progress is the grievance procedure designed to protect workers from improper treatment under the terms of the contract. The grievance machinery settles those day-to-day frictions that arise.

In many other ways, too, free trade unions in our country have advanced the dignity and self-respect of the individual. By promot-



ing the principles of economic democracy, free trade unions have strengthened the fibers of our Republic. Equality of opportunity and just compensation have come within the reach of trade unionists because sturdy union pioneers relentlessly pressed forward in the quest for social and economic justice.

"A member of a free trade union wins a sense of human dignity, freedom, and a higher standard of living. The entire community benefits."

GEORGE MEANY, President
American Federation of Labor and
Congress of Industrial Organizations

PUBLICATION NO. 27

For additional educational leaflets, free of charge, write to:

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND
CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS,
GEORGE MEANY, President
WILLIAM F. SCHNITZLER, Secretary-Treasurer
815—16th Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.





"Without democracy there can be no free trade unionism. Without trade unionism there can be no genuine democracy. Hence, the free trade unions must be in the forefront of the struggle to defend democracy and free labor against every aggression or enticement of the communist or any other type of totalitarianism."

GEORGE MEANY, President
American Federation of Labor and
Congress of Industrial Organizations

The American labor movement rejects every type of totalitarianism because such ideologies destroy freedom. The A.F.L.-C.I.O. knows that the working man cannot prosper unless he is free. However much communists and other dictators may claim to help wage earners, the record shows that they enslave workers.

Communism is one of the most insidious forms of enslavement. It is reactionary and barbaric. It thrives on misery and frustration wherever they exist. It promises everything and gives nothing. As experience in Czechoslovakia has shown, communism aims to capture the labor movement to use it as an instrument for the destruction of democracy and the creation of a Soviet Satellite.

The A.F.L.-C.I.O. unions have been extremely active at home and abroad in promoting democracy and in fighting communism and every other form of totalitarianism. The American free trade union movement thwarted communist efforts to infiltrate and control its organizations and expelled a few unions which had become communist dominated. In addition, our unions have supported



every constructive effort of the United States Government to stop the spread of communism at home or abroad.

The great free trade unions of the United States backed the program to help Greece and Turkey resist communist threats, and supported the Marshall Plan for economic recovery, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the Rio Mutual Defense Treaty, the participation of U. S. troops in Korea, and other such programs. Abroad, A.F.L. and C.I.O. special representatives have helped workers fight for democracy and resist communism by rebuilding old unions and organizing new ones. In this hemisphere, the A.F.L. and C.I.O. were proud to join as founders of O.R.I.T., the Inter-American regional organization of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, which is valiantly promoting free trade unionism in the Americas.

Free trade unions throughout the world know that democratic government is the only safe route towards economic and social emancipation. Only under democracy can organized labor press forward to win higher wages, shorter hours, and better working conditions. Only under democracy can trade unionists, without fear of reprisal or recrimination, press their just demands before employers.

Communist agitators and propagandists stir up discontent wherever real or fancied grievances exist. It is easy for them, when enjoying the privileges of the Free World, to criticize inequalities

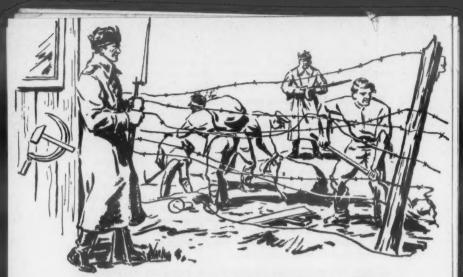
and injustices. It is easy for them to promise all things to all people, but only free people—such as those in free trade unions—can actually correct evils fairly and justly.

But what does communism provide to the millions of people held captive by its armies, its secret police, its power-crazed, fear-ridden bureaucrats? What does the communist oligarchy permit its government-dominated "labor unions" to do? The facts are clear. The communist labor front promised a paradise to the workers in Czechoslovakia when the democratic government of Benes and Massryk was overthrown; but it has, in fact, plunged those workers into a purgatory of poverty, regimentation, and slave labor. So-called "union" officers there, by their own admission, are political agents of the communist bosses; they serve as spies to compel faster production, penalize tardiness, punish for accidents, and sentence to the "corrective imprisonment" of slave labor camps those who dare to speak—or even think—of complaining against such exploitation.

Those who are snared by communist promises, impressed by communist power, prostituted by communist bribes, may well deserve the terrible consequences they will suffer. But the worker who is too blind or too lazy or too careless or too indifferent to make all the efforts needed to protect his own freedom is indeed to be pitied.

Ask the Czechs and Slovaks who are captives today what price they would pay to regain the freedom they lost in 1948! Ask the Balts, the Poles, the Hungarians, Rumanians, and Bulgarians! Ask the Russian worker himself or the Chinese victim on the





mainland! Ask the Guatemalans how the communists suppressed opposition, looted the treasury, and prepared for complete seizure of power while Arbenz was acting as president!

Nowhere in the world have communists gained control except by the use or threat of force. And nowhere do they retain control except by force. They cannot compete with freedom and truth.

All dictatorships, whether of the right or left, bring comfort only to the party bosses and the bureaucrats. For instance, official statistics for this year show how much time an individual must work in the U. S. to buy different items, as against the time in Russia which has had nearly 40 years of communist control.

It is a fact that the Russian worker must work twice as long as the American worker to be able to buy a loaf of bread; 5 times as long to buy a pound of beef or a quart of milk; 6 times as long to buy potatoes; 8 times as long to buy a dozen eggs or a cake of soap; 10 times as long to buy a pound of butter, 21 times as long to buy a pound of sugar. It is a fact that a man in Moscow must work from 10 to 20 times as long to earn a suit of clothes as does a worker in New York City.

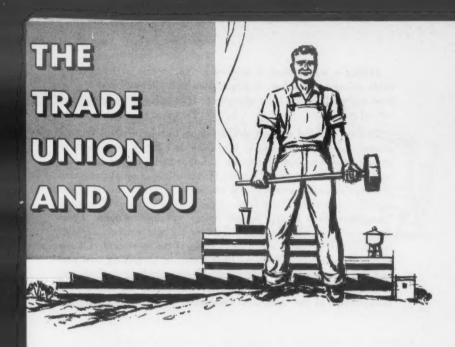
Thus it is clear that totalitarianism gives neither freedom nor bread, neither peace nor security. Only in the Free World can wage earners get *freedom*, peace, and bread.

PUBLICATION NO. 28

For additional educational leaflets, free of charge, write to:

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS,

GEORGE MEANY, President
WILLIAM F. SCHNITZLER, Secretary-Treasurer
815—16th Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D, C.



Today many men still do not realize the strength which comes from joining with their fellow workers in free trade unions. Only by joining shoulder to shoulder with fellow workers in their own craft or industry can workers achieve equality with employers.

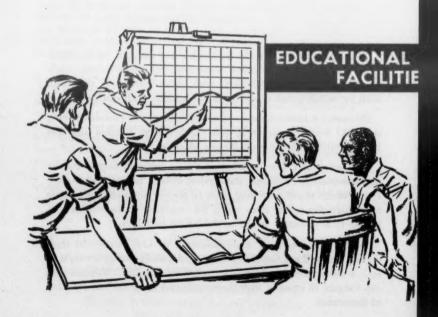
Becoming a trade unionist, however, means more than bargaining strength. Joining a union is only the first step; it takes time and understanding to become a real trade unionist.

A member of a free trade union wins a sense of human dignity and freedom, and a higher standard of living. He joins an organization which is self-governing, alert to prevent any individual inside or outside the union from using the organization for selfish purposes. It is dedicated to the service of the members.

In the brotherhood of trade unionism, workers can realize their dignity and self-respect. They can exercise their God-given right to seek a better life for themselves and their families. Workers who can bargain in equality with their employers know the real meaning of democracy.

Joining a trade union is one thing. To become a real, sincere trade unionist is another. It requires an understanding of the purpose and goals of the labor movement. It requires belief in the dignity of man.

To make you feel at home in your union, to help members become sincere trade unionists, and to help them do a better job with their unions, most American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations national unions maintain Education Departments or assign top officers to work on education programs. Many of the state central bodies do the same. Thousands of volunteer Education Committees work in city central bodies and local unions. These Committees, for example, hold classes for the new members explaining the early struggles and present goals of the movement. Classes teach members how to improve their collective bargaining contracts and how to process their grievances. Modern teaching methods and techniques are used. To encourage and coordinate this activity, the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor and Congress





of Industrial Organizations maintains a Department of Education. With advice, staff assistance, film library, lesson plans and materials, this Department helps the unions help themselves. All of this aid is available to a trade unionist.

In collective bargaining the trade unionist needs facts. This information about his industry, his area, his employer, is supplied through research. To help the trade unionist and his local union, many of our national unions maintain research departments. To assist these departments, the A.F.L.-C.I.O. headquarters has its own Department of Research.

The data developed by the research experts of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. and its affiliates provide facts which assist even the smallest locals to negotiate successfully with employers. Such economic information provides a factual basis for negotiations. The service they provide is a rich reward for the dues which the individual contributes.

Industrial engineers, labor relations lawyers, legislative agents, and other experts are also available at unions' headquarters to back up the local union negotiators.

The basic fact remains that you and your fellow workers can benefit from all these resources only if you and they join the 17 million other workers in the United States who belong to free trade unions! "Free Trade Unions help American workers gain the knowledge to assure progress. Education and research help our members earn more of the better things of life."

GEORGE MEANY, President
American Federation of Labor and
Congress of Industrial Organizations

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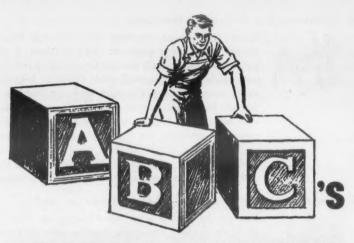
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS,

GEORGE MEANY, President
WILLIAM F. SCHNITZLER, Secretary-Treasurer
815—16th Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.





NO WORKER NEED STAND ALONE



OF TRADE UNIONISM

1. As a worker, what do you want most?



First, you want a steady job with good wages and decent working conditions. You also want to provide well for your family. You want to have the money and time to enjoy a better life. You want to raise your standard of living and you want your employer to treat you with human dignity.

2. How can you do this?



By joining a free trade union and helping it achieve your aims, by actively participating in its program.

3. What is a free trade union?



A free trade union is a group of wage earners who have joined together in an organization to advance their common interests. They are free from domination by government or by employers.

4. How does a free trade union function?



A free trade union represents you and your fellow workers before your employer. As your agent, it negotiates a contract with the employer, setting out the terms under which you will work. These include the wages or salary you will be paid, the number of hours you will work, and your working conditions, such as: what holidays you will have; the length of your paid vacations; provision for a retirement pension fund; how much you will be paid in case of sickness or injury; seniority rules for layoffs; procedure for the settlement of grievances; and many other such benefits.

5. How does a union accomplish all these things for you?



Through the process of collective bargaining—that is, all of the workers bargaining together with their employer. In accordance with the aims agreed upon by the members, the union representatives sit down with the employer and discuss the terms of a work contract. The union officials present your terms to the employer and by discussion around the conference table reach an agreement which is mutually satisfactory to you and your employer. A contract is signed which is binding on both.

6. Why shouldn't you do this yourself?



When a worker tries to "bargain" for himself with an employer, he has to accept what he is offered or not work. Any dissatisfied worker can be easily replaced by the employer who can always get somebody else to take the job. But with a union the workers unite, and an employer cannot readily replace all of his workers.

7. What are the aims of a free trade union?



A free trade union aims to raise wages, reduce hours of work, and improve working conditions in order to raise the standard of living of your family. It wins better treatment of workers. It negotiates job security for you to prevent discharges without good cause. It cooperates with management to increase production while protecting you from unfair pressures and gets for you a fair share of the benefits through higher wages.

8. What else does a union do?



In your community a union works for better schools for your children, better water supply, better housing, better streets, better recreational facilities for you and your family. A union can help get laws passed when necessary to protect your rights.

9. Should you join a union?



Yes, of course. If you want to improve your working conditions and enjoy a better life, you will join a union because that is the democratic way for you to get the things you want.

10. What do you have to do if you join a union?



First of all, you sign up. You become a member. You attend all meetings. You express your views. You help the union organize and educate. You help to make it the type of union that will get the things you want. You have a voice in democratically shaping its policies. When the time comes to negotiate a work contract, you help to draw up the proposals your union will make as to wages, hours, and conditions. You participate in committee work. You may be elected to serve as a union officer. You pay dues.

11. Why should you pay dues?



To enable the union to serve you. To provide the hall you meet in costs money. The union needs to buy typewriters, paper and other office equipment. If you need a permanent representative, the union will have to pay his salary. In short, you pay dues to pay the expenses of your union. No more. Here in the United States our unions' expenses are submitted to the membership for approval. Our books are audited. Our dues help finance international activities such as membership in the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) and its affiliates, such as the Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers (ORIT). Some of your dues may go into a special fund so that, if ever there is a strike, you can get some money each week to feed your family and to help your fellow trade unionists.

12. Who runs the free trade union?



You do. A union is a democratic organization. Decisions are by majority vote. You should take full part in your union's activities and vote on every issue. You can help keep it free and strong by seeing that elections for officers are open and fair, that your union gives you a financial statement regularly, and that no outsiders dominate union policies.

13. What do you gain through a union?



As a union man your higher wages, shorter hours, and better working conditions enable you to give your family a better house to live in, provide better food for them, buy better clothes, give your children a good education, and in general enjoy a better life. You can make your plant a better place to work in.

You can guarantee your own self-respect and dignity.

"A free trade union is as effective as its members make it. Only by joining wholeheartedly in its activities can a worker safeguard and advance his own interests. If you want to improve your life, you will be an active and loyal trade unionist."

GEORGE MEANY, President
American Federation of Labor and
Congress of Industrial Organizations

PUBLICATION NO. 30

For additional educational leaflets, free of charge, write to:

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GEORGE MEANY, President
WILLIAM F. SCHNITZLER, Secretary-Treasurer
815—16th Street, N.W.

Washington 6, D. C.



Security,

Civil Liberties

and Unions





Labor Cannot Survive Without Freedom

"We know from experience that you can't get careless with your freedom because that's basic to this thing we call trade unionism.

"We are proud we can say that the labor movement has been in the forefront of preserving those freedoms; that we are ahead of the rest of the country. . . . We recognized a menace to our way of life in what was happening in Germany twenty years ago, in what happened in Russia after the Kerensky revolution was overthrown by the Bolsheviks . . . but in the process we are not going to lose sight of the fact that we have something to protect here at home.

"We are not going to gain anything in the fight on communism if . . . we lower the morale of employees from one end of the country to the other and depart from the American concept of justice by accusing people without giving them the slightest opportunity to defend themselves. . . .

"I think it would be well for Congress, in its fight to preserve the internal security of this country, not to lose sight of the fact we have some essential and basic freedoms to

preserve. . . .

"We in labor want to see American leadership in this field. Not only leadership in supplying the arms necessary to defend our nation and the nations associated with us, but a moral leadership that will show the world we really mean what we say in our Bill of Rights. . . ."

> George Meany, President American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations

Security, Civil Liberties and Unions

BY

HARRY FLEISCHMAN, JOYCE LEWIS KORNBLUH
AND BENJAMIN D. SEGAL

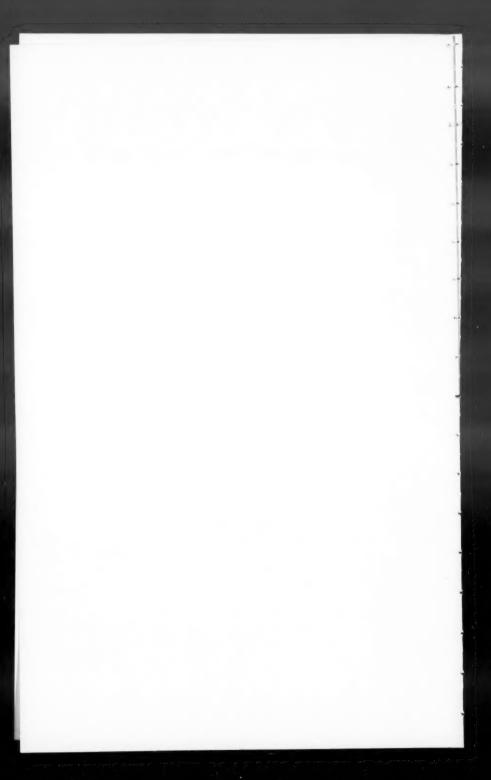
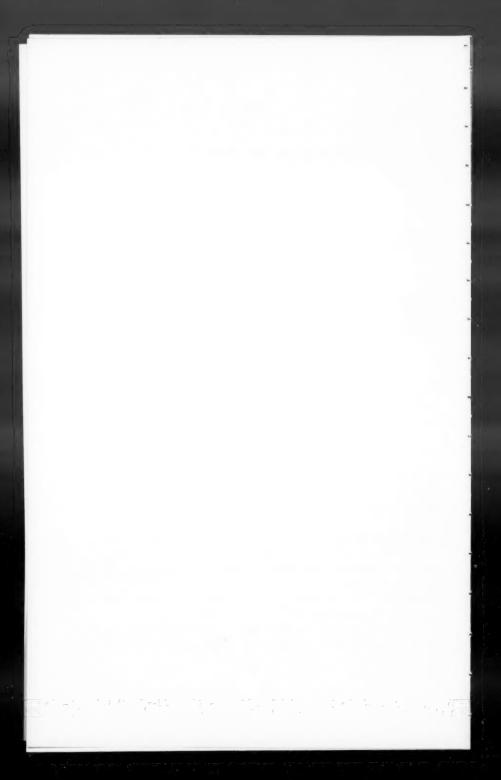


Table of Contents

FOREWORD		٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	0	٠	۰	٠		5
Wно Is A	Risk?				٠		٠	۰				٠		٠	•	9
THE SECURI	TY PRO	DBL	EM			,										12
How the I	NDUST	RIA	L S	ECU	JRIT	TY	Pro	OGR	AM	W	OR	KS				16
OTHER PRO	GRAMS	AF	FEC	CTI	NG	Un	110	N N	MEI	мві	ERS					22
Union Cri	TICISM	S.				,								٠		26
THE FIFTH	AME	NDM	1EN	T												39
THE BUTLE	R BILL															43
A Union I	PROGRA	M														45
STATEMENT	BY JA	ME	s B	8. C	AR	EY										47
THE BILL O	F RIGH	HTS													٠	49
SELECTED F	Воок	AND	P	AM	PHI	LET	· L	IST	4							50
FILMS																52



Foreword

BY WILLIAM F. SCHNITZLER

SECRETARY-TREASURER

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

Unions have been and are dependent on civil liberties for their very existence. The history of our trade union movement closely parallels the history of America's civil liberties. Freedom of speech, freedom of assembly and other basic freedoms are essential to the very existence of our unions today, as much as in the past. The examples given in this pamphlet vividly illustrate this point.

Dictatorships in any form, whether Communist or Fascist, do not tolerate free trade unions. There is no freedom of political choice in the Soviet Union or any of its satellites. There are no free and independent unions. The right to strike is outlawed. There is no Magna Carta, no Bill of Rights to proclaim man's freedom and to protect it.

claim man's freedom and to protect it.

The insidious, conspiratorial nature of world communism makes it necessary for us in America to protect ourselves against espionage, infiltration and subversion. The Communist movement in this country does provide a breeding ground for traitors, spies and saboteurs who, with their agents and stooges, are trying hard to obtain the nation's most guarded vital secrets.

What are the best ways for us to meet this danger? We must safeguard our national security calmly and judiciously, with full regard at every step for the complete observance of

the civil liberties we are striving to defend.

We need alert and vigilant counter-intelligence work plus vigorous enforcement of criminal laws. And we must maintain a realistic and effective security system, while rejecting the ways and methods of totalitarian despots in pursuing this task.

During the past year, protection of individual civil rights in security cases has been greatly improved. I am proud to say that both the AF of L and the CIO have played an important part in arousing public concern over safeguarding the rights of persons in the conduct of security programs and in Congressional investigations. The AFL-CIO is carrying on this work now. The witch hunt is over. But the problem is still with us.

Today, the AFL-CIO feels that, under the Taft-Hartley law, state "right-to-work" laws and restrictive local ordinances, many of labor's basic rights are being threatened.

On April 19, 1956, the city of Dublin, Georgia, adopted an ordinance declaring that any union organizer in that city must have been a resident of Dublin for more than five years, must pay a license fee of \$2,500 and must swear that he does not favor overthrowing laws on segregation and that no money of his union will be spent to violate segregation laws or for Communist activities. The ordinance was adopted at a special city council meeting following the organizational meeting of the Laurens County White Citizens Council.

A rash of these anti-union laws in Southern cities has cropped out denying union members the right to organize and meet together unless the union organizer pays for a license and for each member who joins a union.

We have also witnessed loosely-conducted Congressional investigations where unfounded accusations and unproved charges had the effect of character assassination of good, loyal Americans. Some have wandered far afield from any proper legislative purpose and were turned into attempts to enforce uniformity of opinions and to stifle the traditional American right to dissent. Other Congressional investigations were conducted judiciously and have served to expose the extent of Communist infiltration in American institutions, without flouting civil liberties. They have shown how the needed job can be done in full accord with the American way.

The conduct of security screening programs in the past has likewise revealed, in a number of situations, a flagrant disregard for the individual rights of citizens.

In the face of multiple instances of harsh and unfair dealing with persons subjected to those programs, the Administration has responded with sluggish, grudging and belated efforts to correct the abuses or to prevent injustice in the future.

Working people cannot easily cope with the vague and loose criteria of the present security screening programs, where the heavy burden of proof must be met by the accused, and the informants against him remain concealed. A good union man who was often involved in controversy and sometimes in industrial strife, may easily fall victim to malicious charges which may ring true to the ears of a management-minded judge. Although, on the whole, the Government's security programs have been administered by men of good will, there have been glaring instances of the lack of due process. The ancient safeguards of notice and hearing and of due process of law must be rigorously adhered to when a man's rights as a free citizen are adjudged and his future livelihood is at stake.

Security programs in employment directly related to national defense or to information vital to the security of the United States are necessary. Their operation must remain the responsibility of our Government. They must not be allowed to become the private preserve of employers intent on destroying unions under the protective coloration of patriotic programs to safeguard the national interest. Nor should employers be permitted to delegate the task to private investigative agencies. Such agencies can use the information they gain to build up blacklists. There must be no room for the revival of private spy systems engaging in labor espionage.

The operation of the Government's personnel security programs, as they are applied both to industry and to public employment, can and should be improved and strengthened in two most important respects:

1) There should be established, for use of all of the agencies of the government concerned, clearly defined and reasonable standards or criteria to be used as a proper basis for passing judgment on the alleged "security risks." These stand-

ards should be set forth in plain language that can be readily understood by plain people. These standards must respond to the objectives of the program without doing violence to

the civil rights and liberties of our citizens.

2) The Government should provide adequate training of personnel engaged in the administration of the security program, so that security officers and others engaged in the administration of the program would be provided with the skill and knowledge necessary to deal with human problems, and have a thorough understanding of the true facts of life involved in the threat to our security and of the basic rights and immunities to which citizens of American democracy are entitled.

Labor is keenly aware of the need to safeguard the security of the nation, not only against sabotage, espionage and treason, but also against the unrelenting attempt of the Communist conspiracy to infiltrate and subvert the American community. The lessons of the Klaus Fuchs and the McLean-Burgess cases have not been lost on us.

In fact, the AFL-CIO, through its international labor program and through its participation in the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions is constantly and currently combatting the Communist conspiracy all over the globe. Labor, organized in free trade unions, is the bulwark of the relentless fight against communism both at home and throughout the world.

Instead of being excluded from it, labor should be invited to take part in the administration of our Government's Industrial Security Program, as it is applied to workers in industry.

It is up to all of us, dedicated to the preservation and enlargement of civil liberties in our land, to join hands in shaping a program which is effective, which is just, and which fully accords with the great American tradition of the security of individual freedom.

Who Is A Risk?

"For as long as the U. S. leads the forces of freedom in the world's great ideological struggle, our institutions will remain under a global spotlight, and what we do will speak much louder than what we say. If our actions continuously testify to our belief in justice, other free nations will be fortified in their pursuit of the same ideal.

"Since the instruct of justice is universal every citizen . . . can serve justice by living more consciously in its spirit and by keeping his own vigilant watch on the rights

he shares with his fellow citizen. . . .

"The moral is that if each minority, each professional group and each citizen would imagine himself in the other's shoes, everybody's rights would have firmer supports."

-- Earl Warren, Chief Justice, U. S. Supreme Court

ARE you a security risk?

If you're an active union member, the decision of some security officers might well be, Yes. Take James Schuetz' story as he told it to the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights in November 1955.

Jim had worked at Bell Aircraft in Niagara Falls, New York, since 1940. He was a union steward, chairman of the steward's council and chairman of his local union's education committee. Since the company was working on defense contracts, Jim's job required a Government security clearance, which he had held since 1946.

In 1949, Local 501 of the United Automobile Workers went on strike for almost five months. Jim was one of the strike leaders. A year and a half later, he was called into the Army Air Force office at Bell Aircraft. An Air Force major handed him a letter stating that his security clearance had been withdrawn. Jim returned to his department, where a company representative was waiting to tell him that as a "security risk" he could no longer be employed at Bell.

Through his union Jim filed an appeal. The Industrial Employment Review Board answered: ". . . You do not possess the integrity and discretion essential to the security of classified military information." Two months later, in an interview before the Hearing Board in Washington, Jim learned that his security clearance had been withdrawn because of "picket line offenses" in the Bell Aircraft strike.

During the strike, Local 501's Veterans' Committee had declared a "veterans' day," in answer to the company's charge that the strikers were not loyal Americans. Two or three hundred union members arrived on picket duty wearing their service uniforms, from which the stripes had been removed in accordance with military regulations.



This act, the Hearing Board said, had shown "poor discretion" and "lack of responsibility." Jim was not disloyal or subversive, they said; but they implied that perhaps he was

too good a union man!

tions."

When the Board failed to restore Jim's clearance, top UAW officers took the case to the Secretary of Defense in Washington. Five months after he was fired, Jim was reinstated on his job. Thanks to the backing, influence and hard work of his union and the Workers Defense League, Jim Schuetz was cleared of the "security risk" tag. Nevertheless, it took him almost a year to get his back pay.

What happened to Jim Schuetz is not an isolated incident. One Monday morning in August 1947, the first of two million Government workers lined up to be fingerprinted as part of the new loyalty-security program. The purpose was to screen from Government service those against whom there was a "reasonable belief of subversive activities or associa-

Since 1947, the number of Americans under security screening has swelled from less than one million to approximately ten million. And the number of reasons for which one could be tagged a "security risk" has grown steadily. Today, about 10 million Americans and their families are covered by Government security programs.

Many have suffered injustice in the screening process.

In California, in 1955, the editor of a local union newspaper was fired as a "security risk" from his aircraft job in a case of mistaken identity.

In Virginia, a skilled machinist who handed out union authorization cards during an organizing drive in his plant, was told three hours later: "We'll have to let you go; you're a security risk."

In Seattle, a Government worker with a 20-year "outstanding performance" rating was dismissed because his brother-in-law, accused of having been a Communist, had moved into his basement apartment.

The Security Problem

Just after World War II, the American people were shocked by Russia's open hostility to the United States. Communist aggression became a critical international problem. The Communists seized control of Czechoslovakia . . . the battle for Greece began . . . the Soviets blockaded Berlin.

During this cold war and the hot Korean War which followed, other disturbing events took place. A spy ring was discovered in Canada. The cases of Alger Hiss, Klaus Fuchs and the Rosenbergs convinced Americans that communism was a dangerous international conspiracy. It became increasingly evident that the chief loyalty of Communists everywhere was to the Soviet Union. As domestic and world tensions mounted, fear of espionage increased. The American labor movement, aware of the need to protect national security and maintain its own democratic freedoms, moved to expel Communist-dominated unions from its ranks.

The Truman administration built political, economic and military roadblocks against Communist expansion. At the same time, laws against subversion in this country were brought up to date. The first Government-wide loyalty program was initiated in 1947.

The Mesh Tightens

Security was an issue in the 1952 political campaign and both parties promised to tighten security regulations. In May 1953, President Eisenhower issued Executive Order #10450, expanding the grounds on which a Government worker could be fired as a "security risk." Under the regulations, an individual could be deemed a "risk" even if he were personally loyal but had relatives or friends who were suspect.

Today there are at least five official security programs in operation. These are:

The Industrial Personnel Security Program.
 The Port Security Program.

(3) The Atomic Energy Security Program.

(4) The Government Personnel Security Program.

(5) The Military Personnel Security Program.

Over nine million Americans are subject to one or another of these checks, including:

- · Three million industrial workers in defense employment.
- · Half a million merchant seamen and dock workers.

· About 200,000 atomic energy workers.

- · Two and a half million Government employees.
- · Three million men and women in the armed forces.

These measures are over and above the constant vigilance against espionage practiced by the FBI, Military Intelligence and the police.

In addition, Congress has adopted many laws in the fight

against communism:

The Voorhis Act requires political organizations under foreign control to disclose information about their finances.

The Smith Act, under which many Communist leaders have been imprisoned, prohibits the "teaching, advocating or conspiring to teach or advocate the overthrow of the government by force or violence."

The Taft-Hartley Act requires union officers using the National Labor Relations Board to swear under oath they

are not Communists.

The Internal Security Act calls for the registration of all Communist action or "front" groups, and provides for the creation of detention camps for suspected subversives in time of national emergency.

Public Law 733 authorizes the heads of specified Government agencies concerned with the national defense to dismiss summarily any employee whose continued employment is not "in the interests of national security." The law also permits the President to extend its provisions to such other departments and agencies of the Government as he deems necessary—which the President has interpreted to include all departments and agencies of the Federal Government.

The McCarran-Walter Immigration Act bars the immigration and naturalization of Communists or former Communists.

The Communist Control Law declares that the Communist Party shall not be "entitled to any of the rights, privileges and immunities attendant upon legal bodies."

The security programs have undoubtedly kept some persons of questionable loyalty from Government jobs. They have made it more difficult for known subversives to get defense work. They have made Americans more aware of the dangers of international Communism.

No one questions the need to protect military secrets from foreign agents, Communist Party members and others whose chief loyalty is not to this country.

But the security system has now spread to thousands of working men and women not engaged in defense production. In Indiana, for instance, a professional wrestler must take a loyalty oath before he may climb into the ring. In Washington, D.C., recently, a second-hand piano dealer ran into "security trouble" renewing his license.

An AFL-CIO witness summed up the issue in recent testimony before the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights:

"The moment we start trying to watch everybody in this country . . . we are going to miss any trained sabotage ring that is really a danger. . . ."

^{1.} On June 11, 1956 the U. S. Supreme Court ruled in Cole v. Young that in order to come under the provisions of Public Law 733 an employee must be engaged in "sensitive" employment.

Fanaticism Still Not Dead

The security system, from the first, was plagued by political exploitation. Politicians, intent on capitalizing on publicity which would bill them as super-patriots, whipped the post-war fear of Communist expansion into a wave of hysteria. They exaggerated the menace of Communist infiltration out of all proportion to reality, picturing the American community as honeycombed with disloyalty and subversion. These campaigns were not only contrary to fact; they interfered seriously with our efforts to detect real disloyalty and to snare true agents of the Communist conspiracy.

The major storm of hysteria stirred up in recent years has died down. But its echoes are still resounding. It remains vital to our country's strength to deal soberly and intelligently with real issues as they arise and to shun the paralyzing suspicion

and distrust bred by irresponsible fanatics.



"Everyone is a little subversive but thee and me

Sun., Jan. 23, 1955

ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

How The Industrial Security Program Works

All five of the Government security programs affect union members. Sometimes unionists come under more than one program, either on the same job or as they move from job to job. Security clearances under one program are not automatically honored by another.

There are 21,000 industrial plants involved in Government production today. Most union members in these plants come under the Industrial Personnel Security Program (IPSP), which was started in 1949, revised in 1952 and changed some more since. The IPSP was not initiated by a law of Congress or an executive order. It was developed as part of the contractual agreements between the Defense Department and private companies engaged in defense work.

Three Levels of Clearance

Defense Department contracts require that every employee in the plant who works on classified material, or has access to classified information must go through a security check. There are three levels of clearance: confidential, secret and top secret.

About two-thirds of all industrial workers who come under IPSP need "confidential" clearance. The Defense Department allows the employer to investigate the worker's background and grant clearances for work at this level. Investigations for secret or top-secret levels are conducted by the Government itself.

A worker who is not cleared by the Government need not necessarily be dismissed; but he must be taken off classified work and assigned to a non-sensitive area of the plant.

The case of Clayton Dechant, a maintenance electrician at the General Electric Company in Philadelphia, shows how the IPSP works.

Dechant has been a loyal union member and a militant anti-Communist for years. In 1941, he took a job at General Electric. He had no access to classified information; in fact, the products on which he worked were the same that the U. S. Government shipped to the Soviet Union in World War II.

Early in 1954, Dechant was told by his supervisors that the company was going to file for security clearance—although the workers in the department required no clearance in connection with their work—because G. E. considered it a "good idea."

Step 1: The Personnel Security Questionnaire (PSQ)

Dechant was asked to fill out a long *Personnel Security Questionnaire* (PSQ), giving full details as to his parentage, education, past addresses, former jobs, travel in foreign countries, police record and any previous security screenings he had gone through.

In addition, Dechant was asked to look over the Attorney General's List of 303 organizations declared to be subversive, and to sign a certificate declaring that he had never been a member of any of these organizations, and had never written for, sold or distributed any of their publications.

Step 2: Checking the Record

To investigate their employees for security clearance, some firms hire detective agencies or credit investigating companies. Others put former FBI agents on their payrolls for this job. The investigators look into the employee's school history, previous job record, credit rating, police record. They talk with former employers, state and local police, former landlords and neighbors.

Under the regulations, an employer cannot deny clearance. If he thinks that the employee may be a "risk," he must forward the pertinent information to the Director of Industrial Security in Washington. If the investigation turns up something quite serious—for instance, a possibility that the employee in question might be a spy—the employer may suspend the worker temporarily, at the request of the Government, while the Central Screening Board decides the case.

G. E. sent Clayton Dechant's record to a Central Screening Board designated by the Army, Navy and Air Force. He was charged with having been a member of the Communist Party, attending Communist Party meetings and distributing Communist literature, and he was alleged to have associated with Communists and with the Secretary of the Communist Party of Eastern Pennsylvania and Delaware.

Step 3: Central Screening Board

The Central Screening Board examines the evidence submitted to it and decides, on the basis of regulations set up by the Defense Department, whether or not a worker is a "security risk."

There are 22 yardsticks in the regulations to help the board decide each case. "Acts of sabotage," "espionage," and "treason" are, naturally, the most important reasons for denying clearance. So is falsification of information on the worker's Personnel Security Questionnaire.

A man may also be labeled a security risk for "any b. havior, activities or associations which tend to show that the individual is not reliable or trustworthy," or if he has committed "acts of reckless, irresponsible or wanton nature which indicate such poor judgment and instability as to suggest that the individual might disclose information to unauthorized persons."

In order for a worker to receive clearance from the Screening Board, the decision in his favor must be unanimous.

In May 1954, the Screening Board wrote Dechant that it proposed to "deny consent for your employment on classified Army, Navy or Air Force contracts." Dechant was also notified that he could file an answer to these charges, but that he could not appear before that board to plead his own case.

Dechant went to his union—the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, CIO—which referred him to a private lawyer in Philadelphia. With his lawyer's aid, Dechant filled out a long affidavit denying every charge.

Step 4: Hearing Board

In June 1954, Dechant was again notified that his clearance had been denied. However, he was not removed from his job because his work did not require clearance.

Dechant's local union contacted the IUE International Office. IUE lawyers undertook to appeal his case.

Under the IPSP regulations, an alleged security risk can request a hearing. There are three hearing boards—one in New York, one in Chicago and one in San Francisco. These send panels to other cities at the request of a worker who may live far from the three centers.

Preparing the defense for Dechant's hearing was very hard. Neither he nor his union's lawyers knew when the alleged "wrongful acts" were supposed to have taken place. They had no information about the meetings, activities, literature and "Communist associates" mentioned in the statement of charges. They had to dig far back into Dechant's life to check the facts.

The hearing was held in October 1954. Six witnesses appeared in Dechant's behalf, including his minister in Philadelphia, his minister in the town where he had lived before, and the secretary-treasurer of his international union.

Dechant's lawyers proved that he had been in the forefront of the fight against the leadership of the United Electrical Workers, a union expelled by CIO in 1949 because it was considered to be Communist-controlled. He had been active in Members for Democratic Action, an anti-Communist caucus within the UE. In 1949, he had disregarded doctor's orders after a near-fatal heart attack, to attend a meeting and cast his vote in favor of ousting the Communist leadership of UE District Council One. Later, at a local union meeting, Dechant moved that his local—#119—disaffiliate from UE and join the newly chartered IUE-CIO.

During the hearing, board members questioned Dechant about Communist Party meetings he was alleged to have attended in a building at the intersection of Fifth and Butternut Streets, in Mt. Carmel, the small Pennsylvania town where he had lived. Dechant pointed out that there could not possibly be a building at such an intersection; the two streets do not cross!

After the hearing, Dechant's part in the proceedings was over. But his case was still not closed.

Step 5: Office of Director of Industrial Security

When the Hearing Board has heard all the evidence, its members vote on whether to clear the worker. They then send their recommendations, along with the reasons, to the Director of Industrial Security.

The Director may then take one of three steps. He may accept the Hearing Board's recommendation; he may send the case back to be checked further by the FBI or Military Intelligence; or he may send the case on to a third hearing by a Review Board.

Step 6: Review Board

A case goes to the Review Board if the decision of the Hearing Board is not unanimous or if the case is unusual in some other way. The Secretaries of Defense, the Navy, the Army or the Air Force may also request a review. The Review Board hears no witnesses and receives no new information. The accused worker does not appear; in fact, he is is not even notified when his case goes up for review.

The Review Board reaches its decision by majority vote. This conclusion is final unless the Secretaries of Defense, the Navy, the Army or the Air Force request reconsideration of the case. In rare instances, the Secretary of Defense by himself, or the three other secretaries, acting together, may reverse the decision of the Review Board.

Of course, all these processes take a great deal of time. In December 1954, eight months after Dechant was first informed that his security status was questionable, he finally received a form letter of clearance from the Eastern Industrial Personnel Security Board.

Some Facts and Figures

Some three million employees in 21,000 defense plants have been cleared for access to classified material since 1949. Between July 1953 and March 1955, half the alleged "security risks" who appealed their cases were also granted clearance. The statistics break down like this:

IPSP Cases: July 1953 through March 1955

Total cases submitted to the screening division	2,210
Clearances denied by screening division	1,050
Clearances granted by screening division	622
Cases closed without decision (mostly because em-	
ployee had been fired or left his job)	538
Cases appealed from screening division	579
Cases cleared on appeal to hearing board	298
Clearances denied even after appeal to hearing board	242
Cases closed without decision	39

The high number of clearances resulting from appeals highlights how important it is that no loyal union member accept a "security risk" tag without a fight.

^{1.} Testimony of Jerome Fenton, Director of Industrial Security Division, before Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights, November 1955.

Other Programs Affecting Union Members

The Port Security Program

Some 500,000 dock workers and merchant seamen are covered by the Port Security Program. Anyone who has access to a pier where explosives are handled or where there is shipping in connection with the U. S. Shipping or Military Assist-

ance program must have a Port Security card.

This program is administered by the Coast Guard. An accused person may request a hearing before a board composed of one member of the Coast Guard and one representative each from labor and management. The decision of this board may be appealed to an Appeal Board, and the worker may appear in person and present new witnesses and new evidence. He does not, however, receive back pay in the event he is suspended from his job and later cleared.

The Atomic Energy Security Program

About 200,000 employees of the Atomic Energy Commission and its subcontractors come under the Atomic Energy Security Program. More and more workers will be covered as industry steps up its use of atomic materials.

No one who is to have access to atomic secrets may be hired until he has been investigated by the AEC. Jobs in this field carry two levels of clearance: "L" for those having contact with "confidential" materials and "Q" for those employed on top level projects. The AEC runs this security pro-

gram; the FBI conducts the investigations.

An accused employee can request a hearing before a local Personnel Security Board made up of prominent citizens. He can appeal the decision of this board and request a review of his case by the Personnel Security Review Board in Washington. Recent changes in procedures, announced on May 9, 1956, appear to bring the AEC Security Program closer to judicial standards of fair play than that of any other Government agency.

The Government Personnel Security Program

About two and a half million employees in all Federal departments and agencies come under the Government Personnel Security Program. Any person appointed to Government service is subject to an investigation by the Civil Service Commission and the FBI.

If any suspicious reports turn up during the Civil Service Commission's investigation, the employee is suspended from his job and the FBI conducts a full field investigation into his background.



Lewis, Milwaukee Journal

An accused employee can request a hearing before a Security Hearing Board made up of three people not connected with the agency where he works. This board reports its findings to the head of the employee's department or agency, who has the final decision as to whether the accused should be discharged or reinstated.

In April 1956, Attorney General Brownell asked Congress to amend the law governing the Federal security program, so that workers might stay on their jobs during the various field investigations and hearings instead of being suspended at the first questionable report.

In June 1956, the U. S. Supreme Court ruled that the Federal security program must apply only to workers in "sensitive" jobs. The Justice Department announced that it would comply immediately with this decision.

The Military Personnel Security Program

Some three million volunteers, reservists and inductees in the Army, Navy, Marines, Air Force and National Guard are covered by the Military Personnel Security Program. Each military department conducts its own investigations.

An inductee in the Army, for instance, is put on special duties while being investigated. He cannot be promoted, transferred or discharged until the investigation is finished. If he is tagged a "risk," he can request a hearing before a board of military officers, the Field Board of Inquiry. He may appeal this board's decision to the Army Review Board. If still not cleared, he receives either an "Undesirable Discharge" or, if he is given benefit of a doubt, a "General Discharge under Honorable Conditions."

Almost all of the charges under the Military Personnel Security Program pertain to pre-induction activities. Since most of the inductees are, of course, very young, the charges against a GI usually concern events which took place when he was in his teens.

There have also been many tragic cases of men dishonorably discharged or denied commissions because of alleged activities of friends and relatives, as far back as 15 and 20 years ago.

On April 27, 1956, however, Army regulations were issued which drastically limited the use of "guilt by association" in security cases involving military personnel. The new order, which came after considerable pressure from liberal groups and unions, bars security charges based on a soldier's association with suspect friends or relatives unless he is shown to have shared their views or to have been otherwise influenced by them.

Employer-Sponsored "Security" Programs

In addition to the various Government security arrangements, many employers not engaged in defense work carry on an *unofficial* program of their own, which does not come under any Government regulations and is much more difficult to pin down.

An employer may set up his own security system if he hopes to get a Government contract or subcontract. He may hire a detective agency to make sure each worker will meet the Government's security standards. A number of companies in industrial cities are said to maintain a central file, or blacklist, of suspected "security risks," for the use of all the personnel directors in town.

A 1952 report on "Industrial Security" by the National Industrial Conference Board frankly states the advantages of such private programs to the employer:

"Even if you don't have a trained saboteur in hire, Industrial Security can pay off in peacetime. It can help you rid your plant of agitators who create labor unrest, who promote labor grievances, slowdowns and strikes and encourage worker antipathy towards management . . .

"Furthermore, while communism is a great threat to America today, who knows in this unsettled world what the color, nationality or political philosophy of our next enemy will be?"

Union Criticisms

The first Constitutional Convention of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, in December 1955, passed the following resolution on civil liberties and internal security:

". . . The fight to protect this nation against Communist aggression must be carried on with vigor and determination. But the Communist threat must and can be met without endangering our traditional liberties or impinging upon the freedoms guaranteed by the Bill of Rights.

"We do not believe that the Communist movement in this country poses, absent armed Soviet aggression, any threat to overthrow our government. Nevertheless, it does serve as a recruiting ground for traitors, spies and perhaps saboteurs. . . . These dangers call for vigilant counter-intelligence work, and for vigorous enforcement of the criminal laws and for an effective security system.

"They do not call for us to adopt the methods of our totalitarian foes, or to ourselves weaken the liberties we seek to protect . . ."

There are eight important reasons for union concern about the various security programs:

- Many workers are caught up in clearance difficulties because there is suspicion concerning the activities of friends or relatives.
- Security charges are often brought against people who have no access to classified materials.
- 3. Usually, alleged "risks" are not permitted to confront or cross-examine their accusers; often the names of the accusers are not revealed.
- Employees are often penalized for joining groups which are now labeled subversive, but had no such label when they were members.

- 5. Investigations often delve into matters not involving security—such as politics, race, religion and the suspect employee's personal life.
- 6. Some employers are using the security system as a weapon against unions and good union men.
- 7. Often, the charges labeling a man a "security risk" are so vague as to have no real meaning, yet the accused is expected to prove himself innocent.
- 8. The average security case takes 10 months to decide and some have taken as long as three years. Costs of defense and hearings are high.



TWIN ENEMIES OF FREEDOM

Some More Case Histories

A number of people have been labeled "risks" with the charge which reads: "You are closely associated with your sister,"—or father, or mother-in-law—"who is alleged to have been . . ."

—A woman inspector in an electrical plant was declared a "risk" because her sister had signed a Communist Party petition against the Taft-Hartley Act and had "other sympathetic interests in Communist activities." At the hearing, the Chairman of the Board asked:

"If you knew your sister was a Communist would you discontinue to see her entirely?"

"I don't know that I would discontinue close relations with her," the woman answered. Shortly after, she was discharged from her job.

—E.M.T., who served coffee at one of the Pentagon's snack bars, was an efficient worker with an excellent 10-year record. When she was discharged as a "security risk" by the National Food Company, which holds the snack bar concession, she went to her union. Union lawyers discovered that the discharge grew out of a security investigation concerning her brother, who was a Government worker. While looking into his background the Government found that in 1945 his sister had subscribed to the Daily Worker.

When the union took the case to arbitration, E.M.T. testified that in 1945 she had been invited to a party of what she thought was a small social club, where she was asked to sign a subscription to the *Daily Worker*. She paid one dollar, thinking from the name "that it had something to do with labor and the union." The only other club function she attended was a picnic in a Washington park.

The arbitrator's decision: reinstatement with full back pay.

-An Army inductee was called on the carpet with the following charge: "You have a father who is reported to have said that if communism offered anything good he would accept it."

-A former Marine Corps officer, returned from active duty in Korea, was told by the Atomic Energy Commission that his father was reported to have stated, in 1937 or 1938, that "he was raising his family as Communists and that he belonged to the Communist Party."

The employee denied the charges against his father and applied for a hearing, which was held four months later. One witness said he had gotten the impression the father was a Communist from two brief conversations in 1938 or 1939— 16 years ago. One conversation had lasted about a minute, the witness testified. The second had taken even less time. It took 20 months for this employee to receive his clearance from the AEC for work on restricted data.

-One "risk" was accused of "left-wing talk." What he had actually said was: "I would rather be a second-class citizen in Mississippi than a first-class citizen in Russia."



—Another man was accused of teaching languages to "persons of the Russian embassy and Russian soldiers." The fact was that he had taught Russian to U.S. Army and Navy officers during World War II.

—Miss T., a wire inspector making \$1.40 an hour on a job she had held for 20 years, was told she was a "security risk" and given the choice between a layoff or an unclassified job paying 45 cents less per hour. She took the lower-paying job but was then fired because she couldn't keep up with production in her new department.

At the hearing held at her request, she was questioned about her associations with a woman in the plant who was allegedly a Communist Party member. Miss T. testified she worked right behind this woman, but that they never saw each other outside the plant, had no correspondence, attended no meetings together.

Miss T. was later notified that she would be cleared for classified work if her employer sent in additional information. But since she had been fired, her employer never bothered to do so. After that, she was fired without cause from five jobs in a row; in each case her former employers, when asked for references, wrote that she had been "transferred to unclassified work for security reasons on the instruction of the Navy Department."

The American system of justice is based on the maxim that a man is innocent until proved guilty. In contrast, a so-called "security risk" is considered guilty unless he can prove his innocence!

—The Saturday Evening Post (Dec. 10, 1955) reported the case of Porter B. Williamson—Presbyterian, Rotarian, Republican, Mason and Legionnaire. During World War II, Williamson was a night fighter pilot and rose to the rank of major; one of his military encounters cost him a leg.

Several years ago, Williamson got a job requiring security clearance in the legal department of Bendix Aviation Corporation at South Bend, Indiana. For 29 months, he was in a security "no man's land." His clearance was not denied; it was simply "withheld." Finally, he questioned the Navy Office at Fort Wayne.

"We don't have to give a reason," he was told. "Thousands of clearances are withheld." Then, after two and a half years of delay, his clearance was denied. He was now officially a "security risk." But he still didn't know why.

Nevertheless, Williamson determined to fight. It took many months, countless trips to Washington, thousands of dollars. It cost him his job. But he won. The board ultimately admitted that it had acted with bad judgment, accepted gossip for fact. Porter Williamson was cleared. But he had been through a nightmare for almost four years.

"I reached the unhappy conclusion that if this sort of thing could happen to me, it could happen to any one of millions of Americans. . . . I was just a plain American who ran into a combination of indifferent bureaucrats . . . and a case of mistaken identity—all of which added up to a charge that I was 'not reliable' and therefore was unworthy of my Government's trust. . . ."

Hearings are supposed to be informal and friendly. Some accused employees have nevertheless been subject to unfairly harsh cross-examination, often on issues quite unrelated to security. Hearing Board members frequently lack training, information and understanding of what constitutes security.

—In one hearing, a board member said to the accused: "The file indicates you were quite hepped up about the One World idea. . . . At one time you were a strong advocate of the United Nations. Are you still?"

—Another worker was asked what he thought about the Tidelands Oil issue and the Army-McCarthy hearings.



Frank Hanley

- —Still another was questioned as to whether he had read the Bible to his children when they were young.
- —Several Negro employees have been closely interrogated on racial matters. One was asked whether he favored "the mixing of Negroes and Whites."
- —Another worker was asked if he had dated Japanese girls during the Korean War. Still another, whether he had ever had a relationship with a woman other than his wife.

—In April 1954, John Lupa, a member of the United Auto Workers, was dismissed from his job at the Detroit Arsenal on security grounds. Lupa, a volunteer in World War II and Korea, with over 10 years of military service, was told to contact the FBI.

The FBI agent implied Lupa could clear himself by working in another plant and becoming an informer for the FBI. A few days later, this offer was repeated in the presence of Lupa's wife. The FBI man said, according to Lupa's affidavit:

"What we would like for John to do is go into the shop and get some information on subversives. I can get him into either Packard's or Ford's immediately. He could help us get some information. . . . As it is, John is in quite a jam and it will be quite difficult for him to clear himself."

Lupa replied:

"I don't like the idea of spying on people. I just want to make a good living for myself and my family and go my own way."

Lupa was cleared by the Security Hearing Board when fifteen witnesses testified in his behalf and no Government witness appeared against him. But the Security Review Board in Washington overturned the decision. When he appealed again, with union aid, his appeal was refused.

In January 1955, the UAW urged the Secretary of Defense and the Secretary of the Army to reconsider the case. Before a special panel, one of the first of its kind, Lupa's case was again reviewed in May 1955. He was cleared a month later.

After 15 "hellish" months, John Lupa was reinstated on his job with some \$6,500 in back pay. "I'll be glad to get the money," said the unionist, "but that wasn't what bothered me. It was that 'security risk' label. . . . Maybe we can get back on our feet now. And I hope a lot of people will start speaking to us again."

A Weapon Against Unions and Good Union Men

Some employers use the security program as an excuse to fire certain workers, even though Defense Department regulations state that an employer can grant, but not deny, a security clearance.

—A Connecticut aircraft company denied security clearance to McC., a member of the International Association of Machinists, and transferred him to a non-defense job paying 18¢ per hour less, without even sending his case to the Government screening board.

When McC. tried to learn the charges against him, he was told by the personnel man: "I'm sorry. It's all a secret. It's out of our hands."

The union investigated and discovered that the Government had never lodged any charges against McC. The company was threatened with a lawsuit unless McC.'s case was referred to Government security officers immediately. McC. soon got his clearance and was put back on his old job making model jets. But many other cases do not have the same happy ending.

Risk Clauses in Union Contracts

Some employers have even demanded clauses in their collective bargaining agreements forbidding the union to take up "security case" grievances. They would like to have the sole right to transfer or discharge any worker they deem a "risk."

These moves have been resisted by the unions. A midwest conference of the International Association of Machinists resolved that:

"... We make every effort to maintain and extend our contractual right to process such cases under the grievance procedures, including arbitration, and that the employer be required to justify the discharge, transfer, layoff or other change in status on valid grounds. . . ."

The resolution added that after studying regulations and procedures affecting IAM members, the union had come to the following reluctant conclusion:

"... These regulations and procedures have been and are being abused, resulting in unwarranted loss of employment to our members and unwarranted insinuations and reflections on their character and loyalty by denial of security clearances."

A frank account of how one personnel man handles the security problem was given by the Director of Security at Republic Aviation, Farmingdale, Long Island, in the October 1954 issue of Factory Management And Maintenance:

"Fire 'em. That's my answer to anyone who asks me how to handle security risks in his plant. And that's exactly what we did to 250 of them this year.

"Of those 250, only 15 were known Communists. No matter. They all get the same treatment. . . . It's this way. All Communists are security risks. All security risks are not Communists, not necessarily subversives, not necessarily disloyal. In fact the most patriotic American could be your biggest risk! Maybe he tells his wife everything about his job and she talks too much. . . .

"Here are ways we at Republic Aviation get hints of Communist activity in our plant. . . .

"We may get information on a man through anonymous letters, phone calls or personal visits. Several years ago, we encouraged employees up and down the line to report suspicious activities of fellow workers to the plant security department. We asked them to report this information directly to us and then forget about it. We'd do the rest. . . .

"We're alert to which men are becoming prominent in plant organizations, ranging from hobby and sport to religious and political groups. We know who is running for office and who has been elected in the various organizations."

Guilt By Association

Past actions and associations are often judged by security officials who do not know or understand the history of the labor movement in the 1930's and 1940's. They overlook the fact that in those days many prominent Americans belonged to organizations today labeled "subversive." Even General Eisenhower sent greetings to the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship when Russia was our ally during the war.

The International Workers Order (IWO), one of the organizations now listed as "subversive," conducted successful membership drives in the 1930's and 1940's among many workers who knew nothing of the group's domination by Communists. IWO insurance provided burial benefits, cost workers less than that offered by many other companies, and covered Negroes at the same rate as whites.

Membership in the IWO was necessary to get an IWO insurance policy. Today, many workers are branded "security risks" because they or their parents held insurance and membership in the IWO.

—Merton Dean House, an active union member in Tonowanda, New York, had taken out IWO insurance years back, "because money was scarce for me and my family in 1935." He dropped the policy in 1938, 11 years before the IWO was listed as "subversive" by the Attorney General. But this one-time membership became one of the charges against him.

During the 1930's when Communists penetrated unions and other liberal groups, many anti-Communists found themselves associating with members of organizations now called "subversive." If a man belonged to a Communist-dominated union or local, his name may have appeared on the mailing list of Communist-front organizations. Or, he may even have been induced to join certain Communist-front groups, believing that they were for labor's progress.

—Take the case of 14 workers dismissed over a year ago from the Sperry Gyroscope Company at Lake Success, Long Island. They were all denied clearance on charges ranging from alleged past membership in the Communist Party, the Socialist Workers Party (an anti-Soviet Trotskyist group) and the International Workers Order, to close association with the United Electrical Workers.

At least 11 of the 14 had led the fight to repudiate the leftist United Electrical Workers and to establish IUE-CIO as bargaining agent for Sperry workers. Ten were not even on classified work or in restricted areas.

Sperry insisted on discharging all workers who were denied clearance, even though Defense Department regulations call only for removal from jobs involving access to classified material. Sperry took the position that so much of its work was classified that there were no jobs for these employees which would not involve access to classified data. The case was taken to arbitration under the "discharge for cause" provisions of the contract.

Because the arbitrator was unable to determine either from the Defense Department or the company just which portions of the plant contained classified material, he upheld the discharges for the entire group. Since then, however, most of



these workers have received Government clearance and are back at work.

Secret Informers

One aspect of the security problem which troubles unions most is the fact that alleged "security risks" are not guaranteed the right to face their accusers. Secret informers, whisperers and tale-bearers have been protected by the Government on the grounds that to disclose their identity might "dry up sources of information."

—A group of merchant marine seamen who were refused security clearances under the Coast Guard Security Program took their case to court. They pointed out that since they were not told the source of the charges against them, they were denied their constitutional rights to a fair trial and due process of law.

On October 26, 1955, the United States Court of Appeals in San Francisco ruled in favor of the seamen, in the case of Parker v. Lester.¹

The court decided that to conceal information or the identity of accusers is unconstitutional, and declared:

". . . A doubtful system of secret informers, likely to bear upon the innocent as well as upon the guilty cannot justify an abandonment here of the ancient standards of due process of law."

To meet the requirements of the *Parker v. Lester* decision, new Coast Guard security regulations were issued in April 1956. The new rules call for "every effort" to "produce accusers" in order that such witnesses may be "confronted and cross-examined" by the alleged "security risk."

This change is the first breach in the Government's position that persons accused of being "security risks" need not be permitted to confront their accusers. It justifies labor's insistence that this practice violates the Bill of Rights. Further battles on this issue seem certain.

^{1. 227} F. 2d 708.

The Fifth Amendment

In 1637, a stubborn English bookseller named John Lilburne stood trial before the Star Chamber, charged with having brought certain anti-religious books into Britain. Because he refused to testify against himself, he was sentenced to be whipped.

In 1641, the House of Commons voted this sentence "illegal and against the liberty of the subject." Lilburne's fight established in the English-speaking world the principle that no man should be compelled to bear witness against himself, or be tortured into confession. This safeguard was later written into the American Bill of Rights as the fifth amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

The fifth amendment states in pretty plain language that in a criminal trial no man is required to testify against himself. It also includes the provision that "no person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law"—that is, without a fair trial. These principles go hand in hand with the assumption that a man is innocent until proved guilty. They are spelled out not only in the Bill of Rights, but also in 46 state constitutions.

Communists and fellow-travellers have, of course, made frequent use of the fifth amendment. Newspapers headline cases of "Fifth Amendment Communists," "Fifth Amendment Teachers," "Fifth Amendment Gangsters" and "Fifth Amendment Racketeers." As a result, many people forget that the fifth amendment was put in the Bill of Rights not as an "escape hatch" for the guilty, but to protect the innocent.

The fifth amendment has been called "one of the greatest privileges a free people can possess." Like the rest of the Bill of Rights, it is a symbol of democracy. There were no such safeguards in Fascist Italy or Nazi Germany. There is no fifth amendment in Communist Russia.

"The reason for the guarantee is of such overwhelming importance," wrote A. J. Hayes, International President of the International Association of Machinists, in his union's journal, "that few people would seriously contend we should abandon it and revert to the old practice, still used by Communist and Fascist dictators, of extracting confessions by physical and mental torture. Indeed, the fifth amendment is one of the basic concepts of freedom which distinguishes our form of government from communism and fascism."

Nevertheless, in October 1953, the Eisenhower security order was amended to state that any person who pleads the fifth amendment is automatically a "security risk" and not eligible for work on classified Government materials. Some companies even dismiss any employee who has claimed the Fifth in a court case or hearing, whether he is working on defense contracts or not.

The courts have ruled that pleading the fifth amendment may not be interpreted as a confession of guilt. In a recent decision, the United States Supreme Court declared:

... "The privilege against self-incrimination would be reduced to a hollow mockery if its exercise could be taken as equivalent either to a confession of guilt or a conclusive presumption of perjury.

... "A witness may have a reasonable fear of prosecution and yet be innocent of any wrongdoing. The privilege serves to protect the innocent who otherwise might be ensnared by ambiguous circumstances."

There are many reasons that may lead an innocent man to plead the Fifth. He may fear becoming involved in a case although he has committed no crime. He may be frightened and plead the Fifth to avoid further questioning. He may feel that whatever he says will be a link in the chain of his own prosecution.

^{1.} Slochower v. Bd. of Higher Education, 76 S. Ct. 637 (1956).

In April 1956, the Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the Immunity Act, which permits the Government to grant witnesses immunity against prosecution and force them to testify in national security cases. Under the new law the Government may subpoena a man to the witness stand and make him testify against himself and former associates. If he refuses, he can go to jail for contempt of Congress.

On May 27, 1955, an editorial in *The Wall Street Journal* summed up the current problems about the fifth amendment and the Immunity Act:

"This newspaper happens to agree with Chief Judge Clark of the Second Circuit Court of Appeals in his view that the Immunity Law is part of a steady . . . erosion of the fifth amendment! The law flies directly in the face of the fifth amendment, for the granting of immunity from prosecution is only another way to force a person to testify against himself or go to jail. No one can say what future prosecution may flow from forced testimony.

"Either the fifth amendment means what it says or the Immunity Law . . . effectively amends the Constitution to eliminate the privilege against self-incrimination just to make it easier for the Justice Department to catch Communists.

"But the Constitution wasn't written to protect Communists and it should not be rewritten to catch Communists when the rewriting endangers the freedom of everyone."

Unions and the Fifth Amendment

Three Bethlehem Steel workers—in plants which had no defense contracts—were fired when they pleaded the fifth amendment before a Congressional committee. The Steelworkers Union took the case to arbitration, but lost. Furthermore, the workers were refused unemployment benefits on the grounds that they had been fired for "just cause."

^{1.} Ullman v. U. S. 76 S. Ct. 497.

In March 1955, the Executive Board of the Steelworkers declared that invoking the fifth amendment, "standing alone cannot be the basis . . . for failure of the union to protect employee rights under a collective bargaining agreement, including the right to be free from unilateral and arbitrary disciplinary action or discharge."

The IUE, the Newspaper Guild, the American Federation of Teachers and the UAW have also stated they would not go along with dismissals based solely on the fact that a worker claimed the privilege of the fifth amendment. If a local union has reason to believe that the individual in question is actually a Communist, these national unions declare, he should be tried under local union procedures.

The Butler Bill

In sharp contrast to the demands of many union spokesmen that the security program be limited to workers in sensitive areas, a bill currently before Congress would extend security regulations to all employees in every defense facility. AFL-CIO unions have vigorously opposed this Defense Facilities Protection Act, first introduced two years ago by Senator John Butler (R. Md.). In 1954, the bill passed the Senate but not the House. Strong union opposition appears to have doomed the measure in the 84th Congress. But it may come up again.

The Butler Bill would authorize the President to set up a loyalty and security program covering workers in any plant, factory or facility which might be important to national security in time of war. This could include any factory, airport, telephone or telegraph system, pier, waterfront, station, railroad, trucking company and textile mill—even newspapers or radio and television stations—which the Secretary of Defense

decided was a "defense facility."

If the President declared an emergency, any persons working in these facilities could be fired if there were "reasonable ground to believe they may engage in sabotage, espionage or other subversive acts." The bill doesn't define "reasonable

grounds" or "other subversive acts."

Administration spokesmen for the bill indicated that the "emergency" could be proclaimed just as soon as the bill passes. They point out that current security programs are limited to classified information, whereas the Butler Bill would establish a legal basis for getting at any area of potential sabotage and espionage, thus closing the "last gap" in the security ring. Moreover, supporters of the bill insist that, since the Butler Bill would guarantee an accused "risk" a statement of charges within 30 days and a hearing within 45 days, this measure offers greater civil liberties safeguards than many comparable statutes.

The Washington Post and Times Herald has called the Butler Bill "totalitarian in its approach," and has declared that this measure "could come closer to putting the whole country under surveillance than anything yet attempted this side of the Iron Curtain."

AFL-CIO officials have testified:

"If the program the bill authorizes is ever put into effect, we will have taken a long step towards requiring that every worker carry a police card attesting to his loyalty in order to get work. And if that ever happens, we will have exchanged the freedom of American democracy for the tyranny of a police state."

A Union Program

Organized labor is increasingly concerned about grievances arising out of official and unofficial security programs. The legal departments of many unions have urged their locals and district offices to judge workers on their records and give them union backing in their fights to defend their constitutional rights, jobs and good names.

During a recent Government security hearing, a union district director appeared as witness for one of his union's members.

The Hearing Board officer asked him: "Why are you getting so excited? We aren't accusing the union of anything. The union isn't under attack."

The district director answered: "Well, one of our members is and when that happens, it means the union is too."

Without the backing of their unions, Jim Schuetz, Clayton Dechant, Merton House, John Lupa and many others might still bear the brand of "risk" and "un-American."

But the process of hearings and appeals is expensive and complicated. Legal fees alone often run to well over \$1,000. Most workers just don't have that kind of money. And a lawyer is essential to gather the necessary information, call witnesses, help an accused person understand regulations and conduct his defense.

Cost and complication are only two of the many reasons why more workers have not fought to establish their innocence in the past. A man denied clearance may not want to spread the word around. He may be ashamed to tell fellow workers; he may want to protect his children from unkind slurs in the neighborhood. He may, like many other fine people, have an old family skeleton in the closet which he would rather not bring forth to embarrass relatives or friends.

Often a worker just doesn't realize the seriousness of a "security risk" firing, until he tries to get another job. One man who had been denied clearance was turned down for 113 jobs calling for a worker of his skills. Some of the companies had defense contracts; but even those which didn't would not hire a man who had been labeled a "security risk."

A man who gets involved in a security case should go immediately to his local or district union. As in any other grievance case, the union will decide if he has a just complaint and what to do about it.

The union can help obtain a lawyer, get witnesses, cut through red tape. It can exert its influence in the community and with the Government to make certain that justice is done. And it can educate the public to demand fair security procedures.

Centuries ago, an old Greek philosopher was asked how justice could be secured in Athens. He replied:

"If those who are not injured feel as indignant as those who are!"

THE various security programs with which the nation has lived for close to a decade have taught us much about civil liberties. Those who would extend these programs maintain that it is better for a few innocent people to suffer than for our entire society to be laid prey to a totalitarian foe. Conversely, many civil libertarians, equally patriotic, have attacked the entire security program, pointing out that unless the democratic character of our society is upheld, we will have lost the battle without a shot.

The truth, it appears to me, lies partially on each side. We know there are Communist agents, bent on destroying us. Obviously, steps must be taken to protect our national security. It is equally obvious that, in the course of protecting our nation, we must guard against jeopardizing the very freedoms

we are seeking to protect.

Our experience with criminal law provides a good basis for evaluating our current security program. Innocent people have occasionally been convicted of crimes; but this has not caused us to close our criminal courts. Nor has the acquittal of some guilty persons led us to eliminate the legal safeguards for individuals brought to trial. Instead, we have engaged in a never-ending quest for better ways to protect society and the innocent at the same time.

Perhaps the most significant criticism of our security programs has been this reluctance to re-examine this operation with a view to protecting the innocent. Those who have criticized the operations of these programs have themselves been attacked for exercising their rights as free citizens to discuss and criticize the workings of their Government.

Despite the fact that labor unions have demonstrated their ability to clean house and expel Communist agents by democratic means, labor has never been consulted in this issue. Many of the abuses cited in this pamphlet might have been

averted had suggested revisions been adopted in time. It is also possible that some foreign agents who have evaded detection might have been spotted had full discussion of the

security program been permitted.

The Government has been remiss in refusing to permit joint formulation and administration of the security program. But other groups—including some labor unions—have been remiss in failing to demand such joint action. Too many of our citizens have remained silent, through intimidation, indifference or ignorance. We must not forget that the aroused voice of enlightened public opinion is our first bulwark against totalitarianism.

We of the American labor movement have a vital interest in a fair and effective system of internal protection. Therefore we must insist on contributing our efforts toward the solution of this problem. Correcting some of the abuses of the security program is not enough. We must discover why the current shortcomings were permitted to continue for so long, so that the unfortunate experiences described here cannot happen again.

More meaningful today than when it was first uttered by Ralph Chaplin is this admonition:

Mourn not the dead, but rather mourn the apathetic throng, the cowed and meek

Who see the world's great anguish and its wrong, and dare not speak!

The Bill of Rights

FIRST AMENDMENT—Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

SECOND AMENDMENT—A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed.

THIRD AMENDMENT—No Soldier shall, in time of peace be quartered in any house, without the consent of the Owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

FOURTH AMENDMENT—The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no Warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by Oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

FIFTH AMENDMENT—No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the Militia, when in actual service in time of War or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be de-

prived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

SIXTH AMENDMENT—in all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the Assistance of Counsel for his defence

SEVENTH AMENDMENT—In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by jury shall be otherwise reexamined in any Court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

EIGHTH AMENDMENT—Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishment inflicted.

NINTH AMENDMENT—The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

TENTH AMENDMENT—The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

Selected Book and Pamphlet List

For Your Personal or Union Bookshelf

- American Security and Freedom. Maurice J. Goldbloom. American Jewish Committee, 386 Fourth Ave., N. Y. An analysis of the loyalty-security problem, with suggested 12-point program to protect the country and individual liberty. 35¢.
- Case Studies in Personnel Security. Adam Yarmolinsky. Bureau of National Affairs, Inc., Washington, D. C. Fifty cases arising under various Federal personnel security programs.
- Civil Liberties and Internal Security. AFL-CIO, 815 Sixteenth St., N.W., Washington, D. C. A resolution adopted by the merger convention of American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations. Free.
- Civil Liberties in the United States. Robert E. Cushman. Cornell University Press, Ithaca, N. Y. A summary of the entire field of civil liberties since World War II. \$2.85.
- Civil Rights. AFL-CIO, 815 Sixteenth St., N.W., Washington, D. C. Resolution adopted by merger convention. Free.
- Civil Rights and Civil Liberties. Theodore Leskes and Maurice J. Goldbloom. American Jewish Committee, 386 Fourth Ave., N. Y. A review of recent developments in various areas of civil rights and civil liberties. 10¢.
- Clearing the Main Channels. American Civil Liberties Union, 170 Fifth Ave., N. Y. A balance sheet on civil liberties in the U. S. in 1955. 50¢.
- Communism, Conformity, and Civil Liberties. Samuel A. Stouffer. Doubleday & Co., 575 Madison Ave., N. Y. A public opinion survey on communism and civil liberties. \$4.00.
- Communism in the U.S.A. Defense Department, Office of Armed Forces Information and Education, Washington 25, D. C. How the American Communist Party began and how it operates. 20¢.
- The Draftee and Internal Security. Rowland Watts. Workers Defense League, 112 East 19 St., N. Y. A report on 110 draftee security cases.
- Famous Words of Freedom. Freedom House, 20 West 40 St., N. Y. Historic words, poetry and documents of liberty. Free.
- The Fifth Amendment and the Immunity Act of 1954. Samuel H. Hofstadter. Fund for the Republic, 60 East 42 St., N. Y. A view of the fifth amendment. Free.

- The Fifth Amendment Today. Erwin N. Griswold. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. The dean of the Harvard Law School defends the right of individuals to invoke the fifth amendment. 50¢.
- The Freedom Reader. Edited by Edwin S. Newman. Oceana Publications, 43 West 16 St., N. Y. A collection of materials on civil rights and civil liberties. \$1.00.
- Heresy, Yes.—Conspiracy, No. Sidney Hook. John Day Co., 210 Madison Ave., N. Y. Problems of academic freedom and ways to meet the totalitarian threat without loss of our own liberty. \$3.75.
- Industrial Security Manual for Safeguarding Classified Information. Defense Department, Washington 25, D. C. The security "bible," designed to establish uniform security practices within plants and facilities dealing with classified information. 20¢.
- Labor Looks at Civil Liberties. Benjamin D. Segal and Harry Fleischman. National Labor Service, 386 Fourth Ave., N. Y. Four articles, reprinted from Labor's Daily, based on interviews with rank and file unionists and local union leaders. 5¢.
- The Living U. S. Constitution. Saul K. Padover. The New American Library, 501 Madison Ave., N. Y. #M 95. The story of the Constitutional Convention; text of the Constitution; twelve of the most important civil liberties decisions 1793-1948. 35¢.
- The Loyalty of Free Men. Alan Barth. Pocket Books, Inc., 630 Fifth Ave., N. Y. #C 32. A stimulating discussion of the freedom-security problem. 35¢.
- Personnel Security Programs in U. S. Industry. Bureau of National Affairs, Inc., Washington, D. C. Proceedings of a 1955 labor-management-Government conference in Washington, D. C. \$5.00
- Primer on Communism. Anti-Defamation League, 515 Madison Ave., N. Y. Questions and answers on the nature, program and strategy of communism. 25¢.
- A Program for Freedom. George Meany. Jewish Labor Committee, 25
 East 78 St., N. Y. Calls for defense of civil rights and civil liberties
 as basic responsibility of organized labor. Free.
- When Congress Investigates. Alan Barth. Public Affairs Pamphlet #227. Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 22 East 38th St., N. Y. A popularly-written discussion of congressional investigations, and the manner in which recent committees have attempted to usurp power. 25¢.
- You... Your Town... Your World... and Human Rights.
 National Labor Service, 386 Fourth Ave., N. Y. A workbook for union and community leaders outlining action programs in support of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. 25¢.

Films

To spark a discussion in your union on civil liberties and the security system.

All films listed are available from the AFL-CIO Education Department, 815 Sixteenth St., N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

- Due Process of Law Denied 29 min. black and white rental \$3.00 An excerpt from "The Oxbow Incident" produced by 20th Century-Fox. Story of a lynching in the Old West brings out the dangers of denying due process of law and the need to recognize the rights of an accused person.
- Freedom to Learn 27 min. black and white rental \$2.00 A school teacher defends herself before a school board and parents because she has taught about communism in her classes. She explains why teachers must deal with controversial subjects.
- Freedom to Read 14 min. black and white rental \$2.00

 The board of a library discusses what to do after a Citizens Committee asks them to remove all books written by Communists or so-called Communists.
- National Security Vs. Individual Rights 25 min. black and white rental \$3.00

The story of Milo Radulovitch, the young officer who was dismissed from the U.S. Air Force as a security risk because of the alleged activities of his father and sister. From Edward R. Murrow's "See It Now" TV series.

Peaceful Assembly and Free Speech 25 min. black and white rental \$3.00

Friction between the American Legion and the American Civil Liberties Union in Indianapolis when the ACLU was unable to get a meeting hall in town. From Edward R. Murrow's "See It Now" TV series.

Sound of a Stone 27 min. black and white rental \$3.00

A young teacher is faced with a whispering campaign. There are demands that he resign after a parent accuses him of assigning a subversive book. Shows how rumors can start in a community and spread out like ripples from a stone tossed in a brook.

Be sure to read regularly:

- AFL-CIO-NEWS Official weekly publication reports up-to-theminute labor news. \$1.25 per year
- AFL-CIO AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST Labor's own monthly magazine, containing timely articles by leading labor spokesmen on issues of interest to all who work. Illustrated. \$2.00 per year
- LABOR'S ECONOMIC REVIEW Monthly 8-page bulletin devoted to the outstanding economic problems confronting the nation. \$1.50 per year
- AFL-CIO EDUCATION NEWS AND VIEWS Eight-page monthly newsletter on workers' education programs and techniques. \$1.00 per year



Publication No. 31

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZA'TIONS 815 Sixteenth Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C.

GEORGE MEANY
President

WILLIAM F. SCHNITZLER
Secretary-Treasurer

COOPERATION for

SAFETY



COOPERATION FOR SAFETY

Sponsored by

AFL-CIO Committee on Safety and Occupational Health

Vice President RICHARD F. WALSH
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DAVE BECK WILLIAM CALVIN JOSEPH CURRAN STEPHEN FEDEROFF P. L. "Roy" Siemiller
A. L. Spradling
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Herman Winter

Publication No. 32

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

815 16th St., N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

GEORGE MEANY
President

WM. F. SCHNITZLER Secretary-Treasurer



Foreword

By GEORGE MEANY

President

American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations

Interest in safety on the job has been an important personal concern of workers ever since the Industrial Revolution of the 18th Century began to absorb the individual craftsman into the organized factory or other concentrated work group. That absorption brought with it a speedup in production that in turn was marked by a corresponding increase in fatal and maining accidents.

In the peculiar moral climate of the times with wide opportunity for quick and easy return on invested funds, the profit motive became virtually a deity with the economists serving as its high priests. New interpretations of law were required to meet the new era, and so it was to the economists that the aristocratic law-makers and courts looked for guidance. Hence came numerous legal decisions and mandates defining organizations of workers as conspiracies. Legal prohibition of labor's right to a voice in its own economic affairs was matched by the institution of legal road blocks in other directions. One of these was that of safety on the job.

Perverted Laws

Under the English common law, which was and still is recognized as controlling in many instances by our own Federal government and almost all of our States, the individual or his dependents always had had a remedy in the courts against any person who accidentally killed or maimed him. Again guided by the economists, the courts very quickly altered that state of affairs as to an accident incurred on the job. New doctrines of the application of common law were rapidly established under the legal procedures of the times. It was held by the courts that any employer sued by a worker or his dependents could interpose any one or all of three defenses. First, the employer was permitted to plead and prove that the work accident was not his responsibility

under the Fellow Servant Doctrine, that the accident was owing to the act of a fellow worker of the victim. Secondly, he was permitted to plead and prove that the victim himself had been careless and was therefore entitled to no damages under the Doctrine of Contributory Negligence. Third, the employer could plead and prove under the Assumption of Risk Doctrine that when a worker accepted the job, he voluntarily accepted as part of his "work contract" all of the hazards that went with the work to be done. Recognition by the courts of these defenses made it virtually impossible for a worker to obtain any redress in the form of damages or even in remuneration for medical and surgical expense.

Slow Motion Reform

The first break-through in the legal maze came in 1884 when Germany under Bismarck adopted a Workmen's Compensation Law. In the ensuing thirteen years similar laws were adopted by Austria and England. It was not until 1908 that our own Federal government recognized the work accident problem by enactment of a Federal Employees Act which established a system of workmen's compensation for federal employees who incurred accidents on the job. It was then and only then that some of the States began to enact similar statutes.

All of these laws were bitterly fought in the courts by employer groups and in many cases were declared unconstitutional. It was not until 1917 that the United States Supreme Court finally held that such State compensation laws were constitutional.

One major effect of the compensation laws was to strip from the employer who refused to participate the old common law defenses under which he had successfully evaded payment of damages or medical costs to the victim of a work accident. The employer was given the option of placing himself under the operation of the Workmen's Compensation Law or of taking a large risk in a court of common law. Once this situation was recognized by employers, they found it to their own personal advantage to accept the compensation laws and also to institute safety measures in their workplaces. This development decreased but did not eliminate their opposition to Federal and State safety codes which sought to prohibit dangerous industrial practices. Because of employer opposition, such safety laws are still in many cases weak and ineffective.

Employers Resist Cooperation

Not all employers, of course, accepted the theory of accident prevention. Those that did universally maintained that accident prevention was entirely a management prerogative. Employers in general argued that as long as so-called safety laws were observed their obligation was ended. Organized labor, on the other hand, had fought steadily for Workmen's Compensation Laws and safety codes but never had agreed to the concept that safety was a sole management prerogative. Labor's contention has always been that because of the diversity of work operations no safety law or code can possibly insure a maximum of safety. Experience has proved this contention true. Even today the overwhelming majority of work accidents involve no violation of State laws. Labor has insisted year after year that safety is everybody's responsibility, that all acting together voluntarily in a spirit of good will-employers, workers and professional technicians-can find the solution that will reduce work accidents to a minimum.

Management Lags

We of labor are wholly mindful of the need for safety laws and codes establishing safety standards to be enforced by the public authority. Many employers today of their own accord institute accident prevention measures that exceed the requirements of the law. They have found it good business to do so. But too many employers continue to oppose modernization of State safety laws and codes. Many of them seem not to realize that such legal measures are designed, not to hamper enlightened employers but to control callous and greedy men who in the fashion of the early 19th Century continue to place profits above employee safety.

The real answer to this highly important problem lies in cooperation between and among all those engaged in the operation

of America's stupendous industrial machine.

Back in 1947, President Truman in full recognition of this concept of cooperation in accident prevention established the nation's first President's Conference on Occupational Safety. That meeting held in May of 1948 brought together in Washington leaders of management, labor, the technical professions, public officials and insurance groups. The object was to devise blueprints that looked toward establishment of cooperative efforts for accident prevention. The work of the conference was fruitful. The

solutions reached were not easily arrived at, but when they were adopted they had the unanimous approval of the delegates in attendance at the conference.

Similar President's Conferences on Occupational Safety were held under President Truman in 1950 and 1952. President Eisenhower authorized continuance of such conferences which were subsequently held in 1954 and 1956.

One important accomplishment of these conferences has been the growing acceptance that cooperation will produce solution of the accident prevention problem much more effectively than accident prevention by legal coercion.

The 1956 conference in Washington was held over a three-day period beginning on May 14, with some 3000 representatives of labor, industry, farm groups, insurance companies, the technical professions and public officials from all over the country, territories and possessions in attendance. Cooperation for safety was the theme of the conference.

Agree on Cooperation

Management and labor presented their points of view. Industry was represented by J. D. Zellerbach, President of Crown-Zellerbach Corporation, one of the country's most enlightened employers. The employees' point of view was presented by Wm. F. Schnitzler, Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations. Both speakers strongly emphasized the importance of cooperation.

The National AFL-CIO Safety and Occupational Health Committee of which AFL-CIO Vice President Richard F. Walsh is Chairman, thought it important to bring these two addresses to the attention of our millions of members. Hence these addresses are published officially by the AFL-CIO.

For the further information of union members and all other interested persons, our Committee has seen fit to include in this publication the text of the resolution on Occupational Safety and Health adopted at the 1st Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO in December of last year. As was to be expected the Convention in its declaration on the problem concretely stressed the importance of cooperation in preventing the work accidents that levy a heavy and tragic toll upon American workers and their families year after year.

Labor's Responsibility for the Prevention of Accidents

By WM. F. SCHNITZLER

Secretary-Treasurer
American Federation of Labor and
Congress of Industrial Organizations

An address to the President's Conference on Occupational Safety, May 14, 1956



Wm. F. Schnitzler

I am not "happy" to be speaking here today because the subject which brings us together is cruel and heartbreaking—the subject of industrial accidents.

Certainly this meeting is necessary; certainly this conference has helped tremendously in calling public attention to this grave problem. But none of us can honestly say we are "happy" to be here. You know, as well as I, the statistics of industrial accidents—the annual toll of 14,000 dead, and nearly two million injured.

It is very easy to recite those statistics. It is very easy to talk about the necessity for preventing this terrible waste of our nation's most precious resource—her people.

Tragedy and Suffering

It is quite another thing to appreciate the suffering, the tragedy that industrial accidents bring in a worker's family.

It is quite another matter to substitute action for speeches.

I have been assigned the topic "Labor's Responsibility for the Prevention of Accidents." I submit that it is impossible to talk about labor's responsibility and not talk about management's responsibility. It is impossible to talk about either the responsibility of labor or management and not talk about the responsibility of government as a representative of all the people. It is impossible to talk as a labor representative about the subject of industrial accidents without getting mad and without stepping on some toes.

I shall strive to restrain my indignation. I shall not try to avoid "stepping on toes." For this is a matter so serious as to make the normal social amenities pointless.

I am a baker. I have seen a man lose an arm in a dough mixer—and later die of gangrene. I have seen a lovely girl lose four fingers in a slicing machine. And mind you, I do not come from an industry that is considered "hazardous."

I represent here today the people who have the greatest stake in the abolition of industrial accidents—the workers whose eyes and hands, whose legs and lives are at stake.

Labor Denied Voice

I represent as well the people who are denied, in all too many instances, an effective voice in dealing with industrial accidents. Oh, we have a voice in conferences like this, but we are often denied a voice at the plant level—where it really counts.

Let me point out that the concern of the trade union movement in this field is not new. One of the earliest fights we waged was for the achievement of workmen's compensation laws and factory inspection and safety laws.

It is often forgotten that we achieved workmen's compensation

laws and state safety laws over the fierce opposition of the representatives of management.

We did not achieve a workmen's compensation law or a factory inspection law in a single state just because of our logic or our powers of persuasion. We won our fight because men and women died—died horribly—died needlessly.

Just the other day, President Meany reminded a group of union leaders, who were here in Washington, of the fact that in the state of New York it took the death of young girls in a garment factory—the Triangle Shirt Waist disaster—to bring decent laws and decent enforcement of laws in that state.

New York wasn't the exception—it was the rule.

Men lost their jobs because they fought for these goals. Men were blacklisted as "agitators." Employers spent large sums of money to defeat workers in their campaign for this kind of legislation. They fought us vigorously but we won.

Or did we?

Today's statistics would indicate that there is a tremendous job still to be done. The workmen's compensation laws have not kept pace with economic advances. The proportion of pay that an injured worker receives is far too low. The disqualification pitfalls are far too many; the red tape too snarled.

The factory inspection and safety laws have not kept pace with the tremendous advances of the industrial world. We have states where there are more game inspectors than factory inspectors, as though our wild life is considered more important than human life.

I think we in labor have a right to point the finger at those responsible.

In every battle in every state legislature, over the issue of workmen's compensation improvements, we have been opposed by the organizations representing business and industry.

Opposed at Every Turn

Every time we have fought to improve factory safety laws or to see to it that there were enough state enforcement officers to police these laws, we have been opposed by lobbyists of the State Chamber of Commerce or the State Manufacturers Association.

I have been sometimes puzzled by this opposition. Some members of these employer groups are companies that have demon-

strated, at the collective bargaining table, maturity and a progressive and understanding attitude.

Some members of these employer groups are companies with active safety programs—companies that have established safety programs which save skilled manpower, save production and protect profits.

Why then the opposition from the lobbyists of these employer groups? I don't know. I have never been a member of these organizations. Some of it may come from individuals who believe they are protecting the best interests of their members. Some of the opposition may result from the fact that progressive employers fail to exert an influence in the organizations to which they belong.

Much of it comes, I believe, from a kind of cash register mind that is unable to see that a short-range profit in cash could be a long-range deficit in human values—from the kind of mentality that places profit before people and dollars before decency.

I am told that no progressive company today opposes industrial safety. On the face of it, that's probably true. But the fact is that there is a good deal of opposition—almost concerted opposition—to what we consider the only sound and sensible approach to the achievement of industrial safety.

That approach can be summed up in one word: "cooperation." In those instances where the cooperative approach has been tried—in those companies where there is now agreement that safety is not the job of management alone or the job of safety technicians alone, or the job of labor alone—the record of industrial safety has been astonishing and heartwarming.

But in all too many companies, top management is afraid that the cooperative approach which we advocate would be an infringement on management's prerogatives. In all too many companies the safety technician is considered just an employee. He has no say in top management policy. He can recommend, but he cannot act.

Cold Scorn for Labor

In all too many companies the labor unions are ignored or scorned or fought when they attempt to get into the safety picture.

Labor organizations recognize that, in a large part, plant safety is a technical problem. We recognize that management has the prime responsibility for making the work shops safe. We recognize, too, that the labor union, which is the workers' representative, and which the worker respects, can play an important role in building plant safety.

But it can't play an effective role if it is considered only a messenger boy for top management. It can't play an effective role if its recommendations are not heeded. It can't play an effective role unless safety is a cooperative matter in which the technicians and the union and management work together with an understanding of each other's problems, with an appreciation of each other's sincerity and with the common purpose of making the job safe.

All too often, employers with whom we have excellent relations will say to us privately and confidentially that they would make their plants safer and provide for the purchase of expensive safety equipment if all of the companies in their industry would do likewise.

But they can't be caught in a competitive squeeze—they can't afford higher operational costs if a competitor is going to continue hazardous practices just because they are cheaper practices.

That's the reason why labor unions consider that this is a job in which government, as the representative of all the people, must play a prominent role.

Good Laws Needed

We need factory inspection laws that are modern, strict, inclusive. We need fair and continuous enforcement of these laws without fear or favor.

I pledge to you that the trade unions of the United States are going to continue their fight to get this kind of industrial safety legislation and to get this kind of enforcement of these laws.

That will end the competitive squeeze which worries some employers.

I spoke before of the cooperative approach. Let me remind you that during World War II, there were some 7,000 labor-management production committees going in American industry. Statistics show that over 80 percent of these worked on safety. Safety was by far the most frequent subject of joint cooperation. It was by far the most effective.

Today a great many of these committees have disappeared. Some still exist—far fewer than I would desire and those that do exist are doing an excellent job.

I want to commend to your attention the labor-management safety program in the West Coast pulp and paper industry. The management's side of the table is represented by my predecessor on this program, Mr. Zellerbach.

I want to congratulate Mr. Zellerbach and the employers he represents, and I want to congratulate the unions involved in this program. They have demonstrated far better than any words of mine the fact that labor-management cooperation for safety does work.

Labor's Deep Concern

Some of the international unions of the AFL-CIO today have full-time safety directors. Some have part-time district safety directors. Many of the local unions have safety committees. Some of the unions provide training in the basics of safety in their industry, and they have sought and found expert guidance in this field.

In honesty, I must say to you that the unions have not made as much progress in this field as they should and as they will in the future.

But the concern of the trade union movement for industrial safety is growing in the AFL-CIO. At our founding convention, we established a constitutional committee on Safety and Occupational Health which includes top leaders of organized labor who come from the most hazardous industries.

Let me assure you this is not going to be a "sweetness and honey" committee. It is not going to be a committee that will content itself with writing a resolution for the biennial convention to consider. It will be a committee that will take an active, hardboiled, practical interest in this field.

Labor Will Fight

The members of the AFL-CIO, I assure you, will be fighting at every level for the enactment of enforceable, up-to-date occupational safety and health codes. We will be fighting for adequate appropriations to insure the policing of these codes at every level of government.

We will be fighting for decent, modern and humane standards of workmen's compensation.

Yes, the AFL-CIO will be fighting. But we will also be ready to cooperate—to cooperate at the plant level, in the state legislatures or in the Federal Congress—with men of good will from management who believe, as we do, in the preservation of human life and the prevention of human suffering.

This conference serves an excellent purpose in bringing the need for occupational safety before the public.

But it serves no purpose at all if the noble words which are uttered here are not matched by concrete deeds back home.

We applaud the words—but we'll wait for the deeds before rendering judgment.

Management's Responsibility for the Prevention of Accidents

By J. D. ZELLERBACH

President
Crown-Zellerbach Corporation

An address to the President's Conference on Occupational Safety, May 14, 1956

San Francisco, California



J. D. Zellerbach

Throughout the first two days of the President's Conference on Occupational Safety you have explored accident prevention from several different approaches. You have heard safety discussed as a community problem. You have participated in safety clinics. You have looked at safety from the standpoint of our farms and our public employees. This morning you will hear from management and labor.

All of you have presumably received copies of the Conference Fact Sheet. At the risk of repeating statistics from this document which may already be familiar, let me mention briefly the following figures: in all industry divisions within the scope of the President's Conference there were more than 1 million, 700 thousand disabling injuries in 1955. The number of fatalities exceeded 12,000.

Tremendous Problem

My point is this: the majority of these injuries and deaths occurred in industries operated by American management. The figures, in short, provide us with a graphic indication of the tremendous scope of the safety problem faced by management. It is management's responsibility to use every device available to lower as far as humanly possible the number of deaths and injuries in American industry.

At the same time it must be recognized that management has made great steps forward in making American factories, mills and mines safe places to work. We know that American management as a whole has become acutely safety-conscious and that no responsible industrial concern can afford to function without a sound accident prevention program.

But we also know that to the homes and families hit by fatalities, to the permanently disabled, it makes little difference whether the figures are relatively better or not. Death and pain are not relative. They are bitter reality—to the man who is hurt, or to the survivors left behind.

A single accident, a single fatality is bad, wherever and whenever it happens.

Management Responsibility

Taking accident prevention from the management viewpoint, we can start with the fundamental assumption that management is most emphatically responsible for industrial safety in the United States. That responsibility will be reflected in literally thousands of individual safety programs of varying complexity across the country, programs which are designed to protect American workers from the physical hazards of industrial employment.

But whereas certain obvious jurisdictional lines can be drawn between management and labor in many areas of industrial activity, no line can be drawn where safety is concerned. Safety represents a unique form of responsibility in that accident prevention cuts straight across every industrial organization and involves everybody—without exception.

This means that management must share its responsibility for safety with labor and with the individual worker, completely and wholeheartedly. We might call accident prevention the "eternal triangle" of industrial relations, to take certain liberties with that familiar phrase. On the one side there is management, on the second side organized labor, and on the third side the worker himself. Unless there is a sense of mutual responsibility for safety, a sense of personal participation by every member of the organization, the triangle flies apart, accidents happen and people get hurt.

Today I want to discuss with you some of the implications of the "triangular" approach to accident prevention and then to show you how we have used this approach in the field where I am most at home: the Pacific Coast pulp and paper industry.

Management's responsibility to provide a safe place to work requires far more than the provision of guards around machinery or dangerous chemicals, adherence to State and local safety regulations, or the establishment of elaborate safety campaigns. It requires the generation and the steady maintenance of a "safety climate."

This climate must induce every member of the organization, from top management down to the man on the line, to think, feel and breathe safety all the time.

If the safety climate is sufficiently well developed, it should even permeate the home and the community and thus act to prevent accidents away from work—where, in fact, most accidents occur. An employee who seriously injures himself falling from a defective stepladder while pruning an apple tree is just as much a loss to the company as though he had been hurt on the job.

Indifference or Lip Service

This need for a good safety climate cannot be over-emphasized. Indeed, it has been growing steadily in American industry through the years. Where it does not exist it is apparent that top management or the employees are either indifferent to safety or merely paying lip service to accident prevention. In such cases a plant cannot be completely safe. In a complex industrial facility—and

what facility is not complex these days—the lack of a good safety climate can be dangerous to management and labor alike.

To build a proper safety climate, management must have the full cooperation of the union and the individual worker. Each must hold up his end of the triangle. There can be no blockage of communications, no attitude of "let the other fellow do it," no abrogation of the mutual responsibility for safety. Management cannot afford it because of its legal and moral obligations to its employees and because of its heavy investment in trained manpower and in equipment. The union cannot afford it because it is obliged to promote the welfare of union members. The individual worker cannot afford it because his good right arm, and possibly his life are at stake.

The plain fact is that nobody can afford it. The pursuit of safety is about the most "mutual" interest I know of.

In order to generate a proper safety climate, management must be prepared to do everything within its power to prevent accidents. Safety must be built into the entire industrial process, from the building of new plants and equipment to the lowliest work order. The plant manager, backed up by top management, must be ready and willing to curtail production in order to solve a safety problem. And the safety message must be effectively communicated up and down the line.

Building safety into the industrial process obviously calls for system and method. A program is the *sine qua non* of accident prevention and it is up to management to provide direction and support for safety campaigns. I do not wish to fill in for you all the details of a management safety program, since many of them will be known to you as established techniques. Nevertheless, the common denominator of all safety programs must be a combination of five basic elements:

Five First Steps

First, good housekeeping. Safety and clutter, like the mongoose and the cobra, are natural enemies.

Second, protective equipment and emergency procedures.

Third, safety supervision and inspection. This would include the preparation of safety rules and their enforcement, accident investigation and analysis. And it would include action to prevent recurrence of accidents.

Fourth, sanitation and medical facilities.

Fifth, safety education. This means the indoctrination of new employees, building safety into job training and holding safety meetings. It means keeping the safety message before all members of the organization all the time.

It is possible, of course, for management to blueprint an accident prevention effort on the basis of these five elements and delude itself into believing that complete safety has been achieved.

Let me give you a useful illustration of what I mean. In the Pacific Coast pulp and paper industry we thought we were all for safety during the years before the war.

Most of our member mills probably considered that their safety standards were adequate for the times. But there was a missing link. The proper safety climate had not been established. And our accident rate proved it. From 1923 to 1945 the sum total of our safety effort was a drop of around four points in lost-time injuries—from 43.50 to 39! No such rate could be tolerated today.

Then something happened.

Fortunately the pulp and paper industry on the Pacific Coast had always enjoyed excellent relations with the two labor unions representing our employees: The International Brotherhood of Papermakers and the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers. Through the years we had bargained collectively with considerable vigor, without losing respect for the other side of the bargaining table. Bargaining was—and is—on an area-wide basis and the wage contract agreed upon applies to the workers of all mills in the Pacific Coast Association of Pulp and Paper Manufacturers.

Unions Take the Lead

During the course of our wage negotiations in 1945, the two labor unions—representing nearly 50 local unions, by the way—proposed a joint labor-management attack on accidents in the pulp and paper industry. They fully recognized that safety cannot be covered in any adequate way through a labor contract and saw considerable merit and wisdom in the joint approach.

So did management. We agreed with the idea at once. Thus began one of the most unique developments in labor-management relations throughout all of American industrial history. We had discovered, at least in our industry and in our area, the triangular method of accident prevention.

To put the proposal into practical effect, the unions suggested that we establish an annual series of joint labor-management safety conferences to be held in the three States of Oregon, Washington and California. The purpose of the conferences was to be "the consideration of safety education, accident prevention and first aid." From that day to this we have never wavered from this purpose and the results of the whole experiment speak for themselves.

Conference Makes History

Our first conference took place in Olympia, Washington, in 1946, with 35 member mills taking part. It was recognized that the conference would be conducted in a vacuum unless we also developed a fool-proof system for reporting back to the mills, so that every employee was familiar with the topics discussed and the solutions or safety procedures recommended. Thus the conference machinery of discussions, clinics, talks and feed-backs was shifted into gear and off we went.

From that first conference the accident rate began to drop. Our rating in 1945, as I have just mentioned, was 39. In 1946, the year of the first conference, we were able to lower it several points. By 1952, we had cut it back successively each year to 10.06, a drop of nearly thirty points.

Last March we held our tenth annual Joint Labor-Management Safety Conference of the Pacific Coast pulp and paper industry. It was a time for stock-taking, of course. And we allowed ourselves at least a measure of satisfaction from the fact that our 1955 accident rate—with 39 mills participating—was down to 6.40 accidents per million manhours worked, as against 11.9 for the pulp and paper industry as a whole. The frequency of injuries had been reduced by 84 percent while the number of workers in Pacific Coast pulp and paper mills had increased by more than 50 percent, from 15,000 to 22,500. The actual number of injuries in 1955 was 291. With fewer workers in 1946, the number of injuries in that year exceeded 1,000.

The successful reduction of an accident rate, however, permits only a momentary burst of pride. For a 6.40 accident rate is still too high and we have found it increasingly difficult to repeat the spectacular gains we made during the initial phases of the experiment.

Don't Get Smug!

Moreover, the very moment when you take pride in a good accident prevention record is the time to look for trouble. At our tenth conference a Los Angeles paper converting plant was awarded a trophy for a lost-time accident rate of zero during 1955. Within a matter of a few days the record of this mill was broken when a man fell from a ladder, breaking two bones in his foot. Shortly afterward a second man injured his hand in a winding belt. Luckily, nothing more serious occurred.

I am quite familiar with the details. The mill happens to belong to my own company.

At the same time a drop of more than 32 points in lost-time injuries speaks volumes in favor of our labor-management safety conferences. We found, for example, that had we maintained the accident rate of 1945 during the ten-year conference period there would have been 10,000 additional lost-time accidents. We can argue soundly, it seems to me, that those accidents were prevented by our conference program. It is now safer to work in a mill of the Pacific Coast pulp and paper industry than it is to stay at home.

From the first year of the program, active union-management committees were established at each mill. Through the years these committees have continued to meet regularly, often once a week, to review plant accidents, to investigate the causes of accidents and to discuss various safety measures. Again at the mill level, considerable attention has been given to encouraging safety-consciousness on the part of individual workers through bulletins, posters and meetings—in fact, up to and including safety book matches.

In order to keep up sustained interest throughout the industry, the manufacturers' association publishes every month the accident frequency rate of member mills. And at every annual conference friendly competition among the mills is encouraged by the presentation of awards based on the five-year frequency rate, the lowest frequency rate for the year and for the lowest injury rate in each of the three States.

Each conference meets and deliberates under two co-chairmen, one representing labor and the other management. It has always been agreed that the meetings should not be sounding boards for the settlement of local plant disputes or grievances, which can be more effectively solved in the mill itself. The deck is thus cleared for the consideration of suggestions and ideas which can be used

by individual delegates to improve their own safety programs. We can also count on many visitors from other parts of the country to contribute their own recommendations for accident prevention, based on their regional experience.

Good Relations Were Basic

Now it is true that the joint labor-management safety conferences of the Pacific Coast pulp and paper industry grew out of a history of successful collective bargaining. We cannot deny that the soil for this type of experiment had been well prepared by a pattern of cooperation which had been long established. There have been attempts to adopt the technique elsewhere and not all of them have been successful. We are familiar with many accident prevention campaigns which collapsed after the initial enthusiasm had waned.

Nevertheless, I commend our experiment to your attention as one approach to the problem of accident prevention.

Safety, like many other aspects of our modern technological world, is here to stay. Management must think first of the humanitarian considerations of accident prevention. Every effort must be made to see that the man on the line is sent home to his family as sound of mind and limb as when he reported for work on his shift.

Management has discovered, however, that safety pays and that accident prevention is another effective way of protecting the total corporate investment. Safety helps to reduce high insurance costs, eliminates waste and prevents the loss of valuable property and equipment. While serving its humanitarian purpose, safety also protects management's investment in its most valuable asset: skilled and experienced manpower. And that investment will loom larger as the technological revolution advances and jobs in industry become more highly skilled and better paid.

Safety Cuts Costs

In connection with this subject of cost-saving through safety, it is often wrongly assumed that only the large corporation can afford effective safety programs. Studies have been made which demonstrate that the small company also can cut costs and get a higher return on investment through systematic accident prevention. And yet, as a group, small companies are generally found in the rearguard of the national safety movement.

For the small concern safety is an effective form of accident insurance. Actually a large corporation might be able to survive an accident which could ruin a small company.

In short, safety is "a game in which everyone can win." That apt description was given at one of our Pacific Coast Joint Labor-Management Safety Conferences by William Riggs, International Representative of the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers.

It is the mutual responsibility of management, labor and the individual worker to see that common-sense rules of the game of safety are drawn up and applied. Management also shares with labor and the individual worker the responsibility for seeing that the game never ends.

Resolution on Safety and Occupational Health

Adopted by First Constitutional AFL-CIO Convention, New York, New York; December 1-5, 1955

Occupational accidents and health hazards continue to take a relentless toll of the lives and well-being of American workers. Despite continuous discussion of the problem, statistics indicate that these accidents and injuries continue at a fairly consistent level year after year. The 14,000 death toll and 1,850,000 crippling accidents in 1954 reveal only a slight reduction in the shameful record of 1953.

These tragic problems can be solved only through the cooperation of all concerned, in voluntary activities and in enactment of necessary legislation. Organized labor has consistently requested business management, the other major group directly concerned in occupational safety and health, to join with us in such cooperation. In the isolated instances where the cooperative approach has been tried, the record plainly reveals tremendous improvements in safety performance.

Major opposition to the cooperative approach can be traced clearly to a group of large industries, the heads of which continue to insist that occupational safety and health programs are the "sole prerogative" of management. Representatives of these industries strive to dominate completely the voluntary and governmental agencies which presumably have been established to reduce accidents and occupational diseases. Thus they prevent any real improvements in occupational safety and health legislation, and adequate governmental appropriations for research, education and enforcement of existing laws.

Miserly Appropriations

The limited interest which the U. S. Department of Labor and the U. S. Public Health Service are permitted to take in occupational safety and health, is revealed in the Federal budget. The Bureau of Labor Standards in the Labor Department has been allotted \$735,000 for the current fiscal year; the Occupational Health Program in the Health, Education and Welfare Depart-

ment has been given \$557,000 by the present Administration. These amounts together represent an annual expenditure of less than TWO CENTS for each American worker. Even these pitiful amounts are constantly threatened with further reductions.

Similarly, the Department of Labor and other agencies concerned with occupational health in the respective states are handicapped by grossly inadequate appropriations. Efforts to improve inadequate state standards meet with steady and relentless opposition; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED: 1. We reaffirm the programs for improving occupational safety and health which organized labor has repeatedly recommended.

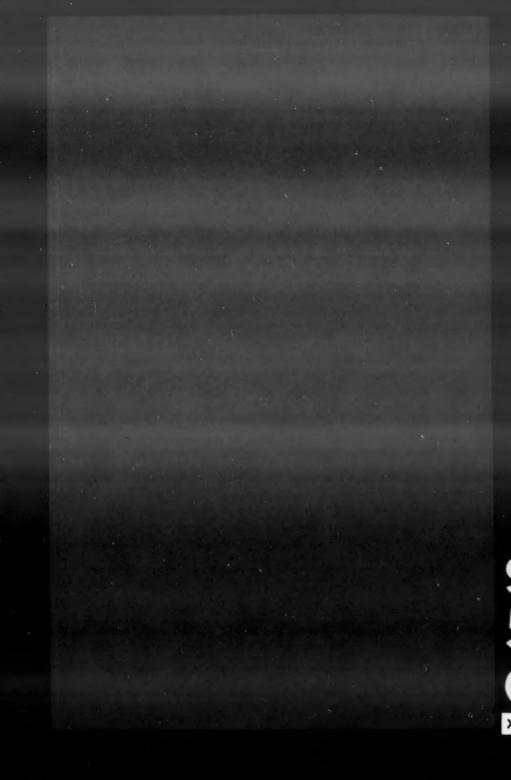
2. We further urge the 84th Congress to appropriate funds in amounts sufficient to enable the Bureau of Labor Standards of the U. S. Department of Labor and the Division of Special Services, U. S. Public Health Service, to carry out properly and efficiently their respective leadership functions in the prevention of occupational accidents and diseases. We further urge that the Congress provide for Federal grants-in-aid to the state agencies concerned with maintaining standards of occupational safety and health, as provided in the Bailey bill (H.R. 4877) and the Murray bill (S. 638). We also urge the Congress to vest in the Federal Government enforcement of adequate labor standards in metallic and non-metallic mines as well as in coal mines, and also in quarries, and in the logging and lumbering industry.

3. We commend the National Safety Council for its decision within the last year to integrate organized labor into the work of the Council through the establishment of a Labor Conference equal in status to other NSC Conferences.

Joint Committees Needed

4. We emphasize our conviction that occupational safety and health can be attained only by initial action at the level of each individual plant or workplace. Neither management, nor labor, nor safety technicians can do the job alone. All three groups must work together voluntarily in good faith to attain the objectives through joint committees.

5. We urge all affiliates to work diligently in their respective states to bring about the enactment of enforceable, up-to-date occupational safety and health codes at all levels.





A Guide for Local Union Educat Committees Working on . . .

- * NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE I
- * ECONOMICS FOR '56
- * WORKING WITH FARMER
- * BUILDING INTERNATIONA

How to a

Write the AFL-CIO Department of Education for help in developing your education program. Available services are:

AFL-CIO Education News and Views, a monthly publication which reviews pamphlets, films, etc., helpful in local education programs. Features articles on education programs at all levels.

Films For Labor, new 72-page AFL-CIO film catalogue. More than 200 16mm sound films available on rental from AFL-CIO Department of Education.

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Reprinted from AFL-CIO Education News and View Department of Education, John D.

PUBLICATION No.

AMERICAN FEDERATION CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL

815—16th Street, I Washington 6, D

GEORGE MEANY,
President



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E ISSUES

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Film-A-Month Plan. Join AFL-CIO's new film-a-month plan and show a film each month at your local union meeting. One picture is worth a thousand words.

Teaching Guide for Training ACL-CIO Stewards, a 6-session guide which will help staff people develop a steward's training program. (\$1.00)

Help in working in the field of public education, including vocational education and apprenticeship training. Special services available to labor groups working in this field.

Views, 1956, published by the AFL-CIO hn D. Connors, Director.

No. 33

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N OF LABOR AND AL ORGANIZATIONS, eet, N.W. 6, D. C.

WILLIAM F. SCHNITZLER, Secretary-Treasurer

How to Educate On National Legislative Issues

"Two pennies can save you \$48 a year," says the headline of a recent union leaflet.

When the average union member reads his gas bill (perhaps a year from now) he will understand that the headline on this leaflet referred to the Fulbright gas bill which just passed U. S. Senate.

Under this bill union statisticians indicate families will pay \$4 more each month on their gas bill for cooking and heating. The union leaflet closed with "send a 2c postcard to your Senator asking him to vote against the Fulbright

bill."

Here is a good example of how a complicated legislative problem has been translated into terms understandable to the rank and file worker. It shows how the legislation will affect the worker and calls upon him to do something about it.

Local union education committees can help to dramatize the impact of national legislation on individual union

members in the following fashion:

The Legislative Process

Although most workers studied high school civics, many of them need additional basic knowledge of the legislative process. Education committees can help on this problem by closely following the progress of a particular bill such as last year's fight for a higher minimum wage.

Three areas which can be emphasized are:

- 1. How a bill gets passed-basic structure of the Congress including committees.
- 2. Special obstacles—such as filibustering, log-rolling, etc.
- 3. Lobbying—a force for good as well as evil.

(Here the Committee might want to use the film available from the AFL-ClO Film Library, "How Congress Works.")

National Legislative Issues of 1956

There are a number of important issues which will probably come up during the present session of Congress. Local union members need to understand these issues and do something about them. AFL-CIO has listed as important:

- Federal Aid to School Construction. The House Committee endorsed the Kelley Bill which would provide \$400 million a year for the next four years to the states. Eisenhower recently proposed a less generous bill. The legislative picture is complicated by the Powell anti-segregation amendment.
- Minimum Wages. The new \$1.00 minimum takes effect March 1, 1956. Our next major goal is the widest possible extension of coverage.
- Tax Revisions. AFL-CIO urges that tax revisions be directed towards the lower and middle-income groups. The 1954 changes favored the wealthy.
- Housing. A sizeable public housing program must be approved—at least two million units a year. Middle income groups should also be helped.
- Unemployment Compensation. We support federal legislation which would set decent minimum standards on unemployment compensation.

 Social Security. The House-passed social security
- bill lowers the eligibility age for women workers, wives

and widows to 62, grants pensions to disabled workers at age 50, and blankets in almost all remaining groups. The Senate must still act.

● Taft-Hartley. AFL-CIO will continue to work for liberalizing amendments. A major objective is the repeal of Section 14(b) which permits state "Right-to-Work" laws.

Other important issues are: raise farmers' income; liberalize our immigration laws; and enact river and resources projects.

Try These Methods in Your Union

Mock Interviewing Technique. Select one union member as your Congressman or Senator; use three members of your committee to interview him. Prepare the questions and answers on the actual voting record. actual quotes from the speeches in Congress which you can get from the Congressional Record at your public library. Don't ham it up, play it straight.

Quiz Program. Mimeograph a series of six or seven questions on how Congress works or on the provisions of a specific piece of legislation. Use some true and false questions and some multiple choice questions. Distribute these at a local union meeting, give the membership a chance to check their answers. Indicate this is not a test. Spend 10 minutes discussing the answers, even mimeograph them on the other side of the sheet of questions.

"Pro" and "Con" Discussions. Take four members of your education committee and divide them into groups of two. Have one group present the position of the labor movement on the legislation. Have the other group present the position of the opponents of the legislation. Allow fifteen minutes for the presentation and perhaps ten to fifteen minutes for questions and discussion. your union meeting vote on which side did the best of presentation. Have available a labor pamphlet dealing with the subject which you can then pass out to the mem-bership. (Write COPE for Fact Sheet No. 1, "Aid for Our Schools.")

Voting Records—the batting average of your Congressman, how he represents or misrepresents you in Congress. Tally the score on a blackboard at a regular meeting but explain the issues voted on.

Visits to Congressmen—personal contact is still worth a great deal. Plan for small groups or committees to visit with Congressmen and Senators home for the Easter holidays or weekends. Be informed when you visit your Representative. (Use the film "Pressure Groups" to brief your committee.)

Write a Letter-Make it personal. Form letters don't count for much. Criticize him when he's wrong. Praise him when he votes right.

Use Sound Films-16mm movies are available on national legislative issues. Write the AFL-CIO Education Department for a list of films on national legislative prob-Films can be used effectively as background for discussion on current issues.

Talks-Keep them short. Set a time limit and keep a watch on the speaker. Allow time for questions. Even "plant" a few to start the ball rolling.

In using these techniques, the education committee will have to carefully plan the program beforehand and do a lot of hard work in executing the program.

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ECONOMIC ISSUES FOR WOR

What yardsticks can we use to determine fair and

realizable collective bargaining goals?

What kind of economic policies can best assure expanding production throughout the nation and jobs enough for our growing labor force? How can we more justly distribute the goods and services America produces? In what way can each family make better use of the income share it now receives?

Our success in finding the right answers to these economic questions—and then putting our findings into effect

-is vital to the happiness of every family.

The overall objective of the economic program of AFL-CIO is to achieve the maximum satisfaction of the needs and wants of the families of the nation.

But how do we determine—to begin with—what the

average family's needs actually are today?

Minimum Needs for a Worker's Family

Fortunately, competent economists have provided us

with "yardsticks." For a "modest For a "modest but adequate" standard of living, the City Workers Family Budget of the U. S. Department of Labor calls for a yearly income of \$4,300 today. According to another study, by the Heller Committee of the University of California, a "commonly accepted" living standard in the San Francisco area calls for a \$5,465 income to meet the needs of a family of four.

According to these budgets, and assuming steady employment and a forty-hour work week, earnings of \$2.07 to \$2.63 an hour are required to support average mini-

mum family needs.

These budget studies serve as a valuable yardstick for wage bargaining. Furthermore, they help establish our minimum national family income goal.

Fortunately, a full description of these budgets—how to adjust them to living costs in various cities, and the way they can be used in contract negotiations-is available in the April issue of Collective Bargaining Report, prepared monthly by the Department of Research of AFL-CIO.

Collective Bargaining Gains in '55

A discussion of collective bargaining gains for 1955 provides another important yardstick for union negotia-tors and those who follow economic trends.

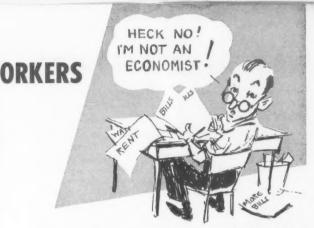
A summary of such gains shows, for example, that average hourly earnings in manufacturing rose by a dime in 1955, along with the substantial gains in pensions, guaranteed annual wage, and other "fringes" achieved last year.

Yet, the average hourly wage last December—\$1.93still was too low to meet minimum family budget needs. While several million trade union families had reached the budget goal, the great majority of American families still lagged far behind.

(A fuller discussion of this problem is in the January 1956 Collective Bargaining Report.)

Extend Minimum Wage Coverage

Even in the midst of our greatest boom, twenty million employees—most of whom don't work under union contracts-are still denied coverage under the \$1.00 minimum wage.



Who are these uncovered workers? Why were they "exempted"? What can we do to help them—through organization and legislative action? What will be the impact upon our economy if these millions of workers are

These questions are answered in the March issue of the AFL-CIO Research Department's Labor's Economic Review, entitled "Extend Minimum Wage Coverage." In eight dynamic and factually packed pages, the inadequacy of our Federal Minimum Wage Law is reported.

Automation: Friend Or Foe?

While organized labor is concentrating efforts on raising family incomes, it must rivet attention on the problem of job displacement, too. The problems of technological

or job displacement, too. The problems of technological progress must be squarely faced.

What is automation? What will be its impact on the daily lives of wage and salary workers, and on the national economy as a whole? Why, as technological progress pushes unit labor costs down and down, must wage rates keep moving up if a production glut and mass un-employment is to be avoided?

These critically important questions are analyzed and answered in AFL-CIO's newest pamphlet, "Labor Looks

At Automation.

What About Farm Problems?

The deceitful charge that higher wage rates are the cause of the current misfortune on the farm is being spread throughout the countryside by Secretary of Agriculture Benson, in an effort to hide the failure of his own

agricultural program.

The facts and figures about the fall in farm prices—and not higher city wages-being the prime cause of the crisis on the farm must be clearly understood in any discussion of economic problems. Profiteering by industry-and not improved worker earnings-is responsible for the higher cost of the industrial items the farmer buys. Higher wages are always the excuse, but not the cause of the price hikes we have recently been seeing.

It is essential for trade unionists who talk to farmer

neighbors, as well as others concerned with the fundamental economic issue of the wage-price squeeze, to have the facts available. The April issue of AFL-CIO's Labor's Economic Review entitled, "Farmers-Workers and the 'Cost-Price' Squeeze," is a good starting point for such

an important discussion.

As organized labor has grown in numbers and in statresponding the part of unionists and in stature, its opportunity to influence the direction of economic events has increased many fold. Today, the trade union movement is a great force for good. Through broader understanding of its economic policies and goals—on the part of unionists and non-members alike—our impact can be even greater.

WORKING WITH FARMERS

In January, President Meany's answer to Secretary of Agriculture Benson's attempt to blame city workers for sagging farm prices and income, said in part:

"The AFL-CIO recognizes that the needs and aspirations of farm and city families are alike. We know that they depend economically upon each other and that one group cannot long prosper unless the other is prosperous too.

"For this reason we are deeply disturbed by Mr. Benson's deliberate effort to sow discord between farm and city workers in an effort to whitewash his own failures."

In effect he was saying that workers have a stake in doing something about the tremendous drop in income the farmers have been suffering under the Eisenhower-Benson farm program; that workers and farmers should work together to resist the wedge that big business and Benson have been trying to drive between them with much success; that workers and farmers are interdependent. History has shown that when these two groups have recognized these simple facts and acted together they have gotten a better deal for farmers.

Farmers today are more receptive to working and building relationships with union people. On the national level, the campaign for a higher minimum wage demonstrated a growing awareness on the part of the farmers' representatives of the need for guaranteeing workers decent wage standards. Labor has supported the farmers' efforts for legislation to provide fair prices, decent income, rural electrification, better roads, schools and hospitals to the farmer. But the understanding and working together between farmers and workers has to be built at the grass roots if it is to last. This is where the locals, central bodies, states and districts come in.

Work on an Extended Basis

In doing this job, it is well to recognize a few principles based on experiences of unions with farmer-labor programs:

Farmer-labor cooperation cannot be built in one conversation, in a day or in one meeting. It'll take time. Be prepared to work on an extended basis.

The first step is for workers and farmers to get acquainted—to get to know each other. Get to know key farm leaders in your area who may be sympathetic to good, progressive legislation. In most places farmers belong to farm organizations that work on legislative problems and furnish them with a great deal of legislative information. When you get to discuss issues with farmers through meetings, or joint forums etc., it will be natural for union people to want to talk about "right-to-work" laws and farmers to want to talk about price supports. It would be better to try to find issues on which there is some common problem, and perhaps agreement, such as the need for better schools.

Here are some of the things that can be done to build a farmer-labor program:

1. Set up a Farmer-Labor Committee—Select members for the committee carefully. Members with a farm background, who are otherwise qualified, are good. They have farm contacts and understand the farmers' problems. A farm background, however, is not a necessity—just an interest in farmers and their problems. The committee should plan and work on the farm-labor program.

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- 2. Get Acquainted with Farmers—That means just what it says. Committee members and others can get together, get out to the farm areas, get acquainted and talk about common problems. Meeting with farmers in small, informal groups rather than large meetings, at the beginning, helps you get to know each other. Having been fed much anti-union propaganda, farmers have many misconceptions about workers, such as: unions are run by "labor bosses" who "dictate" high wage demands; demands for higher wages are the cause of high prices for the things farmers buy; farmers are receiving low prices for their products because of high wages in the food processing industries; workers strike too much. Get the facts to help clear up these misconceptions. You ought to know from the farmers what their problems are and discuss these problems in relation to the common interests of workers and farmers.
- 3. Union Education Program on Farm Issues—Better farmer-labor relations are a two-way street. Films and pamphlets are available to help workers understand their relationship with farmers and farm problems. Plan to use them at meetings. Along with this, line up one of the local family-farm leaders to speak at the meeting on what it takes to run a farm, what problems a farmer faces.
- 4. Exchange Speakers—After confidence has been established, it is often possible to arrange to exchange speakers with the farm groups. A union leader speaks at the farm organization's meeting and vice versa.
- 5. Farmer-Labor Forum—Out in Indiana, key union people cemented their relationships with farmers by jointly setting up a monthly forum program. Each meeting, an agreed upon issue or topic is discussed. They find they have many differences of opinion—but also many similarities which they can act upon together.
- 6. Visits to Factories and Farms—Some unions have arranged very successful visits of groups of farmers to factories and workers to farms. A discussion following the tour to clear up questions helps, too.
- 7. Union Exhibit at County Fairs—Many central bodies and locals reach numbers of farmers through exhibits at county fairs. Workers manning the booth have a chance to talk to farmers and their wives. Send to the AFL-CIO Department of Education for a guide on setting up a fair exhibit. Bear in mind, however, that a fair program in itself is incomplete if nothing is done between fairs.
- 8. Mailings to Farmers—You can counteract some of the over-whelmingly anti-union propaganda aimed at farmers by sending periodic mailings to farmers. Make sure what you send is related to issues and problems which farmers in your area are interested in.

For pamphlets and films to use in your farm-labor program see page 5. Write the AFL-CIO Department of Education for information on farm organizations, facts and materials to help you in your program.

lucation News and Views, June, 1956



Pamphlets and other printed materials explaining farm problems and discussing the importance of farmer-labor cooperation are useful for distribution to union officers, for display at your exhibit at state fairs, and for use in connection with special farmer-labor meetings. Some which you will find particularly helpful, available from the AFL-CIO Department of Education, are:

Farmers-Workers and the "Cost-Price" Squeeze. AFL-CIO Economic Review, April, 1956. 8p. 15c; quantity rates. Shows the fallacies behind Agriculture Secretary Benson's claims that high wages are the cause of the farmers' woe.

the cause of the farmers' woe.

Crisis on the Farm. Robert G. Lewis.

Reprinted from "The Progressive." 1955.

12p. 15c; quantity rates. A series of three articles, "Crisis on the Farm," "A Package for Plenty," and "Revolution on the Farm," summarizes the impact of the Benson program on the farm economy, suggests alternatives to the current Administration policies, and discusses the future of the family-sized farm.

We're in This Togeth Free. Illustrated flyer or farmers are getting, its einent of city workers, and workers should "join tog together."

Available from the Am Cutters and Butcher Wo Sheridan Rd., Chicago Icharge is a reprint of an Jimerson and Patrick Gorm Are the Facts, Secretary 2p.) This gives the fact profits in the meat packi their relationship to livester.

The other publications ground to committees world problem are: The Meat clissued by the United Pacters of America, 608 South cago, Ill., and the Washing of the Farmers Union. weekly and can be substrate of \$1.50 a year by National Farmers Union, Avenue, N.W., Washington

Order These New AFL-CIO Par







No. 3. Policy Resolutions of the AFL-CIO adopted by the First Constitutional Convention, December, 1955. Indexed. 107 p.

No. 4. AFL-CIO Resolutions on Economic Issues—distressed areas, taxation—federal, state and local, U.S. budget policy, wage-hour, farm-labor, etc. 20 p.

No. 6. AFL-CIO Resolutions on Social Security, Welfare and Related Issues—Calls for adequate health services through a national health program. 16 p.

No. 7. AFL-CIO Resolution on Foreign Policy—outlines the great stake American trade unionists have in world peace and the promotion of freedom. 10 p.

No. 20. This is the AFL-CIO—A Democratic Organization of 15 Million Americans Dedicated to Building a Stronger America—puts in pocket form the aims and aspirations of newly-merged AFL-CIO. 16 p.

No. 21. Labor Looks
—a summary picture of higher living standards an of living and working wit chinery. 24 p.

No. 23. YOUR RIGHTS and Local Fair Employmer—summarizes city and statells laymen what action ca "wrongs" are suffered. 32

No. 24. DISCRIMINAT YOU MONEY—defines with cartoons and simple union situation where "J money. 24 p.

money. 24 p.

No. 26. PROGRESS A
TIVITY—re-emphasizes th
tive bargaining in making

No. 28. FREEDOM FO Rejects Communism—rev



Fogether. COPE. 4p. yer on the raw deal its effect on employ-s, and why farmers and oin together and vote

he Amalgamated Meat er Workmen, 2800 N. cago 14, Ill., without of an article by Earl k Gorman titled, "Here eretary Benson (1955, e facts on wages and packing industry and livestock prices.

ations useful as backations useful as backse working on the farm
Meat of It, a bulletin
d Packinghouse WorkSouth Dearborn, Chiashington Newsletter
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e subscribed to at the
subscribed to at the
Jinion, 1404 New York
hington, D. C.

Films on Farm Problems

Films can do much to explain in visual with which we are terms problems familiar; and they are particularly useful in the area of farm-labor relations to de-velop mutual understanding among farmers and workers of the problems each faces. A number of films in this field are available from the AFL-CIO Film Library. They include:

Common Ground (13 min. Rental \$2.50), produced by the CIO, deals with the interrelationship of prosperity for the farmer and the worker and shows how a dairy farmer becomes convinced by events in the community where his milk is sold in the community where his milk is sold that workers' wages do make a difference to him.

Farm and City (8 min. Rental \$2.00), produced by the U. S. Department of Agriculture, shows the relation between farm and city and points out that "What's good for one is good for the other."

Power and the Land (38 min. Rental \$4.00), an outstanding documentary produced by the U. S. Department of Agriculture, presents the story of a typical family-sized farm before and after electrification. Useful for pointing up the achievements of REA.

The River (32 min. Rental \$3.00), one of the outstanding films produced by the U. S. Department of Agriculture, traces life in the valley of the Mississippi River during the last 150 years. It shows the consequences of share-cropping.

Pamphlets NOW!







ooks at Automation re of the promise of rds and the challenges ng with automatic ma-

IGHTS... Under State doyment Practice Laws nd state FEP laws and tion can be taken when ed. 32 p.

IINATION COSTS lefines discrimination simple language in a ere "Jim Crow" costs

SS AND PRODUCizes the role of collecaking a partnership for

perity. 4 p.
M FOREVER—Labor
n—reviews action by

AFL-CIO unions to promote democracy at home and abroad. 4 p.

How to Win—a revised handbook on organizing for political campaigns and the hard day to day work necessary to doing a job of political action at the block, precinct or ward level by local unions, councils or central bodies. 254 p. Write to AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education of the present that the present the present the present that the present the present that the present the present the present that the present that the present that the present the present that the present the present the present the present that the present that the present t

AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education. \$1 per copy.
Union Security: The "Right to
Work" Controversy—reviews labor's position on this false issue. Labor's Economic
Review, January, 1956. 8 p.
Minimum Earnings Necessary for
Decent Standard of Living—a summary
presentation of the BLS City Worker's
Family Budget and that of the Heller
Committee of the University of California
AFL-CIO Collective Bargaining Report,
April, 1956. April, 1956.

EDUCATING TRADE UNIONISTS A

When the delegates to the AFL-CIO met in the historic merger convention in New York City, December, 1955, they tackled many problems in building a new, stronger American labor movement. In the field of international affairs and foreign policy, the delegates adopted a resolution which said in part:

The united American trade union movement, in common with labor everywhere, has the greatest stake in the preservation of peace and the promotion of freedom. Approaching the international crisis as patriotic citizens and free trade unionists, we have the highest interest in building a world free from all dictatorship, poverty and war.

The free trade union movement cannot thrive, or even live, without democracy. In view of the enormous Communist threat to democracy, we of American labor face new significant tasks. At this critical juncture of history, we are in duty bound to help our country meet its heavy responsibilities as a powerful force for the attainment of lasting world peace, freedom and human well-being.

lasting world peace, freedom and human well-being.

We of the united American labor movement—the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations—have three main areas of activities in our efforts to aid our country in the fulfillment of its new historic role. These are: (1) Through our trade union strength and political actions, help build an ever better and stronger America, a prosperous and progressive land free from economic and social inequity and all racial and every other form of discrimination. 2) Through democratic processes, help our nation evolve and execute an effective democratic foreign policy. 3) Through cooperation with and assistance to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, to aid free labor everywhere in becoming a most powerful force for furthering social justice, national and human freedom, economic well-being and world-peace.

How can local union education committees implement this policy? How can international affairs become as meaningful as collective bargaining? Obviously, union officials and members need more information on the complicated problems in the field of international affairs. But they need special information which is meaningful to workers who are members of trade unions.

ICFTU Plays An Important Role

First, of course, is the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) which both the AFL and CIO helped to organize in 1949. Just as international

Three members of the AFL-CIO International Affairs Department, Director George Brown, Assistant Director Michael Ross and Serafino Romualdi talk things over with the ICFTU General Secretary J. H. Oldenbroeck at Miami, Florida.



Reprinted from AFL-CIO Education

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A visitor from the Pakistan labor movement, C. P. Dave, discusses world problems with three local union members at a labor school.

and national unions are affiliated with the AFL-CIO, so the AFL-CIO, with 96 other labor movements from 94 countries, is affiliated with the ICFTU. One of the most exciting programs today is the work which the ICFTU is doing to bring bread, peace and freedom to workers of all the world.

In every way, whether through the use of foreign trade unionists visiting this country, by showing a new United Nations film, or by running a panel discussion on the foreign policy resolution of the AFL-CIO, local union education committees can help AFL-CIO members better understand their responsibility in the field of international affairs.

Here are some ideas for programs which education committees might plan for local unions or central bodies:

Use Foreign Trade Unionists or Visitors

Trade unionists or visitors from foreign countries are an invaluable way of introducing union people to the problems of peoples in other countries. Person to person contact, as Ed Murrow has shown, is worth a thousand pamphlets or lectures. And it works both ways. One Indian civil servant attending a union leadership training school in Iowa was pleasantly surprised to find that the delegates had a great curiosity and understanding about world affairs and were keen to know as much as possible about other people.

Several years ago, the Kentucky State Federation of Labor Summer Training Institute invited six German trade unionists to spend a week at the school. Even though language problems made communication more difficult, by the end of the week, the foreign trade unionists had been accepted and had helped delegates at the summer school to better understand international affairs. Also, delegates in Louisville took the German trade unionists to their homes over the weekend so that the visitors got a first-hand experience in living with an American worker's family.

More than 1,000 foreign trade unionists are traveling each year in this country under various government, foundation, and UN programs. They can come through your city if you request them and can be used in your local union education program.

Invite them to attend a membership meeting. One union group in Pennsylvania (the United Labor Committee of Crawford County) invited a team of Indo-

nesians (trade unionists, Labor Ministry officials and officials of government-owned enterprises) to their town for four days. The committee arranged for greetings from the unions, city officials and companies; materials on the background of the county and the local labor movement; a welcoming banquet by the Mayor; visits to the major local industries, a farm, the local college and public school system; participation in the monthly Central Labor Union meeting and a final banquet by the United Labor Committee.

It is important for visiting unionists to have dinner or stay overnight in a union member's home. Take them to local community or civic club meetings. Have them visit

your schools.

One program at union meetings you can use them on is an "inquiring reporter" panel. Set up three or four members of your local as "mock reporters" from the papers in your town. Have them ask the visiting trade unionist two or three questions each. Keep the answers short. This is enough to get the ball rolling with the whole group. You'd be surprised how quickly you'll have a lively, really interesting discussion. Allow time with these visitors for informal conversation, over a cup of coffee—or a glass of beer.

The AFL-CIO International Affairs Department will

The AFL-CIO International Affairs Department will attempt to help you get foreign trade unionists routed to your city. Make your request to George Brown, Director, AFL-CIO International Affairs Department, 815

Sixteenth St., N. W., Washington 6, D. C.

How To Use U. S. Trade Unionists

At a recent AFL-CIO education conference in Milwaukee, a Steelworker representative who had recently returned from a year's stay in England under a Fulbright* scholarship and a UAW representative who had been on special assignment for the ICFTU in Cyprus, told of their experiences. Delegates learned much about the plight of unions in Cyrpus under British rule when they were told that the place you saw most of the labor leaders was the jail. On the other hand they also found out how British workers live, what their unions were like, and something about the British Labor Party.

Trade unionists who have been on foreign labor assignments are scattered throughout the country. They often can be used as speakers, resource people, or discussion leaders, or in conjunction with a short film on the country

visited.

Also, some members of your local who have been overseas with the armed forces or in other capacities can prove useful as panel members to tell first-hand of conditions "over there."

Build Understanding of the UN

Each October 24, the birthday of the United Nations charter is celebrated. Materials are made available by the United States Committee for the U. N., 816 21st Street,

*A number of Fulbright scholarship awards are made available to trade unionists each year for a nine-month period of study abroad. Awards are granted particularly to those interested in work in the field of workers' education. Details about applications will appear in next month's issue of News and Views.

Three to five grants each year are also available to trade unionists to study at Ruskin College, Oxford, England. Added to this, some unions sponsor overseas tours for members. An example is the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Workers' month-long tour of Scandinavia. The Minnesota State CIO Council is also working on plans for sponsoring a trip to Scandinavia for union members.

N. W., Washington, D. C., under the direction of the U. S. Committee's Labor Advisory Committee. Not only should you set up a program in your own local or central body, but cooperation with your community's UN Day Committee is important.

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is s' Many locals in the eastern area of the United States have done an effective job of education about the U.N.

New Danny Kaye Movie Available from AFL-CIO

Assignment Children. Color. 20 min. 1955. Produced by UNICEF. AFL-CIO Rental \$2.50.

by UNICEF. AFL-CIO Rental \$2.50.

This is a heartwarming human interest film to show the activities of the United Nations' Children's Emergency Fund, better known as UNICEF. Danny Kaye travels through Asia with various UNICEF teams and as an interested observer of their fight against malaria in India, polio treatment in Japan, distribution of powdered milk in Korea, maternal and child care in Burma, and the continuing work against yaws in Thailand. He does a marvelous job of entertaining the children and captivates his audiences everywhere.

In his narration, Danny talks with obvious sincerity and enthusiasm about UNICEF's work. He points out that for every \$2.00 in materials contributed by UNICEF the country concerned contributed an equivalent of \$3.00 in labor.

This is an outstanding film to bring home to union members the human aspects of world relations. A discussion of the work of UNICEF can be used as a springboard for discussing the work of other UN agencies.

Tell the Story of UN With Films

The following 10 minute films produced by the United Nations and available from the AFL-CIO Film Library for \$2.50 each are useful to bring home to union members in concrete terms some of the activities of the UN. Afghanistan Moves Ahead and Indonesia Builds a Better Life tell how these countries are learning to help themselves with the aid of the UN Technical Assistance Program. UN Screen Magazine #3 tells the UN story behind the headline "Earthquake in Ecuador" when the organization mobilized forces of its member nations and special agencies to give assistance to the victims thru the WHO. UN Screen Magazine #4 deals with the UN Fellowship Program, an international system for exchanging knowledge and skills. Another useful UN film is Fate of a Child (17 Min.

Another useful UN film is **Fate of a Child** (17 Min. Rental \$2.50) which deals in simple human terms with some of the major problems facing underdeveloped areas in Latin America.

ILO (11 min. Rental \$2.00.) Traces the history of the International Labor Organization from its founding in 1919, and explains the aims and organization of this international organization which seeks to set world labor standards for good working conditions.



Burmese youngster says "thanks," in a unique way, to Danny Kaye for help provided by UNICEF.



Frank Graham (center), former president of the University of North Carolina, now with the UN, talks to a group of trade unionists visiting the United Nations on their role in building world peace.

through organizing tours of the United Nations center for their members. The AFL-CIO International Affairs Department will help make arrangements, provide speakers and plan programs to get the maximum "learning" out of the tour. Arrangements can be made for one and two-day meetings at the UN.

Use Pamphlets and Films Effectively

You can make life and the problems in underdeveloped countries very real through the use of the short, easy-to-read, primer pamphlet "The Odds Are Up To You." Use it as a discussion starter and "reader" by having someone read it a page at a time, followed by discussion.

someone read it a page at a time, followed by discussion.

Recent issues of the ICFTU magazine "Free Labour World" are available from the AFL-CIO Education De-

ICFTU and Foreign Trade Films

Free Labor Goes Forward. B&W. 20 min. Rental \$2.50.

Highlights of the 1955 convention of the Interna-

tional Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

ICFTU London Meeting, 1949. 20 min. Rental \$2.50.

Presents scenes from the founding meeting of the

International Confederation of Free Trade Unions in London, a meeting to which 73 trade union organizations from 53 countries sent their leaders.

Union Goes to School. 20 min. Rental \$2.50.

Highlights the educational work of the ICFTU by describing one of the organization's summer schools held in Austria. Forty students from 13 different countries discuss their common problems and learn from each other in this experiment in international democratic self-help.

The Shoemaker and the Hatter. Color. 20 min. Rental \$2.50.

An animated cartoon showing how "Mr. Shoemaker" by increasing production and stimulating free trade between nations is able to expand his business while "Mr. Hatter," who depends on high prices, restricted production, and trade barriers, fails.

World Trade for Better Living. 20 min. Rental \$2.50. Illustrates how exchanges of goods and services between countries contributes to the welfare of the world's people.

Stuff for Stuff. 20 min. \$2.50.

An animated story of the history of world trade showing the need for expanded trade in a developing international community.

Please order all films and filmstrips from the AFL-CIO Education Department. In most cases we have but one print of the films mentioned so please give at least two showing dates. partment. Yearly subscription rates for twelve issues are \$1.50. Tie pamphlets in with the showing of a film such as Afghanistan Moves Ahead" depicting the work of the UN Technical Assistance Program in an underdeveloped area. For better understanding of the AFL-CIO policies in this field send for free copies of AFL-CIO pamphlet No. 7, "AFL-CIO Foreign Policy Resolution" and distribute them at your local meetings.

Other films and the sound film strips, listed elsewhere in this article, can help you do the job. For example, Congress may soon pass on a bill to authorize U. S. support for a new UN agency to help make trade among all nations easier. For discussion on this subject of international trade, use the color cartoon film, "The Shoe-maker and the Hatter," which depicts in simple and amus-"The Shoeing fashion the idea of freer world trade. Sound filmstrips on the ICFTU are also available but make sure you have a sound, filmstrip projector. These are especially recommended for educational conferences and summer institute programs as well as special classes sponsored by local unions. All these films and pamphlets are available from the AFL-CIO Education Department.

There are many other ways that local unions develop programs of education in the field of international affairs. This field is one of the most difficult areas of education for union officers. We have seen great progress made in the last 25 years and again, as the AFL-CIO convention said at the close of its resolution on foreign

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"We shall encourage a greater knowledge of and a greater interest in international affairs among our membership, toward the end that the wage earners great stake in our country's foreign policy will be more clearly recognized and reflected in its formulation and conduct.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION

AFL-CIO International Affairs Department, 815 Sixteenth Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C. This department will help in providing staff for schools and conferences, give information, help you obtain a visiting trade unionist, and will work with your local if you seriously undertake a project in this field.

AFL-CIO Department of Education, 815 Sixteenth Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C. Pamphlets, films, help in planning your education program on international affairs.

International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), 20 W. 40th Street, New York, N. Y. Subscribe to monthly maga-zine "Free Labour World" (\$1.50 a year), which describes activities of unions in other countries.

United Nations Department of Public Information, United Nations, New York 17, N. Y. Write for press releases, pamphlets and posters. Be specific in your request.

United States Committee for the United Nations, 816 21st St., N. W., Washington, D. C. Write for their four-page monthly bulletin on UN Day which includes program ideas.

bulletin on UN Day which includes program ideas.

International Labor Organization (ILO), 917 Fifteenth Street,
N. W., Washington 5, D. C., publishes a tabloid size, monthly
bulletin which summarizes the actions of ILO and reviews work
done at ILO meetings. Write especially for the leaflet "ILO:
What It Is, What It Does, How It Works."

World Health Organization (WHO), Public Information Office,
1501 New Hampshire Ave., N. W., Washington 6, D. C. This group
publishes a very good, four-page, tabloid size, monthly bulletin
which features excellent picture materials, dealing with programs
in underdeveloped areas.

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organs.

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), U. S. State Department, Washington 25, D. C. Write for U. S. Commission's four-page NEWSLETTER which contains news about UNESCO and a good 300-word article on a specific UNESCO's project in one part of the world.



Labor and Education in 1955

Reports of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, the President of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, and the First Constitutional Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations on Education in 1955

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

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American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations

GEORGE MEANY, PRESIDENT
WILLIAM F. SCHNITZLER, SECRETARY-TREASURER



TABLE OF CONTENTS

FOREWORD	age
REPORT FROM THE AFL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL ON EDUCATION	5
RESOLUTIONS INTRODUCED AT 74th CONVENTION OF AFL	41
EXCERPT FROM PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS TO 17th CONVENTION OF CIO	
EDUCATION SECTION OF REPORT OF DEPART- MENT OF EDUCATION AND RESEARCH TO 17th CONVENTION OF CIO	
RESOLUTION ON EDUCATION ADOPTED AT 1st CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION OF AFL-CIO	
LABOR INSTITUTES, CONFERENCES AND SUMMER SCHOOLS CONDUCTED BY AFL AND CIO UNIONS OR WITH THEIR COOPERATION	,
SCHOLARSHIPS OFFERED BY AFL AND CIOUNIONS	
AFL-CIO EDUCATION AND RESEARCH DIRECTORS	. 80

Foreword

At the First Constitutional Convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, held in New York, December 5 through 8, 1955, the new merged labor organization continued and renewed the expressed interest in and support of education in the United States which had been demonstrated through the years by the A.F.L. and the C.I.O. This interest and support covers education in all its phases: public school, trade union, vocational, apprenticeship, adult, and university. This compilation contains the inclusive resolution on education adopted unanimously at the convention of the new organization.

Included also are the education sections of the Executive Council Report to the Seventh-fourth Convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in New York, December 1 and 2, 1955, and similar sections of President Walter P. Reuther's Report to the Seventeenth Constitutional Convention of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, held in New York, De-

cember 1 and 2, 1955.

In addition to the material mentioned, "Labor and Education in 1955" includes a list of labor schools, institutes, and conferences in which the A.F.L. and the C.I.O. cooperated through 1955. These activities have increased to such an extent that we have space to list none of the very worth-while institutes and conferences which were of less than four days' duration. We are including an expanded listing of scholarships sponsored by A.F.L. and C.I.O. organizations. Listed also are the directors of education and research of the AFL-CIO, its national and international unions, and state labor organizations. A center spread of photographs depicts typical educational activities.

This compilation was first prepared in 1939 by the Workers Education Bureau, covering action on education at all American Federation of Labor conventions from 1881, when the Federation was founded, through 1938. Since then the Bureau compiled annual supplements for the American Federation of Labor, in which the American Federation of Teachers shared from 1940 through 1954. The Bureau, formerly an independent

agency but for many years the unofficial department of education of the American Federation of Labor, was incorporated into the official structure of the A.F.L. late in 1950. In 1954 its name was changed to Department of Education. Following the merger in December, the staff of the A.F.L. Department of Education and the education staff of the C.I.O. Department of Research and Education joined to form the AFL-CIO Department of Education.

This present supplement brings to a conclusion the series started by the American Federation of Labor in 1939.

JOHN D. CONNORS, Director of Education, American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations

Washington, D. C. June, 1956.

REPORT FROM THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR ON EDUCATION TO THE SEVENTY-FOURTH CONVENTION, NEW YORK, N. Y., DECEMBER 1-2, 1955.

There were three legislative developments in the field of education:

SCHOOL CONSTRUCTION

One of the hardest fought legislative issues in this Congress was the question of federal aid to school construction. On the first day of the session Senator Hill introduced S. 5 on behalf of himself and 29 other Senators. This bill provides for \$500,000,000 a year for 2 years to be distributed to the states on a formula similar to that used in the Hill-Burton Hospital Construction Act. The formula is a combination of school census and per capita income, thus giving the poorer states more money per student than the wealthier. The bill also carries a provision for the application of the Davis-Bacon Act plus time and half for work of 8 hours in one day or 40 hours in one week for any contract using these federal funds. We testified in favor of this bill on February 21, 1955.

Shortly thereafter the Administration introduced its proposal, (S. 968). Major provisions were: (1) federal support for an involved system of state authorities which would issue bonds to build schools and lease them to school district; (2) a proposal that school districts which could not float bonds in the open market because of high interest rates could sell them to the Government at 3 1/8 per cent interest; (3) a small sum for grants to school districts that could not obtain help under Sections 1 and 2.

We opposed the provisions of this bill on the grounds the first section was cumbersome and in some states unconstitutional; the second section would bring relief to a very small number of districts; the third section difficult to utilize and would bring relief to a very few districts. We again urged that S. 5 or a reasonable facsimile would be reported. We insisted that the present crisis is urgent and demands immediate cash grants.

The bill was tied up in committee because of strong feelings on both sides on the segregation issue. We took the position that we opposed the use of federal funds for segregated schools but believed that in light of the Supreme Court decision no federal funds could be used for the construction of such schools and hence, felt that any rider as proposed raising the segregation issue was unnecessary. This question prevented any bill from being reported in the Senate.

In the House numerous bills were introduced. They fall into three groups. Identical bills to S. 5 were introduced by Congresswoman Green (H. R. 4442), Congressman Elliott (H. R. 1565) and Congressman Per-

kins (H. R. 4302). Bills were introduced by Congressman Kearns (H. R. 14), Congressman Bailey (H. R. 15) and Congressman Chudoff (H. R. 3411) which carry direct grants to the states based on school population only, with no equalization factor on income. The Administration bills were introduced by Congressman McConnell (H. R. 3824) and Congressman Frelinghuysen (H. R. 3770). Protracted hearings were held by the Committee on Education and Labor. We opposed the Administration bills and urged the committee report a bill with direct grants stating that we preferred the equalization formula, but would support grants based on the school census only. Finally, a subcommittee chairmaned by Congressman Kelley of Pennsylvania, was appointed to draft a new bill. A compromise measure which included a proposal for direct grants of \$400,000,000 a year for 4 years plus a revision of the administration proposal for purchase of bonds for school districts unable to float them on the open market and the utilization of school building authorities, was reported to the full committee. The bill also carried a provision applying the Davis-Bacon Act, plus time and half for work over 8 hours in one day or 40 hours in one week. After some minor changes the committee reported a clean bill, H. R. 7535 by Kelley of Pennsylvania. An attempt to add the "segregation" rider was defeated in committee. The Rules Committee did not act on the bill during the closing days of the session. We have been assured that the bill will be given consideration early in January, 1956.

While the bill is not completely satisfactory it merits our support. It is significant that this is the first bill for general federal aid to school construction of any sort ever reported by the House Committeee on Education and Labor.

(Further remarks on this subject will be found in Building and Construction Trades Department report).

FEDERAL IMPACT BILL

The Congress extended Public Laws 815 and 874 until June 30, 1957 and slightly liberalized them. These bills provide for funds for construction and maintenance of schools in those districts where an influx of federal employees or military personnel have substantially increased the school population. The bill passed was H. R. 7245 (Weir).

Congressman Udall introduced H. R. 6803 which would amend the Federal Impact bill to provide funds for those districts who are confronted with a serious economic problem in building new schools which may be needed as a result of the Supreme Court decision on segregation. We have indicated our support of the general principle of this bill but no action was taken during this session of Congress.

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

We cooperated with other organizations in an effort to obtain the full sum of \$29,000,000 authorized by the George-Barden Act for vocational education grants to the several states. While we obtained only \$26,350,000 in the conference report on the Health, Education and Welfare appropriation bill, this sum is nearly \$3,000,000 above the sum appropriated for the previous year and represents a significant advance.

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

Labor Education

The program of union education has grown from a simple, modest suggestion to a complex, extended project reaching our members daily, in some form. Today the hundreds of calls for service from the Federation's Department of Education are strong proof of the worth of this work. The following summarized survey of these many activities gives us a view of the manifold activities in workers' education carried on today through the Federation's Department of Education.

The Department of Education of the American Federation of Labor has many facilities and resources to help members of any A. F. of L. affiliate improve themselves and their unions through education. It is gratifying to note that our unions are making use of these educational opportunities on an ever-increasing scale.

The Department encourages, assists, and supports education programs through local unions, trade councils, central labor unions, state federations of labor, regional agencies, and national and international unions. Working with the respective education committees and staffs of these organizations, it provides organizational support, administrative experience, staff assistance, speakers, resource persons, publications, plans. materials, audio-visual aids, and aids in the coordination of resources. With such help local members study hundreds of subjects, such, as labor history, collective bargaining techniques, NLRB procedure, civil defense, community participation, housing problems, civil rights, unemployment compensation, social security, national health insurance, and international affairs.

These subjects are studied at seminars and resident summer schools, in conferences and classes, at regular meetings, workshops, and special institutes. On these occasions teaching techniques ranging from lecture-discussions and debates through buzz sessions and role playing are used. Panel discussions, forum, and "rumor clinics" are regularly used. Film-discussions and the use of filmstrips have become staple procedure. In some sections of the country our affiliates are fortunate enough to have access to good university programs with which they can cooperate.

Local Unions

Local unions carry on continuing programs in many ways, among which are educational sessions within their regular meetings and special classes on single subjects. Hundreds of local unions conduct such programs for their members. Outstanding are programs of Teamsters Local 688 in St. Louis, UAW-AFL Local 783 in Owensboro, Ky., and several of the ILGWU locals. International unions and universities have published materials which are helpful to local education committees. The A. F. of L. Department of Education during 1955 developed a manual on Building Your Education Program for local unions and distributed it widely as part of its service to A. F. of L. locals. In addition, there are many programs in which the locals participate, such as those of their own internationals, their trade councils, central bodies, and state federations. Other locals enroll members in public school adult education programs or university extension classes. Many get assistance from their public libraries and maintain labor libraries and literature displays in their meeting halls.

Central Labor Unions and Trade Councils

Central labor unions and city trade councils, meeting regularly as they do, have the same opportunities for continuing educational programs as do local unions. These, as in the case of the locals, take the form of hundreds of programs involving continuing classes or educational sessions within their regular meetings. Some central bodies, such as those in St. Paul and Minneapolis, Minn., and Chicago, Ill., hold courses in connection with universities, for their delegates. Others, such as Burlington, Iowa, and Oak Ridge, Tenn., hold special classes under union direction.

A unique function of the central labor unions is the Weekend Labor Institute. Varying from one to three days, these provide concentrated instruction for all A. F. of L. members in the city. Central bodies such as those in Phoenix, Ariz., and Waterloo, Iowa, have found these most successful. Texas central labor unions are now holding three-day weekend institutes and Tulsa, Okla., has undertaken a series of them. In cooperation with the Florida State Federation of Labor, institutes are being held in the principal cities of that state, Miami having led the way with quarterly institutes.

State Federations of Labor

State Federations of Labor play an important role in the overall program of workers' education. Several of them, such as Kentucky and Michigan, set aside a specified part of their annual conventions for consideration of educational programs. They assist affiliated central bodies and locals in the development of their respective programs.

Ten state federations now have full-time directors of education conducting their expanding programs: Alabama, California, Connecticut, Iowa, Kentucky, Massachusetts, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania and Texas. A dozen others carry on programs through volunteer committees.

One of the most important functions of the state federations in the area of education is their resident summer schools, normally of one week's duration. Bringing together leaders and members of A. F. of L. organizations within their states, often with some foreign trade union

visitors in attendance, these schools serve as the springboard for continuing programs within the locals and trade councils. Regular summer schools or institutes have been held for several years in Alabama, California, Iowa, Kentucky, New Jersey and Wisconsin. Recently established schools are being held regularly now by the State Federations in Arizona and Texas. In other states the state and local A. F. of L. groups take part in summer schools carried on by universities, as in Michigan, New York, and West Virginia. The list of state federation summer schools grows yearly.

Some state universities not holding summer schools do hold state-level weekend institutes which prove useful. Recently, Florida, New Mexico, and Oklahoma have undertaken such a program, which serves to stimulate central body and local union programs.

The outstanding educational activity of state federations, however, is the Southern AFL Labor School, now in its fourth year. Here fourteen Southern state federations have set up a board of control composed of the presidents and secretaries of these organizations to manage and conduct labor schools for A. F. of L. members from those states. Opening in 1952 with a single one-week session, the third year saw expansion into two sessions, one divisional school for the East and one for the West. This year yet another expansion, in addition to the two divisional schools, resulted in an Advanced School for state federation officers, central labor union officials, A. F. of L. staff organizers, and international union representatives in the fourteen Southern states.

National and International Unions

National and International Unions within the American Federation of Labor conduct wide programs of union education. Among these are the two A. F. of L. unions in the paper industry—the Pulp, Sulphite, and Paper Mill Workers and the Paper Makers-who over the years have carried on an extensive training program to fit its local leaders to serve as teachers for their fellow-members. Another more recent program along the same lines, meeting with similar success, is that of the Cement, Lime, and Gypsum Workers. The International Ladies' Garment Workers are continuing their extensive educational program, giving its members training in trade union subjects and in cultural activities as well. Its Training Institute is continuing its successful program of a year's course of leadership training, divided almost equally into formal study of the theory of trade unionism and actual practice of this theory in local offices. The Glass Bottle Blowers within the past two years have set up series of regional conferences for their members about the country, just as the Chemical Workers have been doing with their regional summer schools.

The Electrical Workers have within the past year carried on an educational program which is unique. Initiated by their late president, J. Scott Milne, the program brings to headquarters for a four-week intensive study course all its international representatives in groups of

less than twenty. The first group which came in November, 1954, consisted of seventeen members and studied a course which included: Effective Speech; Human Relations; Union Leadership; History of the Labor Movement, with that of the IBEW; Organizing Methods; the NLRB; the No-Raid Pact of the A. F. of L. and C.I.O.; the A. F. of L. Internal Disputes Plan; Negotiations; Finance and Research; Incentive Plans; Job Evaluation; Council on Industrial Relations; Local Union Officer and Steward Training; Parliamentary Law; Study of the IBEW Constitution, etc. The program is continuing under the direction of President Freeman.

The Plumbers, under the active direction of their president, Martin P. Durkin, have been giving special attention to labor's role in the development of atomic energy. One of the programs in this connection was carried on by Plumbers Local 159 of Richmond, Calif., with the assistance of the University of California. The primary purpose of the series is to help equip members for work in atomic energy plants. Subjects covered include: Principles of Atomic Energy; Peacetime Development of Atomic Energy; Construction and Maintenance Problems in Atomic Energy Development; Health Problems in Atomic Energy Work; Safety and Workmen's Compensation Questions in Atomic Energy; and Labor Looks at Atomic Energy.

The Plumbers have also adopted a cooperative education plan which will help to overcome the scarcity of trained engineers. This calls for a local union to sponsor two apprentices who desire engineering training. One attends school for a semester while the other works as an apprentice, and at the end of each semester they change places. After five years each will have his certificate as a journeyman member of the Plumbers and his college degree in engineering.

Considerable time has been given to working with our affiliates in the field of vocational education and apprenticeship training. The Department supplies them with information on these matters. We particularly encourage the appointment of joint advisory committees on vocational education and joint apprenticeship committees.

Scholarships

A. F. of L. scholarships play an increasingly important role in the high school education field. More than 150 A. F. of L. college scholarships are now offered, by national and international unions, state federations of labor, central labor unions, and locals. The Department aids these organizations in planning and carrying out these programs. Recent additions to the list of state-wide scholarship programs are those sponsored by the State Federations of Iowa, Kansas, Maine, and Virginia. There has been an increase also in the awards offered by central bodies, the largest number being in California. A complete listing of A. F. of L. scholarships will appear in Labor and Education in 1955.

Most of the scholarships sponsored by state federations are awarded on the basis of results of competitive examinations, which are made up partly of questions on the organized labor movement and partly of essays on designated labor subjects. A twofold result of these is that worthy students are enabled to continue their education and, also, that the labor movement is studied in the high schools of the respective states.

Staff Functions

The Department of Education serves to encourage, coordinate, and assist the education programs of affiliated organizations, as a clearing-house for information in workers' education and to assist the execution of A. F. of L. policy in regard to education in all its branches.

1. Directors' Conferences—The Department conducts semi-annual national conferences for the education and research directors of A. F. of L. national and international unions and state federations of labor. The Spring Conference of 1955 was held in Washington, D. C., April 21 and 22, and the Fall Conference in Cleveland, Ohio, November 17 and 18. These two-day working conferences provide a forum for an exchange of ideas in workers' education and the discussion of current issues to be considered in educational projects. Between conferences close contact is kept with all active programs, by reports to the Department from affiliated organizations.

2. Materials—Written materials, the tools of workers' education, are developed by the Department. These include the Shop Steward's Manual and How to Run a Union Meeting. These and other publications—Labor's Library, the film catalogue, Films for Labor, and Labor and Education in 1954—are in constant demand. In addition, the Department supplies reprints of various articles and studies to affiliated organizations. Recent publications of the Department, to help meet the needs of local education committees, include the manual, Building Your Education Program, designed primarily for local unions, and a series of lesson plans for use in education programs for central bodies.

The Department, each month, fills many requests for A. F. of L. literature from affiliates for use in institutes and conventions, distribution at membership meetings, mailings, etc. In order to assist these unions to distribute literature more effectively, the literature display booth is available for use at conventions. The booth was almost continuously on tour during the past year and was booked for use at conventions of the Building Service Employees' International Union, the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers, and State Federations of Labor in Alabama, California, Florida, Indiana, Kentucky, Maine, Montana, Nebraska, Tennessee, and Washington.

School use of labor materials is increasing and the Department receives and fills a growing number of requests for literature from both teachers and students.

The Department publishes a monthly News Letter which sets forth new developments in the educational programs of national and international unions, state federations, central bodies, trade councils, and local unions. Both the content of such programs and the techniques used are reported. The News Letter, also, includes a bibliography of new publications of interest to labor, and a film page. Its wide mailing provides a forum for regular interchange of ideas and information.

A quarterly service to all A. F. of L. education directors is the Department's mailing of lists of available A. F. of L. publications, with order blanks. Sample copies of all new A. F. of L. publications are sent

to all A. F. of L. education directors.

3. Audio-Visual Program—An increasingly popular service of the Department is the film library, with 100 different titles in constant use. Twenty-five new titles were added to the library during the past year, including the new Glass Bottle Blowers' production, "Faith in the Future"; "My Name is Mary Brown," produced by the Northeastern Department of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; and "24 Hours," the award-winning film recently released by the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen. Other popular new titles are "The Grievance," "The Story of the National Labor Relations Board," "For Fair Play," an outstanding civil rights film, and "Technique for Tomorrow," showing automation in action.

Although it is difficult to estimate the total number of showings or attendance at film showings because of incomplete reports from the field, it can be conservatively estimated that every night of the year, on the average, at least four union meetings are showing a film from our library. In addition, there is a substantial demand from schools, churches, and other non-union groups. Films are rented on an individual film-by-film basis or on a Film-A-Month plan. In the latter instance a series of twelve films is rented for use within a twelve months' period for a fee of \$18. Over 100 city central bodies and local unions have participated in this Film-A-Month plan during the past year. Film discussion guides are supplied with each film, and posters for advertising film showings are also available.

Television is becoming an increasingly important medium for showing labor films. Labor activity in television generally is increasing and, in addition to being called upon for films, the Department is frequently asked for charts, graphs, and other visual aids, as well as, for assistance in preparing scripts for affiliates using this medium.

In addition to the film library, the Department maintains a growing library of filmstrips. These cover subjects such as health insurance, public relations, labor history, public power, civil rights and political education. Produced by the Department this year was "Mr. Fraud—the Right-to-Wreck Man," a fourteen-minute filmstrip presenting organized labor's analysis of the misnamed "right-to-work" laws. "Mr. Fraud" has sold over 150 copies already and is rented with growing frequency. It is cleared for television use and has been televised in several places.

A fourth edition of "Films for Labor," listing and describing all the films and filmstrips in our library, was published in October. The catalogue gives helpful suggestions on arranging film showings, purchase of audio-visual equipment, etc. It gives a description of the Film-A-Month plan, which is also described in a recently issued promotional folder. During the latter part of the year, the Department distributed widely reprints of the article by John D. Connors, appearing in the September American Federationist, titled "Is Your Union Showing Movies?"

4. Cooperation with Other Organizations—Concluded this year was the Inter-University Labor Education Committee's program, in which a grant from the Fund for Adult Education of the Ford Foundation enabled experimentation and expansion in the labor education programs of eight universities. These were the University of California at Los Angeles, University of Chicago, Cornell University, University of Illinois, Pennsylvania State University, Roosevelt University, Rutgers University, and the University of Wisconsin. A report of this project, on which the A. F. of L. was represented through the national and local advisory committees, has been written by Jack Barbash and published under the title, Universities and Unions in Workers' Education. This year, under a separate grant, the IULEC is surveying the educational needs of union members and how non-labor agencies might meet those needs.

In addition to activities in connection with these IULEC programs, the Department cooperates extensively with other university and college programs.

During the past year we have cooperated actively in sending literature and arranging for labor speakers on the programs of fourteen workshops for teachers conducted by the Joint Council on Economic Education.

5. International Educational Activities—International activities in workers' education are of increasing importance and the Department gives much time and attention to such matters.

We continue our cooperation with the educational program of the ICFTU and the International Federation of Workers' Educational Associations.

The Director of Education gave a series of talks on the American labor movement and workers' education at a Seminar held in Belize, British Honduras, during July, 1955, under the sponsorship of ORIT (ICFTU Regional Inter-American Organization). The Seminar was conducted for the General Workers Union of that country.

The Director of Education is a member of the Executive Committee of the U. S. National Commission for UNESCO, and served as a labor adviser to the U. S. Delegation to the Eighth General UNESCO Conference held in Montevideo, Uruguay, in November and December, 1954.

The Department devotes much time and effort to assisting programs of international exchange of workers and information, conducted by the U. S. Departments of State and Labor, the International Cooperation Administration, the U. S. Information Agency, and other governmental

agencies. Staff members lecture on the educational program of the A. F. of L. to visiting groups of workers and workers' education persons from abroad. It is called upon increasingly to reply to requests from all over the world for information and printed materials. Assistance is given to government agencies by the Department in preparing materials on the American labor movement for distribution in foreign countries. It also sends its own News Letter and other A. F. of L. material regularly to many unions and workers' education groups abroad, and to labor attaches, labor information officers, U. S. information libraries, and ICA officials in foreign countries.

The Department cooperates in selecting trade unionists to receive Ruskin College and Coleg Harlech scholarships in Great Britain and Fulbright fellowships in adult and workers' education in that and other European countries. The Director of the Department has been a member of the selection committees for these awards for several years.

These international educational activities in turn reflect back to the local education programs. Many foreign trade unionists participate in our national, regional, state and city educational projects. World affairs, the fight of free labor against totalitarianism, is a topic of prime importance in A. F. of L. education programs.

Programs in the Field of International Cooperation

There are at present a number of Government programs in the field of international cultural exchange. These programs are administered by the Department of Labor, the Department of State, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and several somewhat independent units in these departments.

In addition under express provision in the Smith-Mundt Act a number of programs are administered by private non-profit organizations, and, under contract, by certain universities and colleges.

There is nominally a Board of Foreign Scholarships and there are several other advisory bodies working in conjunction with these programs.

There is an urgent need for better inter-departmental cooperation for the administration of these programs.

In addition, all of the programs need careful reevaluation both as to content and administrative procedure. One phase, for example, which needs careful study is programing foreign visitors, in this country. Thus far, there seems to have been either no careful planning in the routing of the visitors or else the planning has been done by those with little appreciation of either the objectives of the program or the effect of the relation of an ill-planned program on both the visitors and us, the hosts. It is not unusual to have thirty or more visitors from abroad suddenly "drop in" on a union leader or a school without the slightest indication of the visit having been given previously to the prospective host. The "host"—be he a union leader or school man—is

annoyed and the guest may never see what he needs to see. A well-planned program would avoid such problems. Furthermore, under the present arrangements the same people in the same communities are continually being asked to receive guests in addition to their regular work assignments. Such waste and confusion results from a lack of planning on the part of the Government officials and the private agencies picked by Government, entrusted with this task.

We recommend that definite plans be formulated by a specially selected committee on which labor must be represented, to discuss the problems involved in these programs, and that such a committee, in cooperation with interested governmental agencies, be asked to hold an inter-departmental conference at which the many phases of these programs—both content and administrative procedure—be carefully reexamined.

If administrative rulings cannot bring about a more effective means of conducting these programs, then legislative action should be sought. Legislation must be sought to assure labor representation on the Board of Foreign Scholarships and other similar agencies at the next session of Congress as a first step in this program.

We would further emphasize that the confirmed policy of the Federation be strictly observed: that all assignments made in behalf or in the the name of the Federation be cleared through the Committee on International Relations and the Committee on Education, of the Federation.

In spite of these problems of administration, substantial progress is being made in assisting foreign visitors.

EDUCATION AND TRAINING

As we approach the merger of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, and take stock of what contribution we bring, we recognize that we have made a particularly rich contribution in the development of an education program, through the years. It is on the program developed since the inception of our movement that we project a new, and we now hope, expanded program of education for the future. We recall the work of the early trade unions, the progenitors of the American Federation of Labor, with a high degree of respect and appreciation of what we in the American Federation of Labor have inherited from them. These early unions, in the first quarter of the 19th century, laid the foundation not only for a great, strong, socially dedicated labor movement, but quite as firmly for a democratic society in which education, and especially the public school, was to be of major importance. These early labor leaders with different methods, but with the zeal and devotion of Horace Mann, fought for the establishment of the free public school, and as a corollary they fought at the same time for the abolition of child labor, and later for compulsory school attendance laws. They gave us the foundation on which we have built our education program. Their vision has inspired us; their common sense has guided us.

From the start they recognized the school as an institution through which not only the tools of learning were mastered, but also a means through which knowledge was to be diffused. Early in our nation's history, the Moulders, the Printers, the Painters, the Cordwainers were concerned with what children were taught quite as much as with the need of having them taught. They never sought to tell the schools and the teachers how to teach, but they set forth some broad principles which still are sound. They held that their children were to be prepared "to understand and appreciate the beautiful creations of God and of man," and "to stand up not only to declaim but rather to defend the rights of man." The health of school children concerned them, too, perhaps in saddened contemplation of the miserable homes from which so many of their children came, and the even more unwholesome factory rooms to which they were to go-too soon. In Philadelphia, a group gave of their few spare daylight hours to put a window in a school "large enough to let the sun come in and to let many little faces look out." Another group taxed themselves in New York to buy "a new pot-bellied stove to give our children warmth away from home."

They knew that the welfare of the child was greatly conditioned by the welfare of the child's family. They concerned themselves with the welfare of the family. They fought for the abolition of imprisonment for debt "to give an honest man a chance to work to pay his debts and stay with his family." In many places they won their fight for the establishment of public night schools, so that their members could "improve their knowledge and their power and so help and inspire their children." Schooling to them was not only a matter of mechanics; it was a source of inspiration and opportunity which the father wanted his child to have—after he had been denied it as a youth.

The early trade union leaders gave us a mighty heritage and on that heritage we have built.

The same ideals which motivated the early leaders among the forerunners of the American Federation of Labor have motivated us; the same principles through which they sought to combine a practical mastery of the tools of learning with understanding and the diffusion of knowledge, guide us still today.

Hence, we have fought for a broad curriculum for enriched experience for all children.

Yet, we have always recognized the fact that funds were needed to enable the children to have not only a stove and a window, but a good school and good teachers.

Shortly after the American Federation of Labor was founded, we began our campaign not on a nation-wide basis, but on the state and local level, for more nearly adequate funds with which to give the proper and adequate training to the children whom we were then able to get into schools. In the early 1900's we pioneered in the movement, then beginning to assert itself, to take the schools out of personal and party politics; to

apply what was then called "a special kind of civil service law" to school appointments. We wanted some assurance that teachers would be selected on merit and would be assured tenure of office so long as they performed their work satisfactorily and with professional responsibility. Later the fight for tenure laws took form in many places. About this time also began the movement for salary schedules through which to provide the same pay for all persons who did the same work, and who were equally well prepared to do it. Incidentally, we dared speak up in many places where salary schedules were being planned, to urge the recognition for women in those schedules. At the same time we continued to join forces with the groups that were working to enrich the curriculum in the schools—just as the early leaders had done almost a century before that.

The tragic plea of our children's parents for safe, fireproof schools made then, a half a century ago, is still a necessary plea today. Progress was made, though not rapidly.

When the First World War commanded the attention of all of us, Sam Gompers helped plan for a new concept of education. Too many pupils had dropped out of school before reaching high school, too few were being trained in the manual arts. The schools, he contended, were to help train girls and boys for work in the factories and on the farm and in the home, and in related subjects to make them better citizens.

Actually ten years before the First World War we emphasized the need for such training in our schools. Sam Gompers in 1908 had appointed a special committee to make a study of the whole problem of vocational education—the need for it, the methods to be used in teaching it, the subjects to be taught, the relation which such training given in the schools was to have to the trade union movement and to industry. For two years this special American Federation of Labor committee explored the whole field. Many of their findings, made almost a half century ago, are pertinent today. But it was the impact of the First World War which pointed up the need for nation-wide action, and the responsibility of the federal government for taking action to meet the need. Hence, it is not surprising to find that Senator Hoke Smith met with Sam Gompers and with the Federation's Committee on Education to plan the original draft of the bill to establish a federally supported program of vocational education, just before the United States entered the First World War. However, our contribution was not merely that we helped launch a program in vocational education; it was and is that we have continued an active constructive interest in it.

Through the years we have evaluated the program sympathetically, but critically. We have condemned harmful practices, but have recommended constructive means for the improvement of the program. We have, in some areas, been particularly concerned over the lack of cooperative relations of the industrial training program to our trade union movement, and particularly incident to the need for training on the job. At times we have found cases in which the so-called education program was used to exploit children. In the 1920's we fought the Gary System.

In the 1930's we exposed many places where child-exploitation was masquerading as vocational training. Dozens of notorious incidents occurred. There was the shirtwaist factory in Mississippi, the hosiery factory in Pennsylvania, a shrimp cannery in Louisiana, the high school girl replacing a regular salesgirl under the guise of "distributive education." While we have always fought such practices where we found them because they were in direct violation of the spirit and the letter of the law under which they were being conducted, we have nevertheless, through the years, continuously urged adequate financial support for the program and have given our full support and cooperation to the purpose of the program itself.

Several years ago we undertook a survey and samply study of the operation of the vocational program in several states, to determine its practical value and the degree to which the standards which mean much to us were being observed.

Quite recently we obtained information from our state federations regarding the practical operation of the program in their respective states. Over 80 per cent of those reply indicated a working relationship with state school authorities. However, the reports also indicated the need for more definite plans for such a cooperative program. To that end we are planning further activity.

We are greatly disturbed to see the Advisory Committee on Vocational Education, at the national level, abolished. We believe this committee and its subsidiaries must be restored. We have for the last three years asked that these committees be reestablished.

At this time, having failed to have these committees reestablished by administrative ruling through which they were abolished, we now recommend that the Federation undertake as a definite major project the restoration of these committees as authorized by statute, by having the funds in the appropriation act earmarked for the conduct of such advisory committees as the statute provides.

It is particularly encouraging to us to report that our working relations in this field of training with government personnel at the national, state and local level, and with other organizations interested in this program, have improved greatly during the last few years. It is the development of such constructive working relations with other interested groups in furthering our program which has been the source of particular satisfaction to us. Our program in this field has been implemented by the development of other programs, also.

The Federation, during the last two decades, pioneered and has been successful in having programs in apprenticeship training established throughout the nation. The tremendous potentialities of such a program are appreciated by us and merit the continued support of the entire movement at the national, state and local level. We would particularly point out at this time the need for having school "credit" given for apprenticeship training which is not given for other formally organized work conducted in a school.

Education to us has meant the full utilization of the mechanics and tools of learning as a basis, not as an end of learning. On this premise we have worked for the development of a sound vocational training program. But this approach to education has not in any way limited our effort to improve education in many ways. The record shows that for over fifty years the American Federation of Labor pioneered and fought to give every child and youth and adult the training that would best equip him to give and to make the greatest contribution and service for better living. Since the First World War we have supported the establishment of the junior high school to help keep children in school; the enrichment of school curriculum to accord children of different and varied capacities the opportunity to benefit more fully through their schooling; night schools for youth and adults, native or foreign born, in either special education for improvement in their work or in general citizenship training; the nursery school and the kindergarten to give the young child a well-oriented start in their training; special opportunities for the gifted child; special education for the handicapped child; small classes for all children. We are particularly proud that we pioneered in these fields and that we found other groups ready to cooperate with us in our program.

But we were practical. We realized that these programs called for more well-trained teachers. These teachers we knew had to be paid far more than they were being paid. Some states, some cities could not pay them. Particularly were funds lacking where funds were most needed. The problem we soon realized of each state was the problem of other states. Our population is highly mobile. The unschooled boy from one state becomes the unemployable illiterate of another state. The federal government's responsibility for helping each state meet its responsibilities became more and more clear. With the establishment of the vocational training program on the eve of the First World War, with the financial help of the federal government, the responsibility of the federal government to cooperate with the states financially to help them maintain their schools became an accepted fact among most of the socially responsible groups.

Again, the Federation played a significant pioneer role. In 1918 the American Federation of Labor Committee on Education proposed a program of broader federal financial aid for education. By this time the American Federation of Teachers, a union composed of professionally qualified teachers, had become a firmly established organization and its leaders were able to give the American Federation of Labor essential technical advice in planning the early program of federal aid for education

Other lay groups and professional groups also began to explore the various possibilities of federal financial aid for education. Some wanted only emergency aid during the war, some wanted the federal government to assume a role of dominance in education; leadership they called it. The Federation then adopted a few basic principles and these still hold good. We stated that the administration of education is a State function,

and must so remain, but that the responsibility of the federal government in assuring the states the means "to retain their democratic form of government in a republic must be protected and if need be, aided." Then we pointed out that "such a government can only be assured if the citizens who constitute it are educated."

But the Federation not only urged federal funds for greater national service, the Federation made its fight for a way to raise these funds. We played an important part in the fight for a federal income tax law. The Amendment to the Federal Constitution authorizing a personal, federal income tax was adopted by the Congress and ratified by the states, just before the First World War. The federal government then was authorized to take money directly from the individual citizen, to promote the general welfare and to assure each man a more equitable share of the nation's resources and to participate more fully in its opportunities. On this premise we contended that the federal government which had always been morally bound, was then legally competent to give aid to the states to further the education of everyone in the several states.

On the premise that the federal government has the responsibility and the financial capacity to help the states maintain their schools and services for children, the Federation has for over forty years fought for federal aid for education.

From year to year we have reevaluated the methods and the means of getting financial aid for the states for education; how much should the federal government give; how should the funds be allocated among the states; how disbursed within the states; what standards should the federal government attach to the use of these funds; what safeguards were to be held necessary; for what purpose should the funds be used. Issue after issue has been raised. Struggles for federal aid have aroused prejudices and passions.

Through all the disputes, through all the attacks which have been made on the Federation for the principles which have guided us in relation to standards to be observed in the administration of a program of federal aid for education, we have adhered to the principles which to us have appeared sound and just, and today these principles are being widely accepted by all groups, lay and professional, as sound.

Principles in Regard to Federal Aid for Education

The Federation at first concerned itself largely with emphasizing the need for federal aid for education and gave but little attention to the form and manner in which such aid was to be given.

By 1920, the Federation's leaders recognized the need for some standards to govern such an aid program. The approach made by the Federation to this program was conditioned by other movements then being supported by the Federation, through which to protect and promote the welfare of every child. During the 1920's the Federation fought for national laws to wipe out child labor. Twice, the Supreme Court ruled

out statutes which we had asked the Congress to adopt which would have outlawed child labor in interstate commerce on the ground that such a law would be unconstitutional. Then we asked for an amendment to the Constitution giving the Congress the power to enact this legislation. (Some twenty years later a law similar to the one for which we asked in 1920 was adopted and held to be Constitutional.) During the same period the Federation fought for a program to protect the health of young children through the Shepherd-Towner Act whose principles are now a part of our social security law. Our state federations were pressing for the establishment of "Mother's Pensions," which today are in principle, also in our social security law. Our state federations fought also for the establishment of juvenile courts, for compulsory school attendance laws and free textbooks for all school children. In many ways we were making a nation-wide fight, and in many instances asking for national aid for our children.

Hence, our early fight for federal aid for education was broadly conceived and gave attention to but few administrative principles. These were:

- The administration of education is a State function and must so remain.
- The State must set its standards of minimum education requirements for every child, but parents shall have the right to determine how such standards are to be met.
- Federal funds granted to a State are to be administered under State law.

But soon, the Federation recognized the need for safeguards to implement these principles. By 1928 additional principles—they were safeguards—became a part of the Federation's program:

- Federal funds must be allocated among the states on the basis of a weighted formula giving more funds to the states in greatest need, and least able to raise these funds.
- 5. Federal funds must be shared alike by all groups in the state even though the state's pattern discriminated against or differentiated the programs of racial groups.
- 6. While public funds were to be used only in a manner in harmony with federal and state standards, no law, federal or state, should prevent the use of private funds to establish and maintain private schools which may be recognized by the state as meeting the state's educational standards.

The depression years of the 1930's when federal funds for educational programs were widely distributed, pointed up the need for more definite safeguards in the use of federal funds. Year by year the Federation reaffirmed its support of a program of federal aid for education, and year by year set forth more specific standards to govern state and local use of federal funds.

In the early 1940's further principles of administration were added to

supplement those already accepted. These principles still hold good. In addition to the six already adopted the following six were added:

- The state and its political subdivisions shall be required to maintain at least their present appropriations, so that federal funds shall supplement and not supplant local funds.
- Not less than 75 per cent of the total federal allocation for any state shall be used for teachers' salaries.
- Federal funds are to be made available for each part of the state in need thereof.
- 10. The states receiving federal funds shall be required to announce their plans for the use of such funds, before the funds are expended, and later report, showing how the funds were expended.
- 11. A federal audit of federal funds shall be made.
- 12. The right of any aggrieved state or aggrieved citizen holding to have been improperly denied privileges and prerogatives the grant implies, to have his complaint reviewed first by the Commissioner of Education and on appeal, by the federal courts, shall be honored. These principles, still honored, have been before the Congress for

many years.

By 1945, the Federation recognized that unless the major purposes for which federal funds were to be granted, were contained in separate legislative proposals, that each proposal would of itself be a basis for delaying or even preventing the adoption of other proposals. Hence, the Federation initiated a legislative technique which provided that each proposal for a distinct form of federal aid should be contained in a separate bill. As the first step we gave full support to a very wise and necessary program of emergency federal aid to those states and local communities which had been overburdened by the war impact of the federal government's program at that time. These programs are still of tremendous importance and merit our continued support. (Specific reference is made to the present situation later in this report.) In the field of general and for many years to come, permanent federal aid, the Federation urged support in five specific fields:

- 1. Federal aid for public school construction.
- 2. Federal aid for public school teachers' salaries.
- 3. Federal aid for loans and scholarships for needy students.
- 4. Federal aid for health and welfare services for all children.
- 5. Federal aid for the eradication of adult illiteracy.

Having recognized the need for specific legislation in each of these fields, the Federation then sought legislation covering each of them.

School Construction

The proposal for school construction has made considerable headway during the last decade. Few leaders in our nation today do not recognize this need. The specific proposal was somewhat advanced in the Senate during the closing months of the 83rd Congress. A bill proposing federal aid for school construction was reported out of committee by the Senate Committee on Labor and Education. However, no action was taken on this proposal by the House during the 83rd Congress.

The legislative situation has prevented positive action in the Senate.

Hearings were held on the Hill Bill providing \$500 million annually for two years for federal emergency aid. We supported this legislation. We opposed the Smith Bill which through its complex and financially involved procedure made emergency and permanent aid more difficult and more remote. No action was taken by the Senate Committee.

From the House Committee there was finally reported a so-called compromise bill which embodied principles of both the Hill Bill and the Smith Bill. Much credit is due Rep. Kelley of Fennsylvania, who was able to bring out some form of proposal. However, the bill as reported completely ignores the principle of allocation on the basis of relative need and therefore, while it would improve educational opportunities throughout the nation, it would not tend to reduce the inequalities among the states at the present time. However, the bill in even this form is not yet assured actual consideration by the House. It is now pending before the House Rules Committee. There is no assurance that it will actually reach the House floor, although the majority leadership has promised it will attempt to make the bill an early order of business in 1956.

It is incorrect to claim that either party is totally responsible for the lack of action on this legislation. Neither party wants to precipitate a debate which would involve consideration of the many issues which must be faced in relation to the Supreme Court decision on segregation in the nation's schools.

The Supreme Court Decision

At this point it is necessary that we review and restate our position in regard to educational opportunities for all persons under the laws of our country. As we have just stated, neither major political party wants an open debate; morally there can be no evasion on the issues involved in the question. In the first place, the Federation has stood for equality of opportunity without consideration of race, creed or status. Legally and morally, the highest court of our land has enunciated a fundamental principle: that segregation in the nation's public schools is unconstitutional.

It is difficult to see how any law-abiding group of citizens regardless of their personal reaction can take any action in derrogation of this pronouncement. The American Federation of Labor, speaking through its Executive Council last winter, declared that it believes that no federal funds should be granted to any state which takes positive action in definance of the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States. Our Executive Council was careful in determining its position. We made no recommendation regarding the methods to be used within any state to carry out the decision of the Court. However, we did take positive affirmative action in support of the Supreme Court decision and we recommend that the convention affirm the position the Council has taken in support of the fundamental principle of equal justice under the law. We submit that there can be no justification for the use of federal funds to implement conduct which is in deliberate and outspoken contempt of the law of the land.

However, we cannot let the question rest merely with the fundamental principle that law must be observed. That is axiomatic.

We must recognize the need for aiding the states and the local communities in administering the decision of the court. Billions of dollars are needed to overcome the great injustice that the old policy inflicted on a portion of our population. As the Court has pointed out in both decisions, there can be no equality if under the law one group is segregated from another and by consequent circumstances made to develop a pattern of conduct which in itself marks and makes the group inferior.

Immediately then, we need billions of dollars from public and private sources to fill in the gap. Remedial schools and training centers must be established to bring up reading levels, special educational experiences must fill in that vast cultural vacuum produced in the lives of underprivileged children by the deprivation of economic and social privileges. Accelerated teaching to help pupils meet their respective age-grade achievement levels is needed.

The criterion for measuring the capacity of children and youth—the so-called standardized tests—must in themselves be far more thoroughly tested. At present both intelligence tests and achievement tests measure social and educational experience at least as much as they measure native capacity. A better and a wiser testing program is needed for all. All of these factors show that the complex situation based on the implementation of the Supreme Court decision must be faced frankly. The issues should not and cannot be avoided.

The American Federation of Labor must fight with all the power it can muster for the mutiple billion dollar school construction program, but it cannot, in the light of its tradition and the principles upon which the Federation is founded, support a program in defiance of the law as an immediate material expedient, regardless of how great the need for material betterment may be, and so destroy the moral values on which our whole movement must rest.

Federal Aid for Public School Teachers' Salaries

While from time to time members have introduced bills for the general purpose of having the federal government help states pay their public school teachers more nearly adequate salaries, the only comprehensive and well planned bill which seeks aid for the payment of teachers' salaries is the bill sponsored by Senator James Murray (S. 277 of the 83rd Congress). This bill defines a teacher as one "who works in direct relation with the pupils in the schools." There is considerable sentiment for such a bill. The principles embodied in this bill merit our continued active support.

However, it may be inadvisable to press for aid for salaries at the same time that we are pressing for aid for school construction. We ourselves have pointed out that federal aid for school construction would "release" state funds which would otherwise have to be used for capital outlay and which could then be made available for state aid for salaries.

However, the legislative strategy must be governed by the advice of the legislative representatives of the Federation.

Federal Aid for Scholarships and Loans

The third of our five major proposals for federal aid is for scholarships and loans for worthy students.

The development of our human resources is our greatest potential of wealth. In planning a program of scholarship aid, the four questions which must be faced are: (1) Who is to finance the scholarships; (2) On what criteria are trainees to be selected; (3) How are the programs to be administered; (4) For what fields of study are the scholarships to be given.

First: Whose responsibility is the financing of a nation-wide scholar-ship program?

The federal government should help develop its potential human resources. It should encourage and assist those who wish to study more, get the opportunity for further study. There is logic and justice in this proposal. This is a long-term peacetime need, not just a wartime or depression or emergency proposal.

Private industry gives direct financial grants and scholarships amounting to millions of dollars annually. Our labor movement also is granting scholarships in many fields.

Formerly colleges awarded many scholarships and supplemented them with grants for the student's personal maintenance. Today the colleges do not have the means to do this.

But, we as a nation cannot afford to rely solely on private sources for funds to assure the attendance of qualified youth at institutions of higher learning.

The American Federation of Labor has for ten years supported a program of federal aid for scholarships. The need for more technically trained personnel in science and engineering has been emphasized by lay and professional groups; by civil and military authorities. Lay groups have also pressed for more doctors and dentists. Trained teachers are also greatly needed; over 60,000 for next year alone. So are nurses. If scholarships can assure us more trained teachers and more trained nurses, the government should certainly provide the necessary funds for these scholarships. It is good to know that a number of our affiliated internationals are establishing training programs in cooperation with a number of universities to help meet this need.

Specific principles govern this situation.

First: Regardless of whether private industry gives aid and even though the donor does not restrict or impair academic freedom and content integrity, the American Federation of Labor has held that government itself has a great responsibility in developing opportunities for higher education for American youth. Private funds may properly supplement public funds in helping qualified youth receive higher education. However, the basic responsibility is governmental.

Second: Should government transfer the administration of the program to a private agency? Government may well establish coordinated federal, state and local machinery for the administration of the program. The advice and cooperation of qualified private groups would also always be desirable. But government should not give over the administration of this program to any private agency as is proposed in one of the bills. A national advisory council broadly representative of all interested, qualified groups could properly serve in an advisory capacity for government in the administration of such a program—but to no one private group should the administration of the program be given.

Third: To whom should scholarship aid be given? We have held that the grant is to be given to develop the individual and to increase the nation's store of knowledge. Every qualified youth should be encouraged and aided in seeking further education and training.

THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR HAS ALWAYS BEEN OPPOSED TO ANY MEANS TEST IN SELECTING QUALIFIED YOUTH FOR HIGHER EDUCATION. Such a test violates fundamental democratic principles and is educationally unsound. If a student of ample means is awarded a scholarship, he may return the amount he received, as a gift to a college or other institution of learning. But the selection of men and women of ability for scholarship grants should be based solely on their capacity to profit themselves and their fellow men through further study, and their selection should not involve any consideration of their financial status.

Fourth: For what fields of study should scholarship aid be given? For many years we have pleaded for aid for medical studies; aid to build and equip more medical colleges and aid to enable more qualified students to study medicine. The nation is desperately in need of more doctors.

At present the vast majority of scholarships and grants available are given to promote further research in science and engineering, and other more restricted technical studies to aid industry and for national defense. There is an emphasis being placed on keeping our scientific research at a par with the work of our possible national enemies and on technical training for industry. Precision! Efficiency! They are to be stressed. Yet, a nation which becomes but an efficient machine cannot survive. A nation which would restrict its creative impulses to material improvement and ignore social and aesthetic values may easily destroy its heart, its soul—and then its life.

The rise to power of a depraved, uneducated, but cunning man in an efficient technically trained Germany is proof of the fact that training for efficiency and technical skill alone does not equip a nation to resist a tyrannical leader, or to oppose a wicked or destructive program which may confront it.

Our culture is an expression of practical knowledge coupled with aesthetic and humanitarian values. We have combined the fruits of technical research and the benefits which science has brought to mankind to bring extensive gains and comforts to thousands of homes. Our nation must continue to afford full opportunity for the growth and development of aesthetic and humanitarian values through which we maintain that spark which makes life a challenge and a joy. It is in seeking to meet that challenge that we must, through the liberal arts and fine arts, as well as through technical developments, bring greater pleasure, comfort, and inspiration to the lives of all. It is for this many-sided objective, not just for material gain, that scholarships and loans must be made available with the help of the federal government to all students qualified to benefit therefrom in the field through which they can best make their contribution to enriching their own lives and to bring a fuller life to others.

In harmony with these principles we must seek a program of federal aid through which to afford worthy youth the opportunity for further development.

Federal Aid in the Development of the Arts

One of the most encouraging developments in Congress is a widespread recognition of the arts—liberal arts and fine arts.

Many bills have been introduced this year which would authorize the establishment and development of an arts prorgam. A movement for the recognition of the role played in American culture by letters and the arts was initiated some years ago by Rep. Charles Howell of New Jersey—a man who, as would be expected, had an excellent labor record. Today there is enthusiastic support for such a program in many quarters.

Such a program becomes a part of the general educational development of youth and adults. It is because we have failed in the past to recognize the need for such a program in these fields as an essential part of our American cultural experience that we are particularly pleased to note it here.

At the national and state level this program merits our continued support. It is a movement in which we should solicit the support of many community groups.

Federal Aid for Services for Children

The Douglas Bill, introduced during the 81st Congress, remains the best bill thus far presented for services through which to protect and promote the welfare of all children. We should seek to have this bill reintroduced. It merits our active support in the next session of Congress.

Probably the outstanding contribution in the field of services for children which was enacted this year were provisions to assure better services for the handicapped child, both the mentally and the physically handicapped child.

We were very happy to have our fellow trade unionist, Representative John Fogarty, make such an effective and profound appeal for aid for our handicapped children. Those who suffer physical or mental handicaps will receive additional help under the Fogarty proposal and we as a nation must surely be grateful for the inspiration which Brother Fogarty's proposal has given us all.

The School Lunch Program

The school lunch program is still thoroughly inadequate. However, we are grateful that it was not slashed below its present level even though efforts were made to this effect. Two items should be noted in developing our position on the school lunch program: first, this program should be a basis of effecting close cooperation between our organization and the several farm groups (school lunch aid comes by way of federal purchase of "surplus" farm products); second, we must develop a sense of service for all children and oppose any means test in relation to the administration of the program. While we were successful in the early days of this program in eliminating a federal means test, nevertheless a number of communities use the means test in the administration of the program. The use of the means test is doubly bad for the effect that it has on the child classified as "too poor to pay for his milk and lunch" and the effect it has on other children who either do not wish to or cannot qualify under the means test and those who have means but come from homes in which they are not fed an adequate amount of good wholesome food. Our concern is for the child: rich and poor.

Senator Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota has proposed to double the allotment from \$50 million a year to \$100 million a year for additional school milk for all children throughout the calendar year.

The Children's Bureau

No agency renders greater service for the children of the United States than does the Children's Bureau. In research, and in administering its federal-state programs of service it continues to devote itself, its skill and dedication to the welfare of the nation's children. It would be well for our state federations to conduct institutes on "Serving the Children of Our State with the Help of the National Government."

The publications of the Children's Bureau are uniformly excellent and may well serve as "textbooks" in connection with any community project in this field.

Child Labor

The continually recurring efforts to remove restrictions and limitations from the federal and state laws outlawing child labor, coupled with the efforts to circumvent laws in effect by exploiting children in factories, in industrialized agriculture, in industrialized home work is a constant challenge to us.

Fortunately, we have been able to defeat all national efforts to weaken the provisions protecting children now carried in federal law. We shall continue to work for the protection of the migrant child and for the development of newer and better opportunities, carefully supervised, for the development of the child and young worker outside the school. Compulsory School Attendance Laws and Free Textbooks

On the basis of a survey made by the Committee on Education, we report that there are still over twenty states and territories in which the loopholes in compulsory school attendance laws and child labor laws make possible the exploitation of millions of our children.

Many states exempt a child from school attendance if he is "too poor to attend," or if he "lives too far from a school." Obviously, no state should be allowed to have poverty beget poverty. The child whose family is too poor to clothe him properly to enable him to go to school is the one who most of all should be sent to school so that he may have the advantages which were denied to his parents. Furthermore, no child should be compelled to submit to a means test before the school is able to help him.

The fact that many states still require children, even in the elementary grades, to purchase their own school books, is an overt denial of free public education. In a number of states the child labor laws are relaxed to the vanishing point by giving power to local authorities to exclude children from school "if the child is needed at home," or "if specialized work conditions demand the use of the children."

We recommend that each state federation be called upon to reexamine its compulsory school attendance laws and its child labor laws noting the relationship between the two laws.

On the basis of the facts revealed in the law, each state federation is asked to make the protection of all children through adequate school attendance and child labor laws implemented by necessary family aid provisions, a major undertaking in the coming year.

We further direct that the Committee on Education undertake in cooperation with the state federations a program of helping focus attention on this problem.

As we have often pointed out and reemphasized elsewhere in this report, we must concern ourselves not only with the mechanics of getting children and youth into schools for further education, but it is at least as important that there be assured for every child the type of training and education which will profit him most in making him into a well-rounded good citizen.

Counseling and Guidance

It is of the greatest importance that a study be made of the entire subject of guidance and counseling before any further legislation on this subject is enacted. Guidance and counseling are terms which require critical analysis, both in their relation to schools, veterans' programs and industry in general. Counseling and guidance should be based upon a real knowledge of the economic, social and industrial structure of our nation. It should recognize not merely the measurable technical capabilities of individual human beings but also the needs of the community, the relation of the various elements in our society and the need of effecting cooperation between these various elements for the common good.

The use of mental tests and achievement tests should be critically evaluated not only to focus attention on the need of further studies of the tests themselves, but also on the need of more properly evaluating the implications of the tests and their use. Labor has a profound responsibility at this time in seeking to have public attention focused carefully upon the social standards and social objectives involved in the many counseling and guidance programs.

It is, therefore, recommended that a special study be made by the Standing Committee on Education of the entire field of counseling and guidance in relation to the social well-being of the individual and the well-being of the community.

A Program to Combat Illiteracy and Further Develop an Adult Education Program

Many proposals have been made for the development of a program through which to eradicate adult illiteracy. The extensive loss to our country by its failure to provide for the training of millions of our people who were allowed to reach adulthood without being able to read or write is a serious indictment against us. For over 30 years the Federation has expressed indignation over this condition, but we have not been able to have much done to remedy this situation. A number of bills have from time to time been introduced in Congress to authorize the federal government to counteract this grave situation, the latest being the Kilgore bill. However, we have not, as a nation, applied ourselves with determination to overcome this unpardonable situation.

This condition—12 million adult illiterates—should command primary attention of the Standing Committee on Education, and we urge that they be instructed to make the formulation and execution of a program to overcome the situation a major and immediate order of business. This is one phase of our adult education program in which the whole nation must be asked to join us.

There is, at this time, a special need, for us to review and briefly restate the objectives of other phases of our program in the field of adult education.

For over three decades the American Federation of Labor has developed a program in Adult Education; a program born of the dynamics of our trade union movement. To help the worker as a producer, eager to share the know-how of his job; and the worker as a citizen ready to assume his responsibilities in a free democratic society; and the worker relaxed to enjoy the arts or just the simple comfort and contentment of family life—are the purposes of our own distinctive adult education. At times we have evaluated our programs and considered them in relation to other agencies. A policy adopted last year recognizes the potential value of shared interest, but emphasizes the need of our maintaining control and direction of any program we sponsor.

The value of mass media in our adult programs has been increasingly emphasized. Films, film strips, and other visual and audio aids are being used effectively. Short term and long term institutes; college cooperative training programs; international training centers; rural-industrial coperative educational projects have all had our interest in the last thirty-five years. From these activities there has come for all of us a sense of responsibility to assure the continuing development of such programs to give to each worker a better understanding and a deeper sense of participating in our trade union movement. The report of the activities in workers' education over the last year gives promise for even greater future work. We welcome the potential for the better and more varied personal and community services which our movement will, we hope, ever develop.

The Basic Considerations in Our Education Program

Practical needs for schools and teachers have so commanded the nation's attention that many citizens have become insensitive to the profound significance of education in a free society.

Education is not limited to formal schooling. All experiences and forces which help develop man in his society are a part of our education. The Federation has, since its inception, concerned itself with the whole educational process: the philosophy, the methods, the scope and the purpose. We have felt that the school shares responsibility with the family, the home, the church and other character-building agencies. To many persons "education" has meant "credits," "grades," perhaps a degree. The Federation has sought to restore a more significant meaning, a better appreciation of the function of a democratic society, a deeper respect for the rights and dignity of every man, a stronger sense of responsibility to the free society we wish to preserve and to develop a respect for work done in good conscience by any man, in any place. The tremendous problem for education today is to equip man better to help him help himself and his fellow men in a free society; to understand and appreciate what a free society is.

Education is concerned with forces that are so fundamental in shaping human thought and action that the safety of free institutions requires that we never forget the possibilities and dangers of regimentation.

It is particularly important that we be alert to any attempt to control the content of subjects taught in our schools and to oppose any such attempt. We hold that the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth be taught in our schools by methods best suited to the age of the children taught. We hold further that no teacher controlled by any group or foreign nation can effectively teach in our schools, and therefore we must continue not only to oppose attempts to control educational content, but we must protect the freedom of the teacher. We recognize the right and the duty of government to require loyalty of all public employees, including teachers, but we maintain that a teacher charged with

disloyalty, subversion or any other form of unethical conduct shall be heard on the charges made, in strict conformity with laws and rules then in force in his jurisdiction.

In considering the form of education from which each child would profit most, the schools must, we believe, consider not only the types of formal education available today, but also the revisions and changes that could profitably be made. Then, too, there must be some appreciation of the fact that formal schooling is but one form of education, and under certain circumstances not necessarily the best.

There is a trend today to emphasize the importance of formal academic education for all. Since the First World War the nation, with honest determination, has sought to bring and keep more and more young people in school—regardless of how well or how properly the school into which they were brought actually educated them. We insist on compulsory school attendance but at the same time we demand that schooling be made more flexible; that even though far greater costs are involved in a varied curriculum that the results more than justify the additional expenditures.

Actually, as we have pointed out for the last 30 years, there is a grave danger involved in attempting to hold youth in a formal school in which academic and all achievement standards have been lowered and discipline has been so relaxed as to threaten to destroy essential standards of good citizenship.

The Federation has long urged that this major problem—keeping youth in some form of well planned training program under conditions which would equip him morally and economically for better citizenship—be made the subject of conference and discussion in local communities. Lay and professional groups should be invited by our city central bodies and state federations to explore these problems together.

From many sources, in all areas in the country we hear attacks on what our schools are and are not doing. The breakdown of old academic standards, the introduction of "easy" elective courses, the failure to enforce discipline or to make young people sensitive to their moral and civic responsibilities are discussed in the press, in the church, in the school, in the home.

The grave rise in juvenile delinquency is being studied by the Congress and by hundreds of private organizations with due regard for the questions we have here raised. As citizens deeply interested in these problems we reaffirm our recommendation that these questions be fully discussed by laymen and professional groups in every community, and we further again urge that our city central bodies and state federations assume the traditional leadership role of the Federation in furthering education by arranging for such conferences.

From such conferences would come the most constructive answers to the problems affecting education today.

Labor Representation on Policy Making Boards

To assure the community the social, sound, constructive contribution which labor has traditionally made we would reemphasize our position: labor must, in the public interest, be far more adequately represented on boards of education.

Our studies show that where such boards are elected labor is more likely to be represented than where the board is appointed.

It is also to be noted that labor is better represented at the local level than at the state level in school affairs. More adequate representation of labor is essential.

However, while we urge representation for labor we do, at the same time, emphasize that labor itself must be prepared to serve. Our members must be prepared and qualified to serve. We recommend that the Standing Committee on Education furnish state federations and city central bodies practical "guides" to help prepare and qualify their members for service on such boards.

The United States Office of Education

The Federation's efforts for many years to extend the research activities of the United States Office of Education are beginning to have some slight effect. It is planned now to have somewhat more current reporting on state legislative developments in education and the interim release of some data compiled incident to the biennial survey of education which this agency conducts.

Billions Needed

To give our schools the very basis of what is needed to develop the programs discussed in this report, a minimum of 10 billion dollars over and above current expenditures is needed immediately. These funds can be raised through a well planned, coordinated tax program which must be built upon the recognition of the capacity of local and state resources to provide revenue and is supplemented with federal funds allocated equitably among the states in such a manner as to provide a means through which the nation's responsibility for the well being of the individual citizen will be met through the contributions of local, state and federal resources borne in relation to each other.

The White House Conference on Education

The last week in November, representatives of state authorities and of private organizations, such as the American Federation of Labor, a group totaling 2,000, will assemble in Washington to consider problems confronting education today. The conference was authorized by the 82nd Congress. So, too, were similar state conferences. The quality of the latter varied markedly from state to state. In all the state conferences there developed a decided division of opinion regarding federal aid for education. The states' delegates, both to the state conferences and to the national conference, were selected by the respective state governors.

On the eve of the national conference, it is our hope that it will help our understanding of the educational problems of the Nation and help us improve the form and the quality of education at all levels.

The Federation delegates will earnestly endeavor to win support toward holding the conference to its *avowed* purpose—the coordinated determination of solutions of our educational problems in the public interest.

To further this purpose, all State Federations of Labor and Central Labor Unions were alerted on the thousands of community, area, and state conferences preceding the national White House Conference on Education. The Department of Education, on behalf of the A. F. of L. Committee on Education, made repeated mailings to these organizations, providing them background material and statements of the Federation's position on the vital issues presented. On November 27, the day before the start of the White House Conference, a meeting of labor delegates will be held in Washington, D. C.

At the present moment, we can report only that we will recommend that the report on the White House Conference proceedings be made a part of the Convention Committee on Education at the American Federation of Labor Convention.

Labor Education

The program of union education has grown from a simple, modest suggestion to a complex, extended project reaching our members daily, in some form. Today the hundreds of calls for service from the Federation's Department of Education are strong proof of the worth of this work. The following summarized survey of these many activities gives us a view of the manifold activities in workers' education carried on today through the Federation's Department of Education.

APPRENTICE TRAINING

During the past year the upward trend in the demand for highly skilled workers continued. This trend did not begin last year or the year before that. Actually, the demand for workers with more skill and education has been progressively increasing for many years. It is the result of the application of research and invention to our whole economy.

An examination of the Census Bureau reports for a number of decades emphasizes the growing demand for education and skill. In 1870 professional and semiprofessional workers made up less than 3 per cent of the total number of workers. By 1920, this group was 5 per cent, and by 1950 it had increased to 8 per cent.

Similarly, the group of workers classified by the Census Bureau as skilled and semiskilled became a larger segment of the total labor force. In 1910, its percentage of the total was 26.4 per cent. By 1930, the percentage had increased to 29.3, and by 1950 it was 33.7 per cent. In this relatively short span of time the demand for skilled and semiskilled workers had increased by 7.3 per cent.

In the same period there was a progressive decline in the need for workers classed as unskilled. In 1910, workers classified as unskilled made up 29.2 per cent of the labor force. By 1930, the percentage of unskilled was 21.5 per cent, but by 1950 the percentage of the labor force in the unskilled category had dropped to 12.4 per cent.

This is solid evidence of a trend that has a deep significance to labor. It supports a judgment that the demand for education and skill will increase at an accelerated pace in both the near and long range future.

Supporting this judgment, too, are the large investments being made by industry and government in research and development. Some of the results of recent research and development are being felt in new and greater demands for education and training in the work force.

Among the more spectacular achievements are the atomic reactor, developments in electronics, such as the electronic computer and television, the automatic factory, the guided missile, and soon, the space satellite.

While these dramatic things get the headlines, research and development is affecting most every job in industry, agriculture and commerce. Most of the change results in reducing physical labor and increasing demands for skill and education.

These trends have a profound effect on the workers of this country, and upon their children who are preparing for work. The workers, through their labor organizations, need to examine the trends in their industries and in their individual places of employment. Where they find indications of change in methods or in operations of such character as to require more skill or different skills, they should prepare to meet the change.

In most cases, employers will be glad to cooperate by providing such on-the-job training as can be made available or in assisting with training outside the plant. There may be other cases where the union will have to take full responsibility for arranging the training. Suitable arrangements for the training may be worked out with local vocational schools or other educational institutions.

As shown in this report, skilled and semiskilled workers are a growing proportion of the total work force. Therefore, training in these skills is of prime importance to employers and to labor. Further technological change greatly affects the skill requirements of the trades.

International Unions should review their apprenticeship policies, practices and constitutional requirements in the light of present and prospective changes in the skills and knowledge required. Such review should also take into consideration both the age and educational level of those to be accepted for apprenticeship.

Most of the International Unions are fully aware of the need to strengthen the apprentice training program. They are aware that not enough apprentices are completing training to maintain the numerical level of the skilled labor force. They are aware that there are far too many apprentices who drop out of training and that only about one-third of these become journeymen by the back door, according to a recent study on apprentice drop-outs made by the U. S. Department of Labor's Bureau of Apprenticeship.

Clearly, more research is needed into the causes for our failure to turn out a sufficient number of properly qualified journeymen to maintain the ranks of our skilled labor force. Some of this research should be done by the Unions and some by the Government.

Unions should make a study of new members to learn how these workers got their skills and what proportion are coming in through apprenticeship, and what proportion are coming in through other means. A few unions have made investigations of this kind and as a result they are placing much greater emphasis on strengthening their apprenticeship programs.

Government should study the effects of vocational education in terms of the contribution it is making to the skilled labor force. We need to know to what extent employers are accepting graduates of vocational training courses as journeymen and paying them journeyman wages. Government should also obtain more exact information on the composition of the skilled labor force and how it is trained.

Another area for research on the part of the Government is the contribution the military forces are making to the skills of the nation. Historically, we have been a nation with a small military force, and while that force no doubt contributed some civilian skills to the nation, it had little weight. Now, with the necessity of maintaining a military force of approximately 3 million men and women; and with the necessity of training a large proportion of that force in civilian type skills, the military forces may well be one of the main contributors to the skills of the work force. In considering this question, it should be realized that a very large proportion of the young physically capable young men will serve two or more years in one of the military services.

Thought should be given to the possibility of coordinating some of our industrial and military training. A number of instances have been reported of advanced apprentices, when inducted into military service, being advanced to a good rating in work closely related to their trades. On the other hand, civilian type training provided by the military has been credited on the term of apprenticeship in many of the skilled trades. This informal exchange suggests it might be profitable to the trades, to the military services, and particularly to our young people, to develop a more systematic plan of training coordination.

Unions, employers and Government should weigh the probable effects of the Reserve Forces Act of 1955 on the apprentice training program. This Act, in addition to providing for a ready reserve, trained for immediate return to active service, and a standby reserve to be called on a selective basis in event of an emergency, provides for a special enlistment program. Under this program up to 250,000 boys under 18½ years of age may enlist for a term of 8 years, do active duty from 3 to 6 months and

take reserve training as prescribed for other personnel. A limited number of persons with critical skills essential to defense may enlist in this program without the obligation for reserve training.

There are some considerations which must be given to the training of apprentices to which industry and labor are not directing enough attention.

One is the pirating by an industry which does not have an apprentice training program of the finished apprentice from one which has cooperated closely with the unions employed in that plant in a sound apprentice training program.

The other, which is having a serious effect upon the trade unions, is that those entering unions without proper training are oftentimes those responsible for conflict within the union.

There is also a breaking down of time honored traditional practice within the trade union in the interests of serving the untrained individual, and not in the interests of promoting the best standards for all members.

Again it is emphasized that apprenticeship is essentially the basis on which the continuing progress of the individual craft is built, and it is only through proper training that continued advancement of the union and its members is possible.

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

In our reports on this subject we have constantly reemphasized the important role which Labor has played in the development of our vocational education program. Vocational education has a vital function to perform in equipping our youth and citizens through training and knowledge which will not only benefit them and their establishments, but our communities and our nation as well.

The Smith-Hughes Act and the George-Barden Act together form the keystone of our entire vocational education system. The American Federation of Labor continues to actively support the principles of such legislation.

During the past year we have again pressed for the reestablishment of the Advisory Committee on Vocational Education and also the Advisory Committee on Trade and Industrial Education. It is indeed regrettable that the United States Commissioner on Education, Dr. Samuel Brownell, still has not moved forward with their appointment. We reiterate our firm contention that these advisory committees are greatly needed. The American Federation of Labor will not cease to urge their appointment.

Attention has been given this year, as in the past, to the need for the development of constructive working relationships between the responsible state and local trade union officers and the state and local representatives of vocational education.

Any vocational program, to succeed in its objectives, must be worked out with the practical advice and counsel of both labor and management representatives from the particular occupational field. The proved method of achieving this end is through representative advisory committees. School authorities are thus given an opportunity to gain practical advice and information to aid them in student guidance, course content, instructor qualifications, equipment needed, and the prevailing practices in the occupation. It also provides an opportunity for the school authorities to get acquainted with the needs and desires of labor and management groups, and gives to labor and management representatives from the particular occupational field a chance to develop a clearer understanding of the whole vocational education process through their direct participation.

While we are pleased to note that progress has been made in this important area, there is still need for further improvement. Trade union representatives at the local level must recognize the growing importance of labor participation in vocational training programs.

We must remain alert to guard against efforts by corporations or private institutions to gain control of vocational education to serve their own purposes. Vocational education must be controlled by the public as a vital and an integral part of our public education system.

We are pleased to report that the Congressional appropriations for vocational education this year amounted to \$26,500,000. While this is less than the \$29,000,000 authorized by the George-Barden Act, it is substantially above the amount appropriated the previous year.

It should again be noted that basically there is no conflict between the recognized responsibilities of trade and industrial education, and apprentice training services insofar as they relate to the training of apprentices. Both the United States Office of Education and the Bureau of Apprenticeship of the United States Department of Labor have honored the Hawkins-Patterson Agreement, indicating the relationships of the two agencies with respect to apprenticeship.

The responsibility for the development of sound, workable apprenticeship programs is squarely that of labor and management.

The role of Government lies in developing and promoting standards and in assisting in bringing labor and management together to formulate their own apprenticeship programs.

Vocational education institutions in the community are frequently consulted with and utilized in making certain that the apprentice will receive the related technical and supplemental off-the-job instruction which is needed to fully develop his skills, ability, and knowledge of his craft.

In keeping with the unanimous action of the 1954 Los Angeles Convention, the Subcommittee on Vocational Education has met several times during the year in connection with the drafting of a pamphlet as authorized by that Convention, and which will tell of Labor's role in the development of vocational education and serve as a guide to trade union representatives at the state and local level in dealing with vocational education activities.

In view of pending developments affecting the two major Federations, the Committee believed it advisable to postpone submission of such materials until such time as all interested and affected elements in the American Federation of Labor can have an opportunity to give consideration to its content.

It is also possible that contemplated actions on the part of the American Federation of Labor will result in Committee personnel changes or enlargement, thereby bringing to the Committee new proposals and courses of procedure.

Again we comment on the need for all who are concerned with education to become alert to the problem of developing a more wholesome appreciation and attitude toward vocational education and the development of manual skills which are so vital to our continued national progress.

Every effort must be made to avoid vocational classes as a dumping ground for pupils who may be judged as intellectually inferior. The strength of our nation is steadily becoming more dependent upon the skill and training of its work force.

Vocational education programs, properly administered, will play an increasingly important part in developing the strength of our country.

Excerpt from section on Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers (ORIT)

In the field of Workers Education the ORIT successfully continued its program by holding three more Seminars—in Monterey, Mexico, during September-October, 1954; in Belize, British Honduras, during the month of August of this year; and in Guatemala, during September. John D. Connors, Director of the AFL Department of Education, took part in the Belize Seminar by delivering a series of lectures on the U. S. labor movement.

Programs in the Field of International Cooperation

There are at present a number of Government programs in the field of international cultural exchange. These programs are administered by the Department of Labor, the Department of State, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and several somewhat independent units in these departments.

In addition under express provision in the Smith-Mundt Act a number of programs are administered by private non-profit organizations, and, under contract, by certain universities and colleges.

There is nominally a Board of Foreign Scholarships and there are several other advisory bodies working in conjunction with these programs.

There is an urgent need for better inter-departmental cooperation for the administration of these programs.

In addition, all of the programs need careful re-evaluation both as to content and administrative procedure. One phase, for example, which needs careful study is programing foreign visitors, in this country. Thus far, there seems to have been either no careful planning in the routing of the visitors or else the planning has been done by those with little appreciation of either the objectives of the program or the effect of the relation of an ill-planned program on both the visitors and us, the hosts. It is not unusual to have thirty or more visitors from abroad suddenly "drop in" on a union leader or a school without the slightest indication of the visit having been given previously to the prospective host. The "host"-be he a union leader or school man-is annoyed and the guest may never see what he needs to see. A well-planned program would avoid such problems. Furthermore, under the present arrangements the same people in the same communities are continually being asked to receive guests in addition to their regular work assignments. Such waste and confusion results from a lack of planning on the part of the Government officials and the private agencies picked by Government, entrusted with this task.

We recommend that definite plans be formulated by a specially selected committee on which labor must be represented, to discuss the problems involved in these programs, and that such a committee, in cooperation with interested governmental agencies, be asked to hold an inter-departmental conference at which the many phases of these programs—both content and administrative procedure—be carefully reexamined.

If administrative rulings cannot bring about a more effective means of conducting these programs, then legislative action should be sought. Legislation must be sought to assure labor representation on the Board of Foreign Scholarships and other similar agencies at the next session of Congress as a first step in this program.

We would further emphasize that the confirmed policy of the Federation be strictly observed: that all assignments made in behalf or in the name of the Federation be cleared through the Committee on International Relations and the Committee on Education, of the Federation.

In spite of these problems of administration, substantial progress is being made in assisting foreign visitors.

The following resolutions on education were introduced at the American Federation of Labor convention but were not brought up by the Committee on Resolutions for action, since all such action would be taken up at the merger convention:

RECOGNITION OF LOCAL UNIONS AS APPRENTICE TRAINING AGENCIES

Resolution No. 17—By Delegate Kenneth J. Kelley, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Local Unions of the Building and Construction Trades have, since their inception recognized the need for apprentice training, and

WHEREAS, These Local Unions have prepared comprehensive programs for the training of apprentices, and

WHEREAS, Many Veterans of World War II received their training as building tradesmen through this medium of training, and

WHEREAS. The training of these young men has been an asset to the crafts in providing skilled and competent workmen to carry on the tradition of the trades, and

WHEREAS, Veterans of World War II were granted, under Public Law 346, certain monetary allowances to supplement their wages for recognition of their services in World War II, and

WHEREAS, By act of the \$2nd Congress of the United States in enactment of Public Law 550, provisions were established for monetary allowances for Veterans of the Korean conflict in apprentice training, and

WHEREAS, The apprentice training programs were continued by many Local Unions of the Building Trades and apprentices who were Veterans of Korea were indentured to Local Unions for training, and

WHEREAS, On October 6, 1954, there was issued by the Veterans Administration, an interpretation of Public Law 550, Section 201-(7) which will not recognize a Local Union as a bona fide training establishment because "they are unable to exercise control over the physical training of the program and are unable to assume responsibility for compliance with Public Law 550," and

WHEREAS. This matter has been taken up by the Division of Apprentice Training of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, with the Veterans Administration and with the Bullding and Construction Trades Dept. of the A. F. of L., and

WHEREAS, No satisfactory adjustment of this matter has been made from the decision of the Veterans Ad-

ministration, dated October 6, 1954, and WHEREAS, A further ultimatum was usued by the Veterans Administration on February 7, 1955, that unless interpretation of Public Law 550 as outlined by the Veterans Administration were met within sixty days that Veterans of Korea would not be eligible for monetary assistance from the V. A. to supplement their wages while in training, and

WHEREAS, This edict became effective on April 11, 1955, and Veterans in training indentured to Local Unions are now being denied their subsistence allotments under Public Law 550 by this dictatorial act of the Veterans Administration, and

WHEREAS, This is causing hardship to many Veteran apprentices now in training and is denying other Veterans the opportunity of learning a trade under the sponsorship of Local Unions, and

WHEREAS, The Veterans Administration, by their arbitrary interpretation have attempted to degrade Local Unions as incompetent and irresponsible, and

WHEREAS, This seriously reacts to the detriment of the Local Unions in the Building and Construction Trades, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 74th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor hereby protests the arbitrary interpretation by the Veterans Administration of Section 201-(7) of Public Law 550, which refuses recognition of a Local Union as a bona fide training establishment, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor and any successor organization be empowered to take necessary action to secure a revision of this arbitrary ruling by the Veterans Administration to the end that Local Unions may again be recognized as appropriate apprentice training agencies.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS

Resolution No. 61—By Delegates Carl J. Megel, Selma M. Borchardt, Arthur A. Elder, John M. Fewkes, Herrrick S. Roth, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The affiliate locals of the American Federation of Teachers represent the only bona fide teachers trade union, and







Finalists Receivi
Awards in Ida
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← Filming of See in Movie "Inj tice on Trial."

Lester Graha Regional Direct Teaching Class Annual Institute Texas State Fed ation of Labor eeting of AFL d CIO Delegates White House onference on Education.

wo Winners in nual Apprentice ontest Receiving ongratulations om Officers of onsoring Plumbs' United Association.





Class at Advanced Session of Southern AFL Labor School.



WHEREAS, All other national, state, and virtually all local education associations are in the company union category, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 74th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor advise it affiliates to give aid, support, and assistance to the legitimate teachers trade unions, the affiliates of the American Federation of Teachers, and be it further

RESOLVED. That the American Federation of Labor request its affiliates to assist the legitimate teacher trade union locals in areas where these locals now exist and to give aid and assistance to organizing locals of the American Federations of Teachers in areas where they do not exist.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions,

UN-INTERRUPTED LUNCH PERIOD FOR TEACHERS

Resolution No. 62—By Delegates Carl J. Megel, Selma M. Borchardt, Arthur A. Elder, John M. Fewkes, Herrick S. Roth, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, It is a known fact that thousands of teachers across the nation, in fulfilling their obligations and maintaining proper discipline, are compelled to forego a free and uninterrupted lunch period, and

WHEREAS, Such conditions make it necessary for the teacher to remain on continuous duty for anywhere from 5½ to 7 hours per day, and

WHEREAS, the physical requirements of maintaning such a program undermine the health and the morale of the teaching force thereby adding to the deterioration of the quality of instruction of the boys and girls of the nation, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 74th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, in accordance with its long established policy "that every worker is entitled to a free and uninterrupted lunch period" condemn the practice of programming any teacher in any school system without provision for adequate time for eating lunch, and be it further

RESOLVED, That affiliated bodies be advised of this practice and requested to use their influence in their local school communities to insist that teachers programs provide adequate time for uninterrupted lunch periods.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

TENURE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS

Resolution No. 63—By Delegates Carl J. Megel, Selma M. Borchardt, Arthur A. Elder, John M. Fewkes, Herrick S. Roth, American Federation of Teachers, WHEREAS, Job security is one of the first objectives of union organization and is a necessary first step toward all succeeding benefits, and

WHEREAS, Most states do not have have none at all, and in those states that adequate teacher tenure laws and many do have tenure laws, continuing attempts are made to render them ineffective, and

WHEREAS, Any adequate tenure law must include:

- a. Provision for a reasonable probationary period of not more than three years at the successful completion of which a teacher acquires permanent status or a continuing contract, unless notified to the contrary with specific reasons a reasonable time before the end of the period;
- b. Provision that upon successful completion of the probationary period the amployment of the teacher becomes permanent until retirement age is attained, subject to dismissal for cause;
- c. A clear statement of the grounds that may be considered as reasons for dismissal;
- d. A requirement that notice of dismissal be in writing and include a statement of the specific charges upon which dismissal is based;
- e. A provision that the teacher may request a public or private hearing before the school board or other impartial tribunal, at which the teacher may be present and be represented by counsel chosen by the teacher, with the right to subpoena witnesses; and that a stenographic record be kept of the entire proceedings which shall be available to the teachers at board expense:
- f. A provision that the teacher has the right to appeal the decision of the board to a court of record which shall have power to review the record of the dismissal proceedings to determine whether grounds for dismissal exist and whether the charges have been proved by competent evidence and to hear additional evidence and re-hear the case in its discretion with the right of appeal as in other cases; and

g. Protection of the teachers salary during the course of the proceedings in the event of the teacher is finally reinstated. and

where we will be a state of the adoption and defense of such the adoption and defense of such tenure laws, and it is the experience of the American Federation of Teachers that it is extremely difficult to organize teachers where they are not protected by tenure laws, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 74th Annual Convention of the American Federation urges its affiliates to lend strength and support to all efforts to enact and defend adequate teacher tenure laws in every state or territory of this nation.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

EXCERPT FROM ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT WALTER P. REUTHER TO THE SEVENTEENTH CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION OF THE CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS, NEW YORK, N. Y., DECEMBER 1-2, 1955.

It was the American labor movement that began the historic struggle to win, as a matter of rights, the right to an adequate educational opportunity for every child in America. I say it is a great shame upon the American people, the richest country in the world, where we find millions of our children being denied their educational opportunities because of inadequate schools, overcrowded classrooms, underpaid school teachers. Yes, we talk nobly and there will be many noble words said in Washington at this Conference on Education (the White House Conference on Education, November 28 to December 1, 1955) about how priceless our children are, how they are our greatest national asset, and all these noble words. We of the CIO say it is about time we had less noble words and more positive action to give our children educational opportunities.

EDUCATION SECTION OF REPORT OF DEPARTMENT OF EDUCA-TION AND RESEARCH TO THE SEVENTEENTH CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION OF THE CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

During 1955 this Department—which is concerned primarily with the analysis of economic matters affecting our members and the nation and with advancing support for CIO programs through education—engaged in a broad range of activities. Both functions have been directed and coordinated by Stanley H. Ruttenberg.

II. EDUCATION

During the past year, the Education Division emphasized its institute program, distributed more than 1,500,000 copies of various CIO pamphlets to union and community groups, cooperated with the Inter-University Labor Education Committee study on universities in workers' education, developed educational programs on the school integration challenge, experimented in preparing teaching materials for full-time labor educators, and continued the work of its Film Division, which was established in 1947.

Continuing its field program, the Department sponsored 14 one-week schools in cooperation with the Education Departments of many unions and with CIO regional offices, state and city councils. Schools were conducted in every section of the nation.

Many Foreign Visitors

The Division prepared a useful manual for each school containing materials for use in classes and as a reference during the coming year. At

most schools, foreign trade unionists were in attendance, including two members of their respective parliaments. What the experience means to a trade unionist from another country is described by Narain Bhojwani of India:

"I personally benefited a great deal from the school and left it much wiser about how American labour has moulded its fortunes through recent decades and become a force for economic and social stability; how it takes its prosperity as a matter of right and has caused society to concede it. The talks and discussions at the school stimulated active participation by everyone. Rather contrary to the general method of teaching by lecturing, setting tasks and pumping knowledge, the programme was so designed as to promote study, thinking and expression. In imparting instruction to union leaders in this manner, on matters including and beyond those affecting labour and the unions, the efforts of the CIO are bound to yield good dividends. This is obviously a new concept of unionism. It could perhaps be described as welfare unionism carrying forward and consolidating the work of a society based on general welfare."

More than 500 local union officers received specific training in building stronger unions, in discussion techniques, film forums, etc., through the school program.

Staff Training Experiments

In cooperation with the Arkansas CIO Council, the Department prepared a special conference manual organized around five national legislative issues for use with true and false questionnaires and simple discussion outlines based on issues of the Economic Outlook. The Division set up a one-day training session for staff representatives in Arkansas. These staff representatives were then used at the Little Rock Conference. Six CIO and AFL using the manuals prepared and the discussion leaders trained in the sessions in Little Rock.

Following the three-year program of the Inter-University Labor Education Committee, set up under a grant from the Fund for Adult Education of the Ford Foundation, administered by an executive board made up of four CIO, four AFL, and eight university members, the IULEC accepted a grant from the same Fund to prepare a guide in considering future grants to encourage experimental work by universities and allied agencies in the field of workers' education.

Distribution of Pamphlets

Continuing CIO's policy of wide distribution of CIO pamphlets, to bring CIO's message to the general public, a quarter million copies of the revised edition of "Farmers and Workers Win Together" were distributed from CIO booths at state and county fairs. Other material dealt with schools, discrimination, automation and other issues of the day.

special pamphlets prepared by the Steelworkers on their wage problems and background material on the Auto Workers guaranteed employment plan being mailed to the entire list.

Two Books Published

Two books prepared by the National CIO: "Handbook on State and Local Taxes" and "The CIO Case Against Right-to-Work Laws" were widely distributed. In many cases, the CIO state councils used these books effectively in dealing with members of the state legislatures. A special paper-bound edition of "The Labor Story" was underwritten by the Department and arrangements were made with the Public Affairs Press to publish proceedings of the CIO Automation Conference.

New Steward's Manual

In cooperation with the Rubber Workers, Woodworkers, and the Transport Workers, the Department prepared a completely revised steward's manual. Approximately 50,000 copies have been distributed, including three special editions for the international unions cooperating. Also prepared was a new six-session teaching guide based on the CIO steward's manual.

The Department prepared and distributed materials bearing on the Supreme Court decision outlawing segregated schools with a special kit of materials going to full-time CIO staff members in the south. International unions have purchased copies of this kit for distribution to their staff members. Sample copies of "Southern School News," a monthly publication dealing with the school integration problems, have been sent to southern staff members. The Fund for the Advancement of Education of the Ford Foundation provided the Department with two important books: "Schools in Transition," and "The Negro in America Today," which have been distributed to southern staff members. In two southern one-week institutes sponsored by the Department, special discussions were held on the Supreme Court decision. The Murrow television program on school integration has been purchased and used in CIO's educational work.

Films and Records

The CIO Film Division continued to increase its bookings. New films, including three on civil liberties as well as a number of films on trade union problems and current domestic and international issues, have been obtained. The Film Division is promoting the use of the CIO film tribute to Philip Murray. "Imprint of a Man." High school classes are using this film as well as the UAW film, "Work or Wages Guaranteed."

Three CIO record albums were sold to many labor and non-labor groups.

The Department prepared 2000 bound volumes of the 1954 Economic

Outlook. One thousand copies were mailed by the Michigan CIO Council to high school libraries in Michigan and arrangements were made for these libraries to receive the Economic Outlook for the year 1955.

The work of the Education Division is under the direction of George T. Guernsey, Associate Director in charge of Education. He is assisted by Stuart P. Brock and Hy Kornbluh, Associate Directors of Education. Work on many special projects and the summer institute program was done by Majorie Bailey.

RESOLUTION ON EDUCATION ADOPTED AT THE FIRST CONSTI-TUTIONAL CONVENTION OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS, NEW YORK, N. Y., DECEMBER 5-8, 1955.

(Presented on the Fourth Day of the Convention)

EDUCATION

Whereas, since the American trade union movement was founded, it has fought for the development of the public school and for an educational program through which every child and youth would not only master the basic tools of learning but would also be given some knowledge of the humanities, the fine arts and the liberal arts; some degree of manual dexterity; and an understanding of his duties, rights and responsibilities in democratic government; now, therefore, be it

ernment; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED; That the AFL-CIO reaffirms its support of these principles and urges their implementation through a program of adequate well built school housing; a democratically administered school system; statewide compulsory school attendance laws in which loop-holes are closed; free text-books for all children in the elementary and secondary public high schools; a curriculum, so varied and enriched as to assure to each child the fullest development of his personal capacity; classes small enough to enable the teacher to teach each child effectively; the development of a strong teacher's union affiliated with the AFL-CIO; and schools staffed by professionally qualified teachers who through training and experience by professionally qualified teachers who through training and experience have developed a high sense of social and moral responsibility.

To secure and hold such teachers the community must:

a. Provide adequate pay to enable the teacher to support himself and his family properly. b. Assure the teacher freedom to

b. Assure the teacner freedom to teach the truth.
c. Provide personal and profession-al security through the establish-ment of the legal right to bargain collectively, strong tenure laws; and adequate statutory pension provi-

sions. d. Help develop recognition of joint responsibility of the family, the school, and the community for respect for law and order to be reflected in the child's conduct.
e. Provide good working condi-

tions, including:

Relief from clerical and other non-teaching assignments. 9

A free and uninterrupted lunch period.

3. Full recognition of so-called "extra curricular activities" as an integral part of the school's work.

Adequate Support for Our Schools

Aucquaite Support for Ulir Schools

The AFL-CIO recognizes that these demands place a responsibility on the community, and, therefore, pledges to fight for adequate financial support for our schools, through a program of coordinated support from government at the local, state and Federal level. However, in giving Federal funds to the states, safeguards must be written into the legislation giving state and Federal support for education, to assure the use of funds for the purposes, and in the manner in which the law and educational needs require them to be used.

Such Federal funds should be dis-

Such Federal funds should be dis-Such Federal funds should be distributed and administered under state law, shall be allocated so as to recognize population, relative need and taxpaying capacity; shall supplement not supplant state and local funds and shall be made available to all parts of the state. States shall submit plans for expenditures which shall be subject to Federal audit and any aggrieved state or aggrieved citizen shall have his complaint reviewed by the Commissioner of Education with right to appeal to Federal courts.

Labor recognizes that practical legis-lative conditions demand that Federal aid be provided for specific purposes.

The five principal specific and basic fields in which Federal aid is needed immediately are Federal aid for public school construction; for public school teachers' salaries; for loans and scholarships for all worthy students; for health and welfare services for all children regardless of race or creed; and for the eradication of adult illiteracy.

The AFL-CIO is committed to the basic principle of affording the educational opportunities for all persons regardless of race, creed or status. It is, therefore, strongly committed to help assure the fullest possible support for the implementation of the Supreme Court decision in outlawing segregation in the nation's public schools. It therefore, holds that no Federal funds should be granted to any state which takes action in defiance of the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, provided that funds should be made available to such school districts as conform to the decision.

The White House Conference on Education

The White House Conference on Education, following long and serious con-sideration of the major aspects of the crisis in American education, concluded that "the overwhelming majority of the more than two thousand delegates favor federal financial support for education." The report is a clear-cut expression of the American people's desire that the federal government help the states to finance construction of new buildings, to increase teachers' salaries, and to expand school curricula and materials. Support for federal aid for public school building was widespread among the approximately 1,300 participants from 48 states and teriories of the United States, and the majority also favored general aid to public schools where needed.

Only 4% of those present at the Washington conference were representatives of labor. This failure to recognize labor's active interest in and concern with current needs of the public schools should be brought to the attention of the Governors and the state educational authorities who were responsible for the selection of participants. State federations of labor should be alert in the future to see that labor is properly represented on planning committees on the local and state levels and that labor representatives take an active part in such conferences.

The White House Conference report represented a signal victory for the educational policies which organized labor has advocated for many years. The campaign conducted by all of organized labor resulted in a labor delegation which was well informed and articulate, although numerically a minority.

The conclusions reached by the White House Conference represent progress. However, their implementation may be a long way off. The same forces which have been opposed to federal aid will continue to use their power and infuence to prevent Congress from appropriating adequate federal funds for schools. We in the united labor movement will need to intensify our efforts to insure success. It is essential that our program be continued at local, state, and national levels until America's children are assured of the educational opportunities necessary in a complex society.

Federal Aid in the Development of the Arts

The AFL-CIO halls the encouraging developments in Congress giving recognition to the significance of the arts in American culture. It pledges active support to programs which help create and develop aesthetic values in youth and adults.

School Lunch Program

The AFL-CIO urges support for the expansion of the present school lunch program.

The Children's Bureau

The AFL-CIO deeply appreciates the services for children made available through the Children's Bureau and urges adequate support for its work.

Rural Library Demonstration Centers

The AFL-CIO urges support of legislation providing for Rural Library Demonstration Centers and for a furthe development of mobile library services in city and suburban areas.

The United States Office of Education

The AFL-CIO urges long overdue appropriations to enable the Office of Education to conduct research in the field of education. Education is the one major area in which basic data are not currently available.

Academic Freedom and Integrity

The AFL-CIO believes that truth must be taught at all school levels in a manner best suited to the age of the children taught. It strongly opposes any form of academic censorship or legislative control of curriculum content. It opposes the use of the schools for propaganda purposes by any group or organization.

The AFL-CIO believes that the freedom of the teacher as a citizen must be honored at all times. However, the right of the community to protect our schools and our youth from those who would seek to direct or control their thinking leads us to recognize the need of having the community deny employment as a teacher to anyone who is subject to controls, foreign or domestic, which limit his freedom of thought and speech, and which would prevent the teacher from teaching the truth fully in any presentation.

Vocational Education

From its inception the trade union movement in America has recognized the value of vocational education. Labor has continuously supported the principle of such a program of federal support of such a program even when it has opposed certain administrative features of the program.

The AFL-CIO strongly urges support for a program of vocational education which recognizes the primary responsibility of the trade unions in developing skill and craitsmanship. It urges the development of a program through which a more extensive appreciation of the value of such training can be developed in all elements of society. At the same time, the AFL-CIO pledges its continuing support for the program giving financial support in apprentice-

ship training in direct cooperation with the trade unions in the fields in which the training is given.

Labor Extension Service

The AFL-CIO reaffirms support of a Labor Extension Service in the United States Department of Labor to provide service and material comparable to those provided through the Department of Agriculture to farmers, and businessmen through the Department of Commerce, administered at the national and state levels through advisory boards made up of representatives of the organized labor movement and coperating institutions and agencies. operating institutions and agencies.

Educational T. V.

We believe that educational T. V. has proved it value where stations have been established and we insist the Federal Communications Commission Federal Communications Commission continue to reserve the channels set aside exclusively for educational purposes.

All T. V. educational stations should have an operating committee fully representative of all interests in the community.

Community Cooperation

The AFL-CIO calls upon its state and local unions to urge their members to participate in community activities in cooperation with other civic groups, and through such a cooperative program, to develop support for the education programs and projects it supports for the betterment of the community.

COMMITTEE CO-SECRETARY SODER-STROM: Mr. President, I move the adop-tion of their report.

... The motion was seconded and carried unanimously and the resolution on Education was adopted.

Excerpt from Resolutions on Civil Rights

of Segregation in Public Facilities

One of the most notable triumphs for democracy in recent years is the progress which has been made toward ending segregation in public schools. In 1954 the Supreme Court of the United States unanimously, and in clear United States unanimously, and in clear and unequivocal language, declared that segregation in the public schools violates the United States Constitution. A year later it reiterated this decision, and ordered that those localities where segregation in the public schools still exists proceed with "all deliberate speed" toward its elimination, in response to these decisions of the nation's highest tribunal, a number of states and localities have already ended segregation in their public schools. The experience of these areas, and particularly of the District of Columbia with its large Negro population, has shown that there is no insurmountable obstacles anywhere to complying with the requirements of the nation's Constitution. stitution.

unfortunately, however, some states and localities have sought to delay the end of segregation, and even to perpetuate it indefinitely, by a variety of filmsy and discreditable subterfuges and devices. We are confident that the courts will rebuke these tactics as rapidly as the cases come before them. Still worse, in one or two states the forces of racism and reaction are using the segregation issue as a rallying point for the creation of Ku Klux Klan-type organizations, such as the White Citizens Councils which seek by the vilest and most brutal methods to deny all political and civil rights to America's Negro citizens.

LABOR INSTITUTES, CONFERENCES, AND SUMMER SCHOOLS Calendar Year 1955

Conducted by AFL and CIO Unions or with Their Cooperation

(This list does not include any institute, conference or school of less than four days' duration, nor does it include the hundreds of classes and courses, lecture series, film forums, etc., conducted by affiliated unions.)

	Dates 1955		Sponsorship	Location
	Jan. 14-17	Local Institute	Communications Wkrs of America-CIO	Durham, N. C.
	Jan. 14-21	Local Institute	District 9, Communications Wkrs-CIO	Los Angeles, Calif.
	Jan. 17-24	School for Shop Stewards	Western Division, Amalgamated Clothing Wkrs-CIO	Detroit, Mich.
	Jan. 31-Feb. 5	Northern New England School	New England State Councils and CIO Dept. of Education and Research	Gooddard College, Plainfield Vt.
[Feb. 6-10	Nat'l Legislative Institute	Textile Wkrs Union-CIO	Washington, D. C.
52	Feb. 13-18	Legislative Institute	Education Dept., Rubber Wkrs-CIO	Washington, D. C.
]	Feb. 20-25	Legislative Institute	Rubber Wkrs-CIO	Washington, D. C.
	March 1-5	Local Leadership Training Institute	Education & Research Dept., Int'l Wood-workers-CIO	Memphis, Tenn.
	March 4-7	Local Institute	District 3, Communications Wkrs-CIO	Raleigh, N. C.
	April 3-9	Local Presidents' Course	Communications Wkrs-CIO	Institute Center, Front Royal, Va.
	April 4-7	Joint Labor-Management Conference	Int'l Brotherhood of Boiler Makers-AFL	Kansas City, Kansas
	April 10-16	Educational Training Institute	Communications Wkrs-CIO	Univ. of Denver, Denver
	April 11-15	Local Leadership Training Institute	Education & Research Dept., Int'l Wood-workers-CIO	Bainbridge, Ga.
	April 18-22	Local Leadership Training Institute	Education & Research Dept., Int'l Wood-workers-CIO	Tallahassee, Fla.
	April 24-29	Education Conference on Union Services to Membership	California State Fed. of Labor	Santa Barbara, Calif.
	April 24-30	Educational Training Institute	Communications Wkrs-CIO	Hoberg's Resort, Calif.

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Location	ad CIO Dept. of Edu- Brethren Service Center, New Windsor, Md.	Labor and Univ. of Univ. of Illinois, Champaign.	ed Steelwkrs-CIO Univ. of California, River- side, Calif.	nt Wkrs-AFL and Univ. of Wisconsin, Madison,	Labor, Dept. of Re- Univ. of Kentucky, Lexing- ton, Ky.	Soard, Int'l Ladies' Unity House, Forest Park, Pa.	NKRS-AFL and Univ. of Wisconsin, Madison,	oyees Council No. 7 Michigan State Univ., East 1 Continuing Educa- Lansing, Mich.	FDR Camp, Port Huron, Mich.	Wkrs-CIO FDR Camp, Port Huron.	I.F. and Institute of Allerton Park, Montjeello, Relations, Univ. of III.	FDR Camp, Port Huron, Mich.	b Wkrs-CIO FDR Camp, Port Huron,	nalgamated Clothing Sarah Lawrence College, Bronxville, N. Y.	ation Service Sarah Lawrence College,	The same of the sa	R
Sponsorship	ng School Maryland State CIO and CIO Dept. of Edu- cation & Research	Illinois State Fed. of Labor and Univ. of Illinois Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations	Education Dept., United Steelwkrs-CIO	Int'l Ladies' Garment Wkrs-AFL School for Wkrs, Univ. of Wisconsin	hool Kentucky State Fed. of Labor, Dept. of Research & Education	rtitute Philadelphia Joint Board, Int'l Ladies' Garment Wkrs-AFL	Int'l Ladies' Garmes. Wkrs-AFL School for Wkrs, Univ. of Wisconsin	Michigan State Employees Council No. 7 AFEGME-AFE, and Continuing Educa- tion of Michigan State Univ.	Michigan State CIO	itute . Region 7, United Auto Wkrs-CIO	dwest Int'l Chemical Wkrs-AFL and Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, Univ. of Illinois	Michigan State CIO	itute Region 7, United Auto Wkrs-CIO	Education Dept., Amalgamated Clothing Wkrs-CIO	American Labor Education Service		st Int'l Chemical Wkrs-AFL
	CIO Leadership Training School	Summer School	Educational Conference	Summer Institute	10th Annual Labor School	1st Active Members Institute	Summer Institute	Summer Institute	Summer School	Union Leadership Institute	Summer School for Midwest	Summer School	Union Leadership Institute	Training Institute	White Collar Wkshops		Summer School for East
Dates	June 19-24	June 19-24	June 19-25	June 19-25	June 19-July 1	June 20-24	June 25-July 1	June 26-29	June 26-July 1	June 26-July 1	June 26-July 1	July 3-8	July 8-8	July 4-9	July 9-17		July 10-15

Univ. of Connecticut, Storrs, Conn.	Michigan State Univ. East Lansing, Mich.	Univ. of Illinois, Robt. Aller- ton Park, Monticello, Ill.	Univ. of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas	Univ. of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.	Institute Center, Front Royal, Vs.	Ohio State Univ., Columbus, Ohio	Penn State Univ., Univ. Park, Pa.	Univ. of Wisconsin, Madison,	Cornell Univ., Ithaca, N. Y.	Univ. of Illinois, Robt. Aller- ton Park, Monticello, Ill.	Univ. of Arkansas, Fayette-	Rutgers Univ., New Bruns-wick, N. J.	Kent State Univ., Kent, Ohio	Univ. of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.	Ohio State Univ., Columbus, Ohio	Penn State Univ., Univ. Park, Pa.	Institute Center, Front Royal,
Region 9, United Auto Wkrs-CIO	Michigan State Fed. of Labor, AFL Regional Office, Continuing Education of Michigan State Univ.	Illinois State CIO	Educational Dept., United Steelwkrs-CIO	Wisconsin State Fed. of Labor and School for Wkrs, Univ. of Wisconsin	Communications Wkrs-CIO	Education Dept., United Steelwkrs-CIO	Education Dept., United Steelwkrs-CIO	American Fed. of Teachers and School for Wkrs, Univ. of Wisconsin	N. Y. State School of Industrial & Labor Relations, Cornell Univ.	Education Dept., United Steelwkrs-CIO	14 Southern State Feds. of Labor	United Rubber Wkrs, N. J. State CIO, and CIO Dept. of Education & Research	Region 2, United Auto Wkrs-CIO	Region 10, United Auto Wkrs-CIO	Education Dept., United Steelwkrs-CIO	Education Dept., United Steelwkrs-CIO	Communications Wkrs-ClO
Union Leadership Institute	Building Trades Institute	Summer School	Educational Conference	Summer Institute	Advanced Training Course	Educational Conference	Educational Conference	Summer Workshop	Conference on Use of Educational Methods in Labor Union Activities	Educational Conference	4th Southern AFL Labor School (Western Division)	CIO Leadership Training School	Union Leadership Institute	Union Leadership Institute	Educational Conference	Educational Conference	Advanced Training Course
July 10-15	July 10-15	July 10-15	July 10-15	July 10-16	July 10-16	July 10-16	July 10-16	July 10-28	July 17-23	July 17-23	July 17-28	July 17-23	July 17-23	July 17-28	July 17-28	July 17-28	July 17-28

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Dates		Sponsorship	Location
July 17-23	Educational Conference	Education Dept., United Steelwkrs-CIO	Miami Univ., Oxford, Ohio
July 21-24	Community Services Institute	Illinois State CIO	Union Center, Ottawa, III.
July 23-31	Summer Wkshop in Workers Education Methods and Techniques	Rutgers Univ., Institute of Management & Labor Relations	Rutgers Univ., New Bruns- wick, N. J.
July 24-29	Educational Conference	Education Dept., United Steelwkrs-CIO	Univ. of Illinois, Robt. Aller- ton Park, Monticello, Ill.
July 24-29	Educational Conference	Education Dept., United Steelwkrs-CIO	Indiana Univ., Bloomington, Ind.
July 24-29	4th Southern AFL Labor School (Eastern Division)	14 Southern State Feds. of Labor	Univ. of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va.
July 24-30	Educational Conference	Education Dept., United Steelwkrs-CIO	Univ. of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
July 24-80	Educational Conference	Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees-AFL and N. Y. State School of Industrial & Labor Relations, Cornell Univ.	Cornell Univ., Ithaca, N. Y.
[56]	Educational Training Institute	Education Dept., Communications Wkrs-CIO	Univ. of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
July 24-30	CIO Leadership Training School	Massachusetts State CIO, Textile Wkrs-CIO, and CIO Dept. of Education and Research	Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass.
July 24-30	Ohio Rubber Wkrs School	District 1, United Rubber Wkrs-CIO	Ohio State Univ., Columbus, Ohio
July 24-30	Union Leadership Institute	Region 10, United Auto Wkrs-CIO	Univ. of Wisconsin, Madison. Wis.
July 24-80	Union Leadership Institute	Region 2B, United Auto Wkrs-CIO	UAW Camp, Sand Lake, Ohio
July 24-80	Union Leadership Institute	Region 3, United Auto Wkrs-CIO	Pardue Univ., Lafayette, Ind.
July 24-30	Basic Training Course	Communications Wkrs-CIO	Institute Center, Front Royal.
July 25-31	World Affairs Institute	Colorado State Fed. of Labor, American Labor Education Service, and Farmers Union	Estes Park, Colo.
July 26-29	Conference on Federal Labor Unions	N. Y. State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Cornell Univ.	Cornell Univ., Ithaca, N. Y.

Institute Center, Front Royal, Va.	Reed College, Portland, Ore.	Camp, Port Huron,	Univ. of Oklahoma, Norman, Okla.	ia Hot Springs,	Detroit Lakes, Minn.	Institute Center, Front Royal, Va.	Lake Junaluska, N. C.	, Ore.	Lake Junaluska, N. C.	ia Hot Springs,	Camp, Port Huron.	Institute Center, Front Royal, Va.	ia Hot Springs.	Rustin Inn, Easton, Wash.	Los Angeles, Calif.	in Hot Springs,
Institute Va.	Reed Co	FDR C Mich.	Univ. of Okla.	California Calif.	Detroit	Institute Va.	Lake Ju	Portland, Ore.	Lake Ju	California Calif.	FDR C	Institute Va.	California Calif.	Rustin I	Los Ang	California Calif.
Education Dept., Communications Wkrs-CIO	Oregon and Washington State Councils of Retail Clerks and Portland State Exten- sion Center	Region 1B, United Auto Wkrs-CIO	Region 5, United Auto Wkrs-ClO	Region 6, United Auto Wkrs-CIO	Education Dept., Communications Wkrs-CIO	Education Dept., Communications Wkrs-CIO	CIO Dept. of Education & Research, CIO Region 4, and Textile Wkrs-CIO	Int'l Chemical Wkrs-AFL	14 Southern State Feds. of Labor	Region 6, United Auto Wkrs-CIO	Region 1C, United Auto Wkrs-CIO	Education Dept., Communications Wkrs-CIO	Int'l Chemical Wkrs-AFL	Education & Research Dept., Int'l Woodworkers-CIO, and CIO Dept. of Education & Research	Education Dept., Communications Wkrs-CIO	California State CIO and CIO Dept. of Education & Research
Basic Training Course	Workshop for Retail Clerks-AFL	Union Leadership School	Union Leadership School	Union Leadership School	Educational Training Institute	Basic Training Course	Upper South CIO Leadership Training School	Summer School for Northwest	4th Southern AFL Labor School (Advanced)	Union Leadership School	Union Leadership School	Advanced Training Course	Summer School for West Coast	Washington-Oregon CIO Leadership Training School	Basic Training Course	California CIO Leadership Training School
Aug. 28-Sept. 3	Sept. 7-10	Sept. 11-16	Sept. 11-16	Sept. 11-16	Sept. 11-16	Sept. 11-17	Sept. 11-17	G Sept. 18-23	Sept. 18-23	Sept. 18-23	Sept. 18-23	Sept. 18-24	Sept. 25-30	Sept. 25-Oct. 1	Sept. 25-Oct. 1	Oct. 2-9

	Norman,			A, Potosi,				Norman,	Memphis,							
Location	Univ. of Oklahoma, Norman, Okla.	Emporia, Kansas	Wadsworth, Ohio	Trout Lodge, YMCA, Potosi, Mo.	Jackson, Miss.	Nacogdoches, Texas	Chicago, III.	Univ. of Oklahoma, Norman, Okla.	Chisca Hotel, Tenn.	New York, N. Y.	Norristown, Pa.	Atlanta, Ga.	Greensboro, N. C.	Bristol, Tenn.	Haven Hill, Mich.	
Sponsorship	Education Dept., Communications Wkrs-CIO	United Packinghouse Wkrs-CIO	Education Dept., United Rubber Wkrs-CIO	Western Division, Amalgamated Clothing Wkra-ClO, and ClO Dept. of Education & Research	Education & Research Dept., Int'l Wood-workers-CIO	Education & Research Dept., Int'l Wood-workers-CIO	Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters-AFL	CIO Dept. of Education & Research	Memphis Industrial Union Council-CIO	American Labor Education Service	Education Dept., Textile Wkrs-CIO	Education & Research Dept., Int'l Wood-workers-CIO	Education Dept., Textile Wkrs-CIO	Education & Research Dept., Int'l Wood-workers-CIO	Region 1, United Auto Wkrs-CIO	
	Educational Training Institute	Women's Activities Conference	Local Union Stewards' Training School	Missouri CIO Leadership Training School	Local Leadership Training School	Local Leadership Training School	Zone Conference	Oklahoma-Texas CIO Leadership Training School	Education & PAC Institute	School on United Nations	Stewards, Training School	Local Leadership Training School	Stewards' Training School	Local Leadership Training School	Staff Training Institute	
Dates	Oct. 9-15	Oct. 10-23	Oct. 12-15	Oct. 16-21	Oct. 17-21	Oct. 23-26	Oct. 28-27	Oct. 23-29	Oct. 24-27	O Nov. 13-20	Nov. 11-14	Nov. 15-18	Dec. 12-16	Dec. 12-16	Dec. 13-16	
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SCHOLARSHIPS OFFERED BY AFL-CIO ORGANIZATIONS

International Unions

- Air Line Pilots Association—Two-year civil aviation medical fellowship at Ohio State University College of Medicine, totaling from \$3,600 to \$7,200 for each year. Requirements are an M.D. degree, graduation from a Class A medical school with an excellent record, at least one year's internship, good moral character, and intense interest in the preventive as well as diagnostic and therapeutic aspects of medicine. Selection made by a committee set up by the College.—Contact C. N. Sayen, President, Air Line Pilots Association, 55th St. and Cicero Ave., Chicago 38, Ill.
- International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union—\$2,500 scholarship for Roosevelt University, Chicago. Established in 1948.—Contact Frank McCallister, Dir., Labor Education Division, Roosevelt University, 430 South Michigan Ave., Chicago 5, Ill.
- Seafarers International Union—Four 4-year Andrew Furuseth Memorial Scholarships at \$1,500 a year to sons or daughters of members, or to members themselves, to any accredited college or university in the U. S. Recipient must maintain a "B" average. Scholarship may be extended to cover necessary postgraduate study in such professions as law, medicine, etc. Fathers of applicants (or member applicants) must have a minimum of 3 years' actual sea time on vessels operated by SIU-contracted companies.—Contact Administrator, Seafarers Welfare Fund, 11 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

State Central Bodies

- Arizona State Fed.—Three \$500 college scholarships to any high school senior in the state. Winners must show factual knowledge and comprehension of past and present social conditions affecting labor and management, government, standards of living, and the American way of life. Three \$100 (until 1956 \$50) U. S. Bonds awarded to runners-up. Based on competitive examination. Before 1953, each scholarship was for \$400.—Contact Mrs. Fara M. Darland, Chmn., Education Com., Arizona State Federation of Labor, 2829½ E. Indian School Road, Phoenix, Ariz.
- California State Fed.—Three \$500 college scholarships to any senior in public, parochial or private high school in the state or in Hawaii planning to attend a 4-year college or university, based on results of examination on the American labor movement. First offered in 1951.—Contact John F. Henning, Research Dir., California State Federation of Labor, 995 Market St., San Francisco 3, Calif.
- California State Council of Building Service Employes—Charles Hardy Memorial Fund: Scholarship of \$750 awarded to son or daughter of

member (in good standing for 3 years immediately prior to application) of affiliated local. Eighteen scholarships totaling \$12,900 have been awarded to 7 students, as of Dec. 1, 1954.—Contact W. Douglas Geldert, Pres., Charles Hardy Memorial Scholarship, B.S.E.I.U. Local No. 18, 329 17th St., Oakland 12, Calif.

Colorado State Fed.—Scholarship covering tuition for 4 years (provided satisfactory standards are maintained during first year) at University of Colorado given by University of Colorado to AFL member or son or daughter of member recommended by State Fed. Awarded on basis of scholastic standing in high school, character, reasons for wanting to attend college, and essay on a designated labor subject.—Contact George Cavender, Fres., Colorado State Federation of Labor, 360 Acoma St., Denver 19, Colo.

Connecticut Fed.—One \$500 college scholarship to any high school senior in state. Based on results of examination in the American labor movement and designated as William J. Fitzgerald Scholarship. First offered in 1951; from 1953 on additional \$100 scholarship contributed as 2nd prize by New Haven Central Labor Council. State Council 16, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employes, now contributes a special prize of a \$100 Bond. Other areas offer additional prizes to top contestants in such areas, as follows: Bridgeport, \$25 Bond contributed by Central Labor Union to top contestant other than 1st or 2nd state prize winners; Hamden, \$25 Bond, contributed by Hamden Fed. of Teachers, Local 804; Hartford, 1st, 2nd, and 3rd prizes of \$100, \$25, and \$25 Bonds respectively, also \$50 Bond to teacher of 1st prize winner, by Hartford Central Labor Union, plus \$25 Bond by Nat'l Fed. of P. O. Clerks, Local 147, and \$25 Bond by Teamsters Local 559; also \$25 Bond by Middletown Central Labor Union and \$25 Bond by Bricklayers, Masons & Plasterers Local 11; also \$25 Bond by New Britain Central Labor Union; New Haven, 1st, 2nd, and 3rd prizes of \$50, \$25, and \$25 Bonds respectively, to top contestant other than 1st or 2nd state prize winner, by New Haven Central Labor Council; also a \$25 Bond contributed by New Haven Fed. of Teachers, Local 933; Norwalk, 1st and 2nd prizes of \$50 and \$25 Bonds by Norwalk Central Labor Union; also \$50 Bond by Norwich Central Labor Union to top participant in Norwich area and \$25 Bond to teacher of first prize winner in that area; and \$25 Bond for Lyman Hall High School, Wallingford, to top participant and \$25 Bond to teacher if contestant wins 1st or 2nd state prize, contributed by Amalgamated Silver Workers, Local 45.—Contact Miss Ruth Warren, Dir. of Education and Information, Connecticut Federation of Labor, 2607 Whitney Ave., Hamden 18, Conn.

Connecticut State CIO Council—Indeterminate number of scholarships of varying amounts to sons, daughters or wards of CIO members, who are high school graduates of the state, or to undergraduates at a

Connecticut teachers' college or the University of Connecticut. Scholarships are for study at a teacher's college in Connecticut or the University of Connecticut. Selection is made of high school graduates by a committee of educators plus a representative of the State CIO Council, and of college students by the Scholarship Committee of the University of Connecticut. Basis of selection is academic record, character, need for assistance, and contributions to student activities. For 1955-56 27 awards were made, totaling \$3,450. Of this amount the Greater Bridgeport CIO Council gave \$250 and the UAW-CIO Local 133 of New Britain \$300, the balance of the fund being given by the State CIO Council. First started in 1953.—Contact Charles Groves, Chairman, State CIO Council Scholarship Committee, 449 Meadow St., Waterbury 2, Conn.

Delaware State Fed.—John Lyons Memorial Scholarships of \$400 and two \$50 Savings Bonds to runners-up, to senior high school students who will be attending college during coming year. First offered in 1956. No distinctions made as to sex, color, or creed. Based on competitive examination held May 18. Papers will be graded and the twenty best will be judged by a committee of top educators.— Contact John J. Pierce, Sec'y, John Lyons Memorial Scholarship Fund, Delaware State Federation of Labor, 29th and Jessup Sts., Wilmington 2, Del.

Idaho State Fed.—One \$500 college scholarship to any senior with a satisfactory scholastic record in an accredited public, private or parochial high school in state, based on results of competitive examination. College registration awards of \$25 each given to the next four finalists. First offered in 1952.—Contact Rex Olson, 312 Adams St., Twin Falls, Idaho.

Iowa State Fed.—One \$200 (\$300 in 1956) scholarship at any accredited U. S. college to any senior in public, private or parochial high schools in state. A second prize of \$100 U. S. Savings Bond and a 3rd prize of a \$50 Bond is also awarded. Basis of awards is written examination with possible rating of 100% and an essay on a designated labor topic with an additional possible rating of 100%. Candidates rating nearest 200% will be chosen. First offered in 1954.—Martin Pardekooper, Jr., Dir. of Education, Iowa State Federation of Labor, 412 Paramount Bldg., Des Moines 9, Iowa.

Kansas State Fed. and State CIO Council—Joint scholarship program to award several \$150 scholarships to high school seniors planning to enter teacher-training. For each scholarship used at Emporia State Teachers College the College will award the recipient another \$150 scholarship. Awards made by the state labor organizations and by affiliated organizations. First offered in 1955.—Contact F. E. Black, Exec. Sec'y, Kansas State Federation of Labor, 214 W. 6th St.,

Topeka, Kansas, or H. J. Yount, Sec'y-Treas., Kansas State Industrial Union Council, 903 N. 7th St., Kansas City, Kansas.

Maine State Fed.—Annual Henry M. Donnelly Scholarship of \$300 to any high school or academy senior in the state. Based on essay of 3000 words or less on the American Federation of Labor, its history, activities, and contemplated future. First offered in 1955.—Contact Kenneth L. Snowdon, Chmn., Scholarship Committee, C/o Boilermakers Lodge 168, 72 Front St., Bath, Me.

Massachusetts Federation of Labor—1 annual Robert J. Watt Fellowship of \$1,500 for 13-week Harvard Trade Union Program, awarded to member of affiliated organization on basis of service to the labor movement and use to which training will be put. First award made in 1949. Beginning with 1951, in addition to the Watt Fellowship, the Federation awarded the \$1,500 Massachusetts Federation of Labor Memorial Fellowship for same course at Harvard University. Since 1954 a third \$1,500 Fellowship has been made available to the Massacusetts Federation of Labor by Harvard University.—Contact Francis E. Lavigne, Director, Committee on Education, Massachusetts Federation of Labor, 11 Beacon St., Boston 8, Mass.

Massachusetts Federation of Labor—Two \$500 awards to any senior in public, private or parochial high school in Commonwealth, based on results of written competitive examination and essay on the American Labor Movement. Scholarship first offered in 1949 (essay). Several Central Labor Unions now cooperate with Federation program by awarding annual scholarships in varying amounts to the student in their respective areas receiving the highest "area" rating in this state-wide contest. Central Labor Unions sponsoring scholarships include:

Brockton—1-\$250 Scholarship; Cambridge—1-\$100 "James P. Reilly" Scholarship; Gloucester—1-\$250 Scholarship; Holyoke—1-\$150 Scholarship; Lowell—1-\$100 "Edward C. Eno-John H. Griffith" Scholarship; Lynn—1-\$200 "William A. Nealey" Scholarship; Northampton—2-\$100 Scholarship; Norwood—1-\$100 "Daniel Colins" Scholarship; Quincy—1-\$100 "William A. Curtain Memorial" Scholarship; Springfield—1-\$250 "John F. Gatelee-J. Raymond Britton" Scholarship; Worcester—1-\$200 "Freeman M. Saltus" Scholarship.

In addition, Quincy Teachers Local 1135 offers a \$100 Scholarship and Woolen & Worsted Local 51 in Lowell a \$200 "James Hannifan" Scholarship. All scholarship awards are based on evaluations received in state-wide examinations given by the Massachusetts Federation of Labor.—Contact Francis E. Lavigne, Dir., Committee on Education. Massachusetts Federation of Labor, 11 Beacon St., Boston 8, Mass.

- Michigan Fed.—Two \$50 George Wilson Scholarships at any accredited college or university, to senior students in any public or parochial high school in state, based on results of written competitive examination and essay on the American labor movement. First offered in 1950.—Contact George W. Dean, Pres. and Educ. Dir., Michigan Federation of Labor, 312 N. Capitol Ave., Lansing 15, Mich.
- Minnesota Fed.—Two \$500 scholarships at Univ. of Minnesota to high school seniors who are children of members of unions affiliated for 3 years with State Fed. Basis of selection: "B" average in senior year and essay of less than 1,000 words on a designated labor subject.—Contact Adolf P. Tobler, Chmn., Interim Committee on Educ., Minnesota Federation of Labor, 915 Edmund Ave. St. Paul, Minn.
- Minnesota State Electrical Workers Council, I.B.E.W.—One \$300 scholarship to Univ. of Minnesota for sons or daughters of members of I.B.E.W. local unions affiliated with Council.—Contact Clyde J. Giles, Sec'y, Minnesota State Electrical Workers Council, 203 Labor Temple, Duluth 2, Minn.
- New York State Council of Machinists, I.A.M.—Annual \$250 Scholarship awarded to an outstanding student of New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Cornell University. Selection of student, preferably a sophomore or junior, based on interest in improved race relations, advancement of democratic trade unionism, greater world understanding, etc.; scholastic standing; and need.—Contact Donald J. O'Connor, Education Dir., New York State Council of Machinists, 119 So. Cayuga St., Ithaca, N. Y.
- Oregon State Fed.—\$500 scholarships awarded each year to seniors in public, private or parochial high schools in state, based on competitive examination on labor movement. Three runners-up awarded \$100 cash scholarships each. Number of scholarships each year determined by contributions from affiliates. In first year, 1947, two awards of \$500 each made; since then number has varied from 2 to 5. Increase due to \$500 contributions from Joint Council of Drivers and Hoisting and Portable Engineers; and formerly from Portland Laundry and Dry Cleaning Workers Local 107. All awards are made by State Fed.—Contact Miss May Darling, Chmn., Standing Committee on Education, Oregon State Federation of Labor, 506 Labor Temple, Portland 1, Ore.
- Texas State Fed.—One \$500 scholarship as 1st prize and one \$250 scholarship as 2nd prize (2 additional \$250 2nd prizes offered by ICT Insurance Group) to seniors in public, private or parochial schools in state. Additional scholarships are available for winners in particular areas, sponsored by labor unions in those areas, and other labor unions in state contribute additional funds to the State Fed., which are combined into \$250 awards. Selection based on essays on labor subject

and written examinations, in which writers of best essays will compete to determine final winners. In 1953, the first year of the competition, contestants had to be members of AFL families and selection was based on essays alone. This has now been changed.—Contact Jerry R. Hollerman, Exec. Sec'y, Texas State Federation of Labor, 412 Littlefield Bldg., Austin 15, Texas.

Virginia State Fed.—One \$500 college scholarship to a senior in any public, private or parochial high school in Commonwealth, with no limitation because of sex, race, national origin or creed, based on results of competitive examination on the American labor movement. Scholarship may be used in any institution of higher learning, not necessarily in Virginia. First offered in 1955.—Contact Harold B. Boyd, Pres., Virginia State Federation of Labor, 109 W. Grace St., Richmond, Va.

City Central Bodies or Other City-wide Labor Organizations

- Fresno (Calif.) Federated Trades & Labor Council and Fresno Building Trades Council—Chester H. Cary Memorial Scholarship at Fresno Junior College—5 \$50 awards for each year, beginning in the fall of 1954. Foundation Board—6 from Central Labor Council (one being Council Secretary) and three designated by President of College—determines recipients.—Contact Wallace D. Henderson, Sec'y, Federated Trades & Labor Council, 202 Anglo Bank Bldg., Fresno, Calif.
- Marin County (Calif.) Central Labor Council.—One \$500 scholarship to seniors in any accredited high school in County for any university, college, or trade school approved by Scholarship Committee. Selection based on grades in high school (average or higher), examination on phases of labor movement and current labor topics, aptitude and general ability tests. First offered in 1952.—Contact E. N. Frye, Sec'y, Central Labor Council of Marin County, 701 Mission Ave., San Rafael, Calif.
- Central Labor Union of Monterey County (Calif.)—One \$250 scholarship for local high school graduate for study at Hartnell Junior College in Salinas. One-third of amount is paid to student upon entering college, one-third on commencement of 2nd semester, and one-third on demand after middle of 2nd semester. First awarded in 1954.— Contact A. J. Clark, Sec'y, Central Labor Union of Monterey County, 6 West Gabilan St., Salinas, Calif.
- San Mateo (Calif.) Central Labor Council—Annual \$500 scholarship for high school seniors. Student writing best essay on "How the Labor Movement Affects the Community" is winner.—Contact Carl E. Cohenour, Sec'y, San Mateo Central Labor Council, 703 South B St., San Mateo, Calif.

- Santa Clara County (Calif.) Central Labor Council—One \$200 scholarship, with two additional awards of \$100 each, to seniors in public and private high schools in County. Based on essay of not more than 850 nor less than 500 words on one of given list of labor subjects. Offered first in 1955.—Contact Hamil O. Wagnon, Chmn., Education Committee, Santa Clara Central Labor Council, 175 S. Claremont Ave., San Jose, Calif.
- Bridgeport (Conn.) Central Labor Union—Peter Benard Scholarships—established in 1949—two \$250 scholarships for boys and girls in the Bridgeport area, one for the University of Bridgeport and the other for Fairfield University. Based on scholastic records, all-round ability, and financial need.—Contact Joseph P. Cleary, Pres., Bridgeport Central Labor Union, 1024 Main St., Bridgeport, Conn.
- Mason City (Iowa) Trades and Labor Assembly—\$300 in scholarships to seniors in public, private or parochial schools in the city, based on results of competitive examination (80%) and essay (20%). First awarded in 1953, when one \$165 scholarship was awarded. For 1954 amounts as follows: \$50 bond or payment on tuition; \$25 bond or payment on tuition; etc.—Contact J. W. Griebling, Pres., Mason City Trades and Labor Assembly, 801 N. Washington, Mason City, Iowa.
- Baltimore (Md.) Federation of Labor—One \$400 scholarship (or one year's tuition) to seniors in Baltimore high schools, with \$50 cash prizes to each of 2 runners-up, based on written examination of 50 questions and a 500-word essay on designated labor subject. Pilot program started in 1955 in two schools—Patterson Park and Southern. Following co-sponsors in 1955 contributed \$100 each: Carpenters Local 101; Transit Employees Division 1300; Butcher Workmen's Local 149; Freight Drivers Local 557; and ILGWU Upper South Department.—Contact Edward H. Johns, Executive Sec'y, Baltimore Federation of Labor, 1216 E. Baltimore St., Baltimore, Md.
- Duluth (Minn.) Federated Trades Assembly—One \$250 annual scholarship at the Duluth branch of the University of Minnesota. Selection based on essay on labor subject, plus scholastic record.—Contact Miss Evelyn Cowden, Chmn., Education Committee, Duluth Federated Trades Assembly, 224 W. Faribault St., Duluth, Minn.
- St. Paul (Minn.) Trades and Labor Assembly—One \$300 and one \$200 scholarship for any Minnesota school, college or university, to students in public, private or parochial high schools of city. Applicants must themselves have had two or more years' continuous membership in an affiliated local or have a parent with such membership. Selection based on scholastic rating high enough to meet entrance requirements and on an essay of 500 to 1000 words on a specified labor subject. First offered in 1955.—Contact Joseph R. Okoneski, Chmn., Education Committee, St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly, 1367 Danforth St., St. Paul 3, Minn.

- Twin City Carpenters District Council, Minneapolis and St. Paul, Minn.

 —Five \$100 scholarships for University of Minnesota to members' sons or daughters enrolled at University. Basis of selection—scholastic achievement, promise of success in chosen field, leadership potentials and personal attributes. Awarded first in 1954.—Contact A. S. Ihrig, Chmn., Scholarship Committee, c/o Carpenters Local 87, 418 Auditorium St. St. Paul 2. Minn.
- St. Louis (Mo.) United Hatters Joint Council—Three \$500 scholarships to high school graduates who are children or grandchilden of members, selected by a committee of three from St. Louis University, Washington University, and Temple Israel.—Contact Isadore Drucker, United Hatters, Cap & Millinery Workers, 122 N. 7th St., Room 1018, St. Louis 1, Mo.
- Mercer County (N.J.) Central Labor Union—\$300 (\$250 prior to 1949) college scholarship for high school graduate, the child of an AFL union member, selected by Education Committee of the central body.—Contact Wm. M. Gerhauser, Sec'y, Mercer Co. Central Labor Union, 47 N. Clinton Ave., Trenton 9, N. J.
- Building and Construction Trades Council of Westchester Co., N. Y.—
 One 2-year \$500 scholarship at Westchester Community College, White Plains, N. Y., awarded to student considered best qualified and most deserving by the college's scholarship committee. First awarded in 1954.—Contact George C. Grimm, Sec'y-Treas., Building & Construction Trades Council of Westchester County, N. Y., 22 W. First St., Mount Vernon, N. Y.
- Cleveland (Ohio) Union Buyers' Club—College scholarships of \$200 for 1st year, with \$100 for each of three succeeding years if "B" average is maintained—awarded to high school senior of the city interested in labor relations. Award based on scholastic record.—Contact through Cleveland Federation of Labor, 1248 Walnut Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.
- Pittsburgh (Pa.) Central Trades Council—Six \$900 scholarships to University of Pittsburgh, one to a member of the graduating class of high school or standard night school in each of 6 state senatorial districts of Allegheny Co. Each of the 6 state senators has assigned one of his 4-year scholarships for this purpose. Contestants must be sponsored by a member in good standing of any union affiliated with the Central Trades Council. Awards based on best essays on a labor subject selected each year by Education Committee.—Contact Regis Aiken, Chmn., Educ. Committee, Pittsburgh Central Trades Council, 1305 Keenan Bldg., Pittsburgh, Pa.
- Seattle (Wash.) Union Card and Label Council, in cooperation with Central Labor Council of Seattle and Vicinity—One \$500 college scholarship to a senior in any public, private or parochial high school in

Seattle School District No. 1. Based on results of competitive examination on labor and industrial problems, given at the Labor Temple in spring. First offered in 1954.—Contact Elmer Miller, Pres., Seattle Federation of Teachers, 2800 First Ave., Room 230, Seattle, Wash.

Spokane (Wash.) and Vicinity Central Labor Council—College scholarships of \$300 and \$200 cash awarded to two high school seniors of Spokane County making highest scores in competitive examination on labor subjects. First awarded in 1951—amounts have been raised from \$200 and \$100.—Contact William J. May, Sec'y, Spokane Central Labor Council, S. 218 Browne St., Spokane 4, Wash.

Local Unions

- Bakery & Confectionery Workers, Biscuit & Cracker Workers Local No. 405, New York—The William A. Galvin Memorial Fund established in 1950 to provide scholarships for children of union members. Grants are allocated on a basis of need and ability. Three scholarships were awarded in 1954 and eight in 1955, including one to a child of a member of Bakery & Confectionery Workers Local 4 in Atlanta, Ga.—Contact Aurelio L. Irizarry, Pres., Biscuit & Cracker Workers Local No. 405, 245 W. 14th St., New York 11, N. Y.
- Journeymen Barbers Local 939, Chicago, Ill.—Two \$250 scholarships in honor of the Local's tenth anniversary to seniors in public and parochial high schools. Awards, based on essay of not more than 1,500 words on "The Dignity of Human Labor," decided by a panel of judges from labor and education.—Contact George S. Bynum, Chmn., Scholarship Committee, Journeymen Barbers Local 939, 58 E. Roosevelt Road, Chicago 5, Ill.
- Building Service Employes, Local 251, Martinez, Calif.—Annual \$100 college scholarship to a senior in Alhambra High School showing outstanding achievement in American history.—Contact through Anthony G. Weinlein, Dir. of Research and Education, Building Service Employes Int'l Union, 155 N. Wacker Drive, Chicago 6, Ill.
- Building Service Employes, Chicago, Flat Janitors' Union, Local 1—8 college scholarships to Northwestern University for full tuition up to \$750, plus allowance for incidentals—to son or daughter of Local 1 member in good standing for 5 years. Two awarded in 1948-49, two in each of three succeeding years, subsequently 8 annually.—Contact Anthony G. Weinlein, Dir. of Research and Education, Building Service Employes Int'l Union, 155 N. Wacker Drive, Chicago 6, Ill.
- Building Service Employes, Local 32B, New York—Four full scholarships for high school graduates whose parents are Local 32B members of at least 3 years' good standing. Value of scholarships is \$1,200 each

year for 4 years, covering tuition, books, fees, and room. Four scholarships awarded each year for use in Columbia or Barnard College, New York University, Fordham College, Manhattan College, Marymount College, College of Mount Saint Vincent, or St. John's University in Brooklyn. Selection, by college authorities, based on competitive examination, personal interviews, and general scholarship ability.—Contact Education Department, Building Service Employes Local 32B, 1 E. 35th St., New York, N. Y.

- Carpenters Local No. 162, San Mateo, Calif.—One \$500 scholarship to any accredited college or university, covering 2 years of full-time study, for son or daughter of a journeyman carpenter who has been a member of Local No. 162 in good standing for one year prior to award, or of a deceased member for whom the Local has granted death benefits. Award made by 5-member committee, headed by Local president, after committee of 3 educators has studied applicants' records and made recommendations. Applicants must be high school or junior college graduates.—Contact Floyd Murphy, Rec. Sec'y, Carpenters Local No. 162, 50 North B St., San Mateo, Calif.
- Carpenters Local No. 470, Tacoma, Wash.—\$400 scholarship payable to any college or university in the U. S. Candidates are chosen by a union committee and the High School faculty on basis of good citizenship, above average grades, and generally good personality traits.—Established in 1949.—Contact H. D. Merrick, Fin. Sec'y, Carpenters Local No. 470, 1012½ Tacoma Ave., Tacoma 3, Wash.
- Cleaning & Dye House Workers, Local 3, Chicago—\$500 scholarship at De Paul University in Chicago for son or daughter of member in good standing.—Contact J. J. O'Keefe, Sec'y-Treas., Cleaning & Dye House Workers Local 3, 1583 W. Ogden Ave., Chicago, Ill.
- Retail Clerks' Local No. 402, Bellingham, Wash.—\$200 scholarship to a graduating senior of the Bellingham High School. A committee of 3 teachers selects 4 students with the ability and character to make best use of this scholarship. Local No. 240 committee confers with the teachers and makes final selection.—Contact Wm. H. Lewis, Pres., Retail Clerks' Local No. 240, 201 Medical Bldg., Bellingham, Wash.
- Int'l Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Local 1505, Newton, Mass.—
 Louis B. Connors Memorial Scholarship of \$500, for sons, daughters,
 or other relatives of members employed at Raytheon Mfg. Co., based
 on examination in labor history.—Contact Lawrence J. Thomson,
 Fin. Sec'y, I.B.E.W. Local 1501, 251 Washington St., Newton 58, Mass.
- Int'l Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Local 292, Minneapolis—\$400 scholarship in electrical department of Dunwoody Industrial Institute in Minneapolis, covering all fees, including training, materials and supplies for full 9-month scholastic year. Applicants must be residents

- of Minnesota and are judged on character, scholarship, and worthiness. First offered in 1952.—Contact Joseph Krech, Bus. Mgr., Local 292, I.B.E.W., 243 Foshay Tower, Minneapolis, Minn.
- Int'l Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Local 3, New York—Father William J. Kelley, O.M.I., Scholarship at Cornell University's New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations for \$1,200—to son or daughter of member of Local 3. First award made for academic year 1949-50. Additional awards were made each year until four are now in effect.—Contact I.B.E.W. Local 3, 130 E. 25th St., New York 10, N. Y.
- Electrical Industry, Joint Industry Board, New York, representing both employers and Local 3, I.B.E.W .- Two 5-year scholarships at Columbia University annually to sons of New York electrical workers under the Board's pension system. One scholarship named for William A. Hogan, Treas, of the Local, and the other for A. Lincoln Bush, Chairman of the Joint Industry Board. Each scholarship valued at \$5,280, covering three years in Columbia College and two in the Columbia School of Engineering. In 1952, program broadened to allow study at the Columbia University School of Physicians and Surgeons or its School of Dentistry, for which daughters of Local 3 members may compete as well as sons. In 1955 the program was extended to cover study at New York and Fordham Universities. A condition of the collective bargaining agreement between Local 3 and the employers is that each employer must sponsor a scholarship provided he does \$1,000,000 worth of work during the year.—Contact I.B.E.W. Local 3, 130 E. 25th St., New York 10, N. Y.
- Illumination Products Industry Joint Board, representing both employers and Local 3, I.B.E.W., New York—Theodore F. Brassel, Jr., Scholarship at New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Cornell University, for \$1000, to son or daughter of member of Local 3's F Division. First offered in 1955.—Contact I.B.E.W. Local 3, 130 E. 25th St., New York 10, N. Y.
- Woman's Auxiliary, Int'l Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Local 584, Tulsa, Okla.—One \$100 scholarship to son or daughter of member of Local 584 who is a graduate of a Tulsa public or parochial high school, to be used at a trade school, buiness college or university. Based on on need, character and citizenship, scholastic record.—Contact Mrs. Dixie Hicks, Sec'y, Woman's Auxiliary, I.B.E.W. Local 584, 542 S. Lewis, Tulsa, Okla.
- Int'l Union of Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers, Local 1140, Minneapolis—Two \$500 scholarships for a son and daughter of member of Local 1140 in good standing. Awards based on entrance requirements of college or university of winner's choice. Selection made by

- committee designated by Industrial Relations Center of University of Minnesota.—Contact Walter W. Gilbert, Jr., Pres., I.U.E. Local 1140, 724 Fourth Avenue S., Minneapolis, Minn.
- Operating Engineers Local 12, San Diego, Calif., and the San Diego Federated Trades and Labor Council have matched \$150 scholarships awarded by Kearny High School Alumni Association to a graduate of that school for first year at University of California.—Contact John Quinby, Sec'y, Federated Trades & Labor Council, 525 E. St., San Diego 1, Calif.
- Operating Engineers, Local 612, Tacoma, Wash.—Scholarship of \$400 for a senior in high school selected by the Local's Scholarship Committee each year, covering college tuition for first year, membership in the Local, and guarantee of summer employment.—Contact Operating Engineers Local 612, 753 Tacoma Ave., South, Tacoma 3, Wash.
- Int'l Photo Engravers Union, Local 1, Photo Engravers' Board of Trade and Employing Gravure Printers, New York-Six 4-year scholarships in liberal arts with major in graphic arts for high school graduates under 25 years of age as follows: two sons of union members, selected by competitive examination; two floor boys or apprentices employed in commercial plants, members of the Board of Trade, and rotogravure plants, selected by competitive examination; and two selected from boys recommended by employers of the Board of Trade shops and the Employing Gravure Printers. Tuition, university and medical fees for the first two groups will be paid by Local 1 and the Board of Trade and the Employing Gravure Printers jointly; for the last group by the employers recommending the boys. The six winners will receive apprentice training in the morning, attending college in the afternoon and evening. Graduates will receive credit for four years of apprentice training, plus any additional time served as apprentices prior to starting college work. First class started in September 1954. Three additional scholarships awarded for 1955-56 and 1956-57 until twelve are in force, this total to be continued.—Contact Denis M. Burke, Pres., New York Photo Engravers Union No. 1, 853 Broadway, New York 3, N. Y.
- Construction & General Laborers Local 563, Minneapolis—One \$500 scholarship to be used in any division of the University of Minnesota by either a member of Local 563 or the son or daughter of a member. Applicant must have maintained a "B" average in his senior year in high school and must submit an essay of 1,000 words or less on a designated labor subject, plus 3 letters of reference, 2 from former teachers.—Contact Barney Paulsen, Pres., Construction and General Laborers Local 563, 612 22nd Ave., S., Minneapolis, Minn.
- Hod Carriers, Building & Common Laborers, Local 252, Tacoma, Wash.—\$400 scholarship awarded to outstanding high school graduate, chosen

on basis of high scholastic rating and good citizenship. Awarded first in 1948.—Contact through Hod Carriers Bldg. & Common Laborers Union, 821 15th St., N. W., Washington 5, D. C.

- Hotel & Club Employees Local 6 (Hotel & Restaurant Employees), New York—One \$1,000 Gertrude Lane Memorial Fund Scholarship for son or daughter of member in good standing 5 years, to attend college of his choice. \$100 awarded to each of 4 runners-up. Award based on high school record, future promise, financial need, and standing in college entrance board examinations. Award renewed for balance of college course if grades maintained. In 1955 one of the runners-up received an award of \$450 per year for four years, which, in addition to a State Scholarship he had received, enabled him to work toward a chemical engineering degree.—Contact Betty Ziff, Education and Research Dir., Hotel & Club Employees Local 6, 305 E. 44th St., New York 36, N. Y.
- Cooks, Waiters & Waitresses Local 458 (Hotel & Restaurant Employees), Minneapolis—Two \$250 scholarships to be used in any division of the University of Minnesota by a son and a daughter of members in good standing for one year prior to application date. Applicants must meet University's entrance requirements; must submit transcript of high school work with 3 letters of reference, 2 of them from former teachers; and must submit statements of less than 1000 words on "Why I want to Go to the University," "Why I Want to Enter the Field of Education," or "Why I Want to Enter the Field of Labor Relations."—Contact John F. Curtis, Dir. of Organization, Cooks, Waiters & Waitresses Local 458, 613 Hennepin Ave., Minneapolis, Minn.
- Lumber, Plants & Allied Products, Int'l Brotherhood of Longshoremen-AFL-CIO District 205, and Teamsters Local 1205, Brooklyn, N. Y.—
 Two \$5000 scholarships covering 4-year college courses for employees and sons and daughters of employees, eligible under the Lumber, Plants, Warehousemen and Allied Products Employees Welfare Fund, employed by employers contributing to the Fund. Candidates must be under 30 and either high school seniors or graduates of good scholastic standing. Awards made on basis of high school records, scholastic attainments, character and qualities of leadership. First offered in 1954.—Contact Carlisle Burns, Administrator, Scholarship Program, Local 205, Int'l Brotherhood of Longshoremen-AFL-CIO, 186 Joralemon St., Brooklyn 1, N. Y.
- I.A.M. Aero Lodge 1125, San Diego, Calif.—One \$500 scholarship to graduating high school seniors who are children or wards of members or deceased members of Lodge 1125, to cover two years. Based on need, scholastic ability, and good citizenship.—Contact Fred W. Payton, Bus. Rep., I.A.M. Aero Lodge 1125, Machinists Union Hall, 3911 Pacific Hwy., San Diego, Calif.

- Aeronautics Mechanics, District Lodge No. 751 1.A.M., Seattle, Wash.—Scholarship in Labor Relations at St. Martins College, Lacey, Wash.—\$200 a semester for two years. Selection is made by Father Jerome Toner of St. Martins.—Contact Edwin J. Carrig, Sec'y-Treas., I.A.M. District Lodge No. 751, 5502 Airport Way, Seattle 8, Wash.
- Machinists Lodge 1374, Vancouver, Wash.—\$200 scholarship awarded to senior in Vancouver High School for study in automobile or machine shop department of Clark Junior College in Vancouver.—Contact Wm. H. Warner, Rec. Sec'y, Machinists Lodge 1374, 205 E. 11th St., Vancouver, Wash.
- Racine (Wis.) Lodge 487 I.A.M.—\$200 scholarship for seniors from the four high schools of the city. Based upon an honest desire for higher education to qualify for important positions in the professional and industrial field. First awarded in 1956. Application period closes May 1.—Contact Ray Marhefke, Pres., Lodge 437, 428 Wisconsin Ave., Racine, Wis.
- Int'l Brotherhood of Paper Makers, Local 269, Port Angeles, Wash.—\$150 scholarship for son or daughter of member in good standing. Applicants must be in top half of senior class in scholarship, demonstrate an interest in mathematics and science, and show a good sense of citizenship.—Contact through William C. Adams, Sec'y, Port Angeles Central Labor Union, 114 W. 10th St., Port Angeles, Wash.
- Pulp, Sulphite & Paper Mill Workers, Local 213, Ocean Falls, British Columbia—One \$250 scholarship at University of British Columbia to high school seniors in that place, based on results of High School Graduation examination.—Contact Pulp, Sulphite & Paper Mill Workers, Local 312, Ocean Falls, B. C.
- United Rubber, Cork, Linoleum & Plastic Workers, Local 217, Passaic, N. J.—Two \$500 scholarships to any college or university in the U. S. or Canada, to any high school senior who is a member, or a son or daughter or ward of a member of Local 217 in good standing. No disctinctions made as to sex, race, religion, or political affiliation. Based on results of competitive examination. First awarded in 1956.—Contact Local No. 217, United Rubber, Cork, Linoleum & Plastic Workers—AFL-CIO Scholarship Foundation, 126 Market St., Passaic, N. J.
- Fresno (Calif.) City School Employes Local 1206—Annual scholarship of \$50 a semester for Fresno Junior College to high school graduates in Fresno City Unified School District, based on character, financial need, scholastic record, and recommendation of high school principals. First awarded in 1954.—Contact Wallace D. Henderson, Sec'y, Federated Trades & Labor Council, 202 Anglo Bank Bldg., Fresno, Calif.

- Steelworkers Locals—Contact Emery F. Bacon, Dir. of Education, United Steelworkers of America, 1500 Commonwealth Bldg., Pittsburgh 22, Pa., for all except Wheeling Local.
 - District 38, Los Angeles, Calif.—Five scholarships of \$75 each for Pueblo Junior College for high school seniors in areas, selected by high school principals. First awarded in 1947.
 - District 31, East Chicago, Ind.—Two 4-year scholarships totaling \$3,000 each for any accredited college or university, for child or ward of member, or member of participating locals, based on maintenance of C average and good behavior during high school course.
 - District 30, Indianapolis, Ind.—One 4-year scholarship totaling \$2,000 for any accredited college or university, appointed by Indiana University, for child or ward of member, or member of a participating local, based on test by the University, maintenance of C average and good behavior during high school course. Top 2/5 of high school senior classes eligible.
 - Local 1028, District 33, Duluth, Minn.—One \$200 scholarship for University of Minnesota in Duluth, first awarded in 1954.
 - Local 2442, District 33, Duluth, Minn.—One \$195 scholarship for any accredited junior college nursing school, awarded to the child of a member attaining the highest scholastic standing of any student on Gogebic Range.
 - Local 2412, District 33, Duluth, Minn.—One \$175 scholarship for Gogebic Community College, awarded to the child of a member having the highest scholastic standing on Gogebic Range.
 - Local 1922, District 38, Duluth, Minn.—One \$200 scholarship for Gogebic Community College, awarded to the child or ward of a member, or a member, having the highest scholastic standing on Gogebic Range.
 - Local 2529, District 33, Duluth, Minn.—One \$175 scholarship for Gogebic Community College, awarded on basis of highest scholastic standing on Gogebic Range. First offered in 1948.
 - District 34, St. Louis, Mo.—Two 4-year scholarships totaling \$1,500 each for any accredited college or university, based on maintenance of C average in high school and scholastic aptitude test, for child or ward of members of participating locals, or for member. First awarded in 1948.
 - District 25, Cincinnati, Ohio—One 4-year scholarship totaling \$2,500 for any accredited college or university, appointed by University of Miami, for child or ward of member or member of participating locals, based on maintenance of C average and good behavior during high school course. First awarded in 1955.

- District 28, Cleveland, Ohio—One 4-year scholarship totaling \$3,000 for any accredited college or university, selected by the District's Welfare & Education Fund, for a child or ward of member, or member of a participating local, based on maintenance of C average and good behavior during high school course, and scholastic aptitude test. First awarded in 1956.
- Wheeling Steel Local 1190, Steubenville, Ohio—Two annual \$500 scholarships covering two years at College of Steubenville for children of members of U.S.A. Local 1190. Fifty per cent of the scholarship will be placed in a special fund by the College to accumulate. Eventually the income from this fund will provide still another scholarship. Based on an examination administered by the College to high school seniors or recent graduates. One \$500 scholarship only will be awarded the first year, 1956. Selection of recipient made by a committee composed of members of Local 1190 and representative of the College. In certain cases, recipient of one of the 2-year scholarships may have that scholarship extended for 2 years, instead of its going to another person.—Contact Melvin M. Kotur, Chmn., Education Com., Wheeling Steel Local 1190, Steubenville, Ohio.
- Local 1331, District 26, Youngstown, Ohio—Two 4-year scholarships totaling \$2,000 each awarded to child of member, based on result of Youngstown University entrance examination. First awarded in 1955.
- Local 1557, District 15, Homestead, Pa.—One 4-year scholarship totaling \$2,400 for any accredited college or university, appointed by University of Pittsburgh, for child, ward, brother or sister of member of local, or member himself. Top 2/5 of high school senior class eligible to compete by writing 1000-word essay and showing leadership qualities. First awarded in 1949.
- District 37, Houston, Texas—Five scholarships totaling \$600 for any accredited college or university, based on maintenance of C average in high school, potential leadership qualities, and scholastic aptitude test, for child of member of participating locals, or for members.
- District 32, Milwaukee, Wis.—One 4-year scholarship totaling \$3,500 for any accredited college or university, appointed by University of Wisconsin's Extension Division on basis of preliminary examination during Christmas recess and final examination at spring recess, plus scholastic aptitude test. Child or ward of member of participating locals eligible to compete. C average and good behavior must have been maintained during high school course. First awarded in 1956.

- Local 4970 and Southwest Area Council, District 6, Canada—Two \$25 and one \$50 scholarship for deserving student in home economics and manual training or any needy student in local high school, chosen by the school principal and the local.
- Street, Electric Railway and Motor Coach Employes, Division 241, Chicago—\$500 scholarship at DePaul University for son or daughter of member, based on record and personal interviews.—Contact Division 241, Street, Elec. Ry. and Motor Coach Employes, 1608 W. Van Buren St., Chicago, Ill.
- Street, Electric Railway and Motor Coach Employes, Division 241, Chicago—\$500 scholarship at Loyola University, Chicago, for son or daughter of member, based on record and personal interviews.—Contact Division 241, Street, Elec. Ry. and Motor Coach Employes, 1608 W. Van Buren St., Chicago, Ill.
- San Bernardino Valley (Calif.) Federation of Teachers, AFT Local 832—One \$100 annual scholarship to San Bernardino high school senior who is the "most promising future teacher" in the schools. First awarded in 1953.—Contact Floyd Lyle, Pres., San Bernardino Valley Federation of Teachers, Local 832, 1489 Evans St., San Bernardino, Calif.
- Peoria (Ill.) Federation of Teachers, AFT Local 780—Scholarship covering tuition at Bradley University for a high school graduate who is a member of a trade union family, has a good scholastic record, and is planning to teach in public school. First offered in 1947.—Contact Winifred Wells, Sec'y, Peoria Fed. of Teachers, 809 Bigelow, Peoria, 111
- Detroit (Mich.) Federation of Teachers, AFT Local 231—Florence Sweeney Scholarship of \$100 a semester to student of promise, for study in College of Education of Wayne University, to be renewed if student continues to be worthy. Award made by a committee of the Detroit Federation of Teachers, based on ability to meet college requirements, financial need, and seriousness of purpose.—Contact Miss Mary E. Kastead, Exec. Sec'y, Detroit Federation of Teachers, 82 W. Montcalm, Detroit 1, Mich.
- East Detroit (Mich.) Federation of Teachers, AFT Local 698—Two or three scholarships amounting to \$300 to \$500 to high school student. Some times awarded for second year also. Awarded first in 1947-48.—Contact Miss Kathryn Rothenberger, 22453 Cushing, East Detroit, Mich.
- Duluth (Minn.) Teachers Ass'n, AFT Local 692—One \$250 scholarship to Duluth high school graduate for University of Minnesota, Duluth Branch. Selection based on academic and citizenship standing sufficient to meet entrance requirements, plus principal's recommendation.

- -Contact Miss Evelyn Cowden, Chmn., Education Committee, Duluth Federated Trades Assembly, 224 W. Faribault St., Duluth, Minn.
- Hibbing (Minn.) Teachers Federation, AFT Local 669—\$50 scholarship each for Hibbing Junior College to the boy and girl in graduating class of Hibbing High School ranking highest in scholarship.—Contact Miss Margaret Briggs, Chmn., Scholarship Com., Hibbing Teachers Federation, Hibbing Junior College Library, Hibbing, Minn.
- Bremerton (Wash.) Federation of Teachers, AFT Local 336—\$126 scholarship annually to a prospective teacher, chosen by committee appointed by President of the local. Selection based on scholarship record, vocational plans and general promise.—Contact Tom Guerin, Vice Principal, East High School, Bremerton, Wash., and Norman Richardson, Vice Principal, West High School, Bremerton, Wash.
- Racine (Wis.) Teachers Union, AFT Local 1161—\$100 scholarship at any college or university for senior in any Racine High School who plans to teach. Based on scholastic record, extra-curricular activities, teachers' recommendations, applicant's reason for applying, and need for teachers at level involved.—Contact Don Burton, Pres., Racine Teachers Union, 3008 Olive St., Racine, Wis.
- Teamsters, Line-Drivers Local 224, Los Angeles, Calif.—\$250 scholarship to outstanding student of highway transportation in Stanford University Graduate School of Business. Recipient will be selected by faculty, but with two or more candidates of equal merit, financial need will govern decision.—Contact H. L. Woxberg, Line Drivers Local 224, 8465 S. Union Ave., Los Angeles 17, Calif.
- Teamsters, Milk Drivers Local 753, Chicago—\$500 scholarship at De-Paul University in Chicago for son or daughter of member in good standing for 2 years, based on high school record, personal interview, and score on scholastic aptitude test.—Contact John T. O'Brien, 4th Vice-Pres., Int'l Brotherhood of Teamsters, 4217 S. Halsted St., Chicago, Ill.
- Teamsters, Truck Drivers Local 807, New York—Two 4-year scholarships annually, approximately \$2,800 each, to high school graduates who are children of members in good standing for at least one year, for the School of Business or the School of Education at Fordham University. Children of officers or paid employees of Local 807 are ineligible. Selection based on results of examinations given by Educational Testing Service, Princeton, N. J.—Contact Thomas L. Hickey, Sec'y-Treas., Truck Drivers Local 807, I.B.T., 325 Spring St., New York 13, N. Y.
- Teamsters, Local 428, Steubenville, Ohio, in conjunction with Teamsters' Joint Council 41, Cleveland, Ohio—Annual Teamster's Scholarship

Fund of \$500 to be used at College of Steubenville.—Contact James R. Hoffa, Trustee, c/o Edward F. Burke, Teamsters Local No. 428, 315 Washington St., Steubenville, Ohio.

Teamsters, Cannery Local 670, Salem, Ore.—Two annual \$250 scholarships to best qualified children of Int'l Brotherhood of Teamster members in that area.—Contact E. S. Benjamin, Sec'y, Cannery Warehousemen, Food Processors, Drivers & Helpers, Local 670, Labor Temple, Salem, Ore.

. . .

William Green Memorial Fund Scholarships—Grant of \$100,000 made in 1955 to Ohio State University to establish two undergraduate liberal arts scholarships a year, with a minimum of \$800, and two graduate scholarships or fellowships a year, with a minimum of \$1800. Additional annual grants to trade unionists to attend labor institutes conducted by labor and the University. Set up by A.F.L.—Contact Prof. Alma Herbst, Dept. of Economics, Ohio State Univ., Columbus 10, Ohio.

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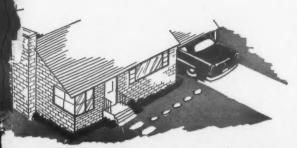
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Publication No. 35

August 1956
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LABOR Looks at the

CONGRESS

AN AFL-CIO LEGISLATIVE REPORT



CONTENTS

	Page
Statement by President George Meany	3
The National Economy	4
Labor Legislation	10
General Welfare Legislation	15
Natural Resources	23
Civil Rights and Liberties	28
World Affairs	29
And Now the 85th	32

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GEORGE MEANY
President

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Publication No. 36
September 1956

Labor Looks At The 84th Congress

An AFL-CIO Legislative Report

PREFACE

THIS PAMPHLET contains a brief report to the membership of AFL-CIO on the record of the 84th Congress. Needless to say, the report is far from complete. The full record is contained in the tens of thousands of pages of the official Congressional Record, in the thousands of hours of hearings conducted by the many committees of Congress, in the thousands of bills which were submitted and the hundreds actually enacted.

But this report is an attempt to point up the highlights, to discuss briefly issues and actions of greatest concern to the members of the AFL-CIO.

As President Meany stated upon the close of the Congress, the record is a "mixture of good and bad." One thing is clear and beyond dispute. There would have been less "good" and more "bad" in the record if it had not been for the effective work which trade unionists and their friends did back in the thousands of communities and in every state where labor is organized. By supporting legislation in the broad public interest, labor has again demonstrated that "what's good for America is good for American labor."

The victories in lifting the federal minimum wage and in improving our social security system—despite Administration opposition—provide impressive evidence of the ability of the people to win legislative battles.

During the second session of the 84th Congress we have been able to see the advantages of labor unity. Representatives of the AFL-CIO were able to speak with one voice on behalf of 15,000,000 workers and their families.

A special word of appreciation is due to the AFL-CIO Dept. of Legislation, headed by William C. Hushing and Robert Oliver, and to the Washington legislative representatives of the various international unions who have done such a splendid job of working together in order to maximize labor's effectiveness on Capitol Hill.

A MIXTURE OF GOOD AND BAD

Text of a statement issued by AFL-CIO Pres. George Meany on August 3, 1956.

THE record of the 84th Congress is a mixture of the good and the bad. Although the Congress did not live up to labor's hopes, it did score a number of solid accomplishments. Unfortunately, however, its list of failures is equally impressive.

The American people have been



well served by the modernization of the Social Security Act and by the increase in the federal minimum wage to the \$1 level. Through these acts, the Con-

gress has brought a greater measure of security to the economically depressed, the aged, the totally disabled, widows and children. These accomplishments were the more important because they were achieved over the Administration's opposition. Thus they are a tribute to the leadership of the Congress and to those members, from both parties, who ignored partisanship to provide the margin of victory for the people's welfare.

Concern for this welfare was

further indicated through increased appropriations for hospitals and medical research; retention of the public housing program, although at an inadequate level; approval of the giant public roads programs with a sound Davis-Bacon provision; modernization of the workmen's compensation law covering workers under federal jurisdiction, and other measures.

On the debit side of the ledger, however, are other major items.

Tax relief was granted in 1954 to the wealthy and the corporations and denied by this Congress to lowand middle-income groups. School construction, a vital necessity if we are to serve our future generations. was the victim of crass politicking. Civil rights legislation was again blocked by a minority abetted by the Senate's undemocratic rules. The inequities of the Taft-Hartley Act have not been removed. Our farm economy did not receive the aid it deserves although Congressional acts did force the Administration to take badly needed steps. Millions of workers are still denied the minimum protection of a federal wage floor. Needed changes in our immigration laws were not made. The nation's economically depressed areas received no aid.

The 84th Congress slowed down the Administration's "give-away" program, but it did far too little to develop our natural resources and the potential of atomic power. The Administration's retreat on Dixon-Yates was a victory for the people's interest. But the Administration's fierce, short-sighted opposition to Hell's Canyon and Niagara development and the program of building atomic reactors for peaceful purposes was a defeat for the people's interests.

The Executive Council of the AFL-CIO is making a detailed analysis of the record of the 84th Congress—an analysis which will be made public at the earliest possible moment.

But one conclusion is inescapable. We cannot hope for enactment of truly liberal and public-interest legislation until we elect a

sufficient number of Senators and Congressmen who are not dominated by selfish pressure groups and who are dedicated to the public welfare.

We remain convinced that the people of the United States want sound, progressive legislation. We are positive that the great majority want, and must have, the very measures which the 84th Congress ignored or defeated, and that these votes did not represent the will of the people.

The 84th Congress made its own record. We of the AFL-CIO intend to see to it that every worker and his family in the United States knows the voting record of his Senators and Congressman when he goes to the polls in November.

It is at the polls that the public will judge the 84th Congress. We believe that judgment should—and will—be based on the record.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMY

As in most other legislative areas, the record of the 84th Congress in matters affecting the health of our economy is mixed. It took osme forward steps, it compromised on others, and it failed completely in several important areas.

In other sections of this review

of Congress, the reader will find reference to other legislation affecting the national economy. The increase in the federal minimum wage, the improvements in the social security program, the compromises on housing, the mixed record on effective use of our natural resources —all of these have important bearings on our ability to keep the econ-"omy expanding at a proper rate. This section of the report however, will discuss several matters of direct "bearing on the state of our economy.

At its merger convention in 1955, the AFL-CIO pointed out that "organized labor has taken the lead in urging the federal government to assume a more positive responsibility for the nation's economic growth and stability." It is obvious that important groups in the economy have not been able to share in the much-heralded "prosperity" of the last two years. Included in such groups are the farmers, the workers living in so-called "depressed areas", small business, and the low-income groups generally.

TAX POLICY

The 84th Congress failed to enact any basic changes in our tax laws. This failure meant that the low and middle income groups have not received the kind of consideration which the corporations and the top-bracket individuals received back in 1954. In that year, the Republican-controlled 83rd Congress passed a tax bill which reduced taxes by about \$3 billion a year. But 91% of this saving went to corporations and to families with incomes of more than \$5000 annually. The re-

maining nine percent went to the great majority of American families with incomes under \$5000. An attempt to increase exemptions—which would have benefited all families—was defeated.

During the first session of the 84th Congress, an attempt was made to provide a little more tax equity. The Democrats proposed a \$20 tax credit for each taxpayer and dependent; this would have meant an \$80 reduction in taxes for the average four-member family. But the White House and the Republican leadership were opposed to this. When the bill came up before the House, the Republicans moved to recommit the bill back to committee, which would have killed it.

On the roll-call, the effort to kill tax relief for the low-income groups failed.

Voting for the recommital motion 205 (189 Rep., 16 Dem.)

When the tax bill came to the Senate, the fight was even harder. Conservative Harry Byrd (D. Va.) chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, led the fight against the tax credit. On the floor, Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson (D. Tex.) moved to add the \$20 tax credit and to repeal several special-interest pro-

visions favoring corporations and upper income groups.

On the roll-call, the attempt to add tax relief for the low-income groups failed.

Voting for the \$20 tax credit..44 (43 Dem., 1 Rep.)

Voting Against the tax credit..50 (45 Rep., 5 Dem.)

The Administration forces won this battle; no tax relief was provided for the lower and middle income families.

The Administration, which had found it "responsible" to enact a tax cut favoring the wealthy in 1954 when the country was not even in sight of a balanced budget, thus was successful in blocking an effort to help the low-income groups. To do this in a year when a balanced budget seemed like a real possibility was considered "irresponsible"!

In July 1956, President George Meany called upon Congressional leaders to take immediate action to enact a \$3 billion tax cut to assist low-income and middle-income families and to help strengthen small business. With the prospect of a \$5 billion budget surplus, Meany pointed out that such a cut would "stimulate the econmy" and still permit a reduction in the national debt. But the Congress adjourned several weeks later without any action on the suggestion.

The 84th Congress continued corporation and excise taxes at present rates until April 1, 1957. It reduced admissions taxes and made other relatively minor changes in our tax laws. But it remains for the 85th Congress to do the basic job of establishing real equity in our tax laws.

FARM LEGISLATION

Despite efforts of Sec. of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson and others to divide the worker and the farmer, organized labor has always recognized the dependence of one upon the other. AFL-CIO Pres. Meany has emphasized the importance to labor of a strong and healthy agriculture; he called upon the Congress



for immediate action to reverse the downward trend of farm income.

The campaign to bring relief to the depressed farmers began during the first session of the Congress. The Administration had previously secured Congressional approval for the "flexible price support system."
With income continuing to drop,
determination grew to restore 90%
mandatory supports on six basic
crops. Labor had never embraced
any particular system of price supports, looking instead for more basic
approaches to our farm problems—
but under the circumstances the restoration of 90% supports seemed
the only feasible alternative. The
showdown in the House came on
May 5, 1955 on passage of a bill
which included the high supports.

On the roll-call, the House passed the bill to restore 90% supports. Voting for 90% price supports 206 (185 Dem., 21 Rep.) Voting against high supports 201 (172 Rep., 29 Dem.)

Extended hearings were then initiated on the Senate side, making action that year impossible. When a bill was reported out by the Senate agriculture committee, it was quite similar to the House-passed bill, and immediately was attacked by Benson and the President. An early test came on the floor of the Senate when an amendment was offered to strike out the 90% mandatory price supports.

Voting for the high supports41 (35 Dem., 6 Rep.)

Subsequent amendments, however, modified the effect of the above action and a fairly strong bill emerged from the Senate. Included in the bill was the Administration's request for a "soil bank," an idea that in years previous had been urged by the Democrats and opposed by the Secretary of Agriculture and others. House and Senate conferees then worked out a compromise measure, one that included both the soil bank and the 90% supports.

The Administration opposed the conference report, but both Houses adopted the report and the bill went to the President. But he was adamant, and the bill was vetoed. There were not enough votes in either House to over-ride the veto.

Congress then proceeded to do the only thing possible under the circumstances—enact a soil bank program. Under this measure, two actions were authorized. The first is an "acreage reserve" program, under which \$800 million is allocated to pay farmers for reducing their 1956-1959 crops below their allotments or base acreages, and for leaving such land completely idle. The second action sets up a "conservation reserve" program, with \$450 million allocated for farmers who use land

regularly under cultivation for conservation purposes.

The soil bank will undoubtedy provide some assistance to the American farmer, but it cannot possibly do enough in the years ahead to solve his problem. In the judgment of the AFL-CIO, the 90% supports would have provided more adequate assistance.

The farmers of this country have not been given a fair shake, but others will also suffer as a result. Both fairness and economic common sense dictate that members of the 85th Congress must do better by the American farmer. The AFL-CIO will continue to urge that they do.

DEPRESSED AREAS

No matter whether the economy as a whole can be described as "prosperous", there is no question that in dozens of areas throughout this nation there are "little depressions," These are the so-called "depressed areas" of the United States, found in every section of the country. These are the areas of chronic unemployment, standstill or declining wage levels, and threats of even worse days ahead. These areas have been adversely affected by several special circumstances - depletion of resources, a switch to new substitute fuels, lack of cheap power, runaway movements to cheap labor.

Both political parties have declared these depressed areas deserve special assistance, but the deedshave lagged behind the words.

During the last days of the 84th Congress there was some hope for action. The Senate Labor Committee had developed a measure, after many weeks of careful and searching study by a sub-committee chaired by Sen. Paul Douglas (D. Ill.) which attacked the problem of depressed areas from several directions. The AFL-CIO gave it full support. The Administration had sponsored a much weaker bill.

During the last week of the 84th Congress, the Douglas bill came to the floor of the Senate. An Administration effort to place control of the program in the Commerce Department rather than in an independent agency, was defeated by a tie vote of 43 to 43. The Senate then adopted the measure, 60-30. The bill's principal provisions would have made available a total of \$275 million for loans to industrial and rural "redevelopment" areas, \$50 million in grants to states, and a program of technical assistance to the areas.

In the House, meanwhile, a bill generally along the lines of the Douglas bill had been reported out by the Banking and Currency committee, but it was bottled up by conservatives in the Rules Committee. Thus, there remained only one way to get House action, and on the very last day of the session there was an effort to suspend the rules so that the bill could be considered. But this required a two-thirds vote, thus making necessary a measure of Republican support.

But Sec. of Commerce Weeks, presumably acting on behalf of the Administration, refused to give assent even to consideration to the Administration's own bill—apparently for fear that something better might emerge from conference. As a consequence, Republican support was not forthcoming, the rules were never suspended, the bill never was considered, and the Senate action was wasted.

HIGHWAY PROGRAM

The 84th Congress took one action which promises to have a major effect on the state of our economy. The \$33 billion highway program which it adopted in 1956



constitutes the largest public works program in the history of the United States.

The primary purpose of the program is, of course, to provide the roads necessary for safe and convenient travel for the 80 million cars and trucks which will be on the roads by 1965. But the economic effects of this program will be tremendous in the construction jobs it will provide, the materials it will consume, and the business activity it will stimulate all over the country.

The highway program, however, was delayed a year in its passage. During the first session of the 84th Congress, the Administration insisted upon a financing program for the roads program which seemed designed more for the comfort of bankers than drivers. The proposal was to issue \$21 billion in long-term bonds, which would have cost taxpayers about \$11 billion in interest. The Senate rejected this proposal, and passed instead the Gore bill. which provided for contributions out of general funds. On the House side, opposition to the "bankers bonanza" was manifested on the vote to substitute the Administration program for the bill reported out by the Public Works Committee.

On the roll-call, the House defeated the attempt to substitute the Administration bill.

Voting	for th	e "ban	ikers'	
	:a"		19);
(180	Rep.,	7 Dem	1.)	
Voting	agains	t such		
	ng		22	1
(214	Dem.	, 7 Rep	.)	

The alternative financing—a direct-user tax on gasoline, diesel fuel, tires, etc.—was unpopular at the time and no agreement could be reached. On July 28, 1955, the House turned down the bill.

During the second session, the Administration abandoned its earlier financing program and endorsed a pay-as-you-go system similar to that which had been defeated in the House. Although there was some opposition to this form of financing, it was not serious enough to stop the bi-partisan agreement on this feature.

The main problem now—and the one in which AFL-CIO played an active role—was inclusion of the Bacon-Davis provision on prevailing wages.

The Republicans, however, tried to substitute a so-called states rights amendment. This was rejected by the overwhelming vote of 192 to 77 in the House. On the Senate side, the situation was tougher. Anamendment offered by Minority Leader Knowland (R. Calif.) was adopted after the Vice-President-broke a tie-vote.

This was only a temporary setback, however. Another amendment, this one sponsored by Sen. Chavez (D. N. Mex.), was carried, 42-37, and had the effect of knocking out the earlier action. In its final approval of the bill, the Congress upheld the Bacon-Davis provision, and it is now part of the law of the land.

During the years to come, we can now look forward to an ever-improving system of public roads. And we can take satisfaction in the knowledge that these roads will be built by workers enjoying decent working conditions.

LABOR LEGISLATION

IN the field of labor legislation, the major accomplishment of the 84th Congress was the increase in the minimum wage from 75 cents to \$1.00. The major disappointment was continued failure to remove the "union-busting" provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act. Failure to accomplish more favorable labor legislation during the 84th Congress was due principally to the handicaps of a business-oriented Administration and an unsympathetic chairman of the House Labor and Education Committee, Graham Barden (D. N. C.).

FEDERAL MINIMUM WAGE

A major step forward was taken *during the first session of the 84th Congress when the federal minimum wage was increased from 75 cents "to \$1.00. It was of course not a complete victory, by labor's standards. Both the AFL and CIO had ad vocated a \$1.25 minimum as the appropriate level, and extension of coverage. (See below.) But the dol- "lar minimum, which went into effect on March 1, 1956, represented a significant improvement.



Although there was much support for a \$1.25 minimum, this was difficult to achieve because of the stubborn resistance of the Administration. President Eisenhower recommended 90 cents and stuck to this figure right up to the end. In the House Labor Committee an attempt to accept this figure was defeated by a tie vote of 15 to 15, when only one Republican joined 14 Democrats in voting against the proposal. On the floor of the House, the 90 cent proposal was defeated by 168 to 173. After this vote, the House accepted the \$1.00 proposal by an overwhelming vote.

Although he had earlier insisted that "90 cents is generous enough," the President did sign the bill. Later, the Administration listed this as one of the important achievements of the Congress!

The dollar minimum has provided millions of workers a more decent level of wages. It has provided a greater protection against chiselling, wage-cutting employers. And it has been good for the entire country by providing increased purchasing power which is thrown right back into the stream of the economy.

Coverage Not Extended

The first session of the 84th Congress failed, however, to extend the coverage of the minimum wage law to additional workers. This became, for the AFL-CIO and other public-minded groups, one of the major items of unfinished business for the second session. The merger convention called upon Congress "as a matter of first priority, to extend the full protection of the Fair Labor Standards Act to all workers in industries engaged in or affecting commerce."

President Meany, pointing out that more than 20 million workers do not enjoy the benefits and protection of the Fair Labor Standards Act, declared that "not only these workers, but the entire economy suffers, for substandard wages are morally wrong and economically unsound."

Unfortunately, however, the second session of the Congress produced no more results than did the first in this matter. The Senate Labor committee did start some hearings, but these got stalled when changes occurred in the membership of the committee. In the House, the chairman of the committee stalled in the appointment of a subcommittee until the very last days of the session. Two days of hearings were held, and no further action was taken.

A major factor in the failure of the Congress to act during the 84th Congress was the vacillating and uncertain position of the Administration. Although both the President and the Secretary of Labor have on numerous occasions expressed support for extension in general terms, neither has yet made any specific recommendations. In 1955, the Secretary did make some very modest proposals before the Senate, only to withdraw them after the retail industry had protested loudly.

TAFT-HARTLEY ACT

Nothing was done to repeal of amend the Taft-Hartley Act to make the national labor relations law fair and equitable. Numerous bills were submitted by liberal members of both Houses of Congress. A principal target of many of the bills was repeal of Section 14(b) of the Act, repeal of which would have the effect of wiping out the so-called "right-to-work" laws which now prevail in 17 states.

The Administration repeated its general promise to change Taft-Hartley, but there were no new proposals which labor could accept. In 1954 the Administration's package proposal was deemed by labor to make the law even worse than it is. In the meantime, the National Labor Relations Board has continued to show more and more pro-employer bias, and has made the operation of

Taft-Hartley even worse than it was intended to be.

Other Labor Laws

The Congress similarly did nothing to bring the Bacon-Davis Act up to date. Bills have been submitted, but no action taken, which would *make the law really effective in protecting the wage levels and working conditions of construction workers on work for the Federal government. Principal objectives of these bills include extension of the Act to all *projects paid for in the whole or in part by the Federal government, or covered by Federal insurance or guarantees: and inclusion of supplementary cash payments and fringe benefits as part of the "pre-"vailing standards" to be protected.

Another labor law which remained unimproved during the 84th Congress was the Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act. There was no action or bills to repeal or amend the Fulbright amendment, a technical statute which has the effect of confusing the right of the Secretary of Labor to issue minimum wage determinations on an industry-wide - basis. This amendment has hampered the effectiveness of the Walsh-Healey Act. The AFL-CIO will continue to work to make the Act conform to its original purposes of clear-cut requirements of decent wages and standards for employees of government contractors.

Still another failure of the 84th Congress was in connection with welfare funds. The AFL-CIO urged Congress to enact an "adequate disclosure law." Although a Senate subcommittee, headed by Senator Paul Douglas, (D. Ill.) recommended registration and disclosure of all employee welfare and pension funds, including both union and employer-controlled funds, no action was taken in either House. It is significant that whereas labor commended the Douglas recommendations, neither industry nor the insurance companies did so.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION

The Congress took a significant step forward in the vital area of workmen's compensation in adoption of amendments to the Longshoreman and Harbor Workers' Compensation Act. In addition to longshoreman, ship repairmen, and harbor workers, the Act also covers private employees in the District of Columbia and employees of United States contractors outside continental United States. Perhaps the most important thing about the law, however, is that in effect it operates as a model law for the individual 48 states.



The basic act became law in 1927, and the last time it was amended was 1948. Because the Act fixes compensation rates to workers for injuries and death, its provisions must be constantly reviewed by Congress in order to keep up with living costs and wage levels.

A bill sponsored by 16 Democratic Senators was favorably reported by the labor committee and on July 18, 1955, it was passed by voice vote. During the next year, more protracted hearings were conducted by the House labor committee. Despite strong opposition from the Washington Board of Trade, however, the committee finally voted out a bill which was in some respects even better than the Senate bill. After House passage-which came one year after Senate actionthe Senate agreed to the House improvements.

The new law raises the maximum level of weekly compensation payments from \$35 to \$54. Minimum benefits are increased from \$12 to \$18. The waiting period is reduced from seven days to three days. Maximum total compensation is increased from \$11,000 to \$17,280. There are other similar improvements.

The AFL-CIO supported this legislation actively and enthusiastically. It is now up to the individual states to do at least as well as the Congress did for those workers over whom the federal government has jurisdiction.

FEDERAL PAY AND

The record of the 84th Congress on legislation affecting federal employees shows a few plusses and a few minuses.

During the first session, the Senate passed a 10% wage increase for postal workers. The House committee recommended a 7.6% increase, but on the floor of the House a motion was offered to increase it to 8.2%.

On the roll call, the motion for a higher increase was adopted.

Voting against the increase ..189 (172 Rep., 17 Dem.)

In conference, both Houses agreed to a compromise figure of 8.8%. But this was too much for the President; he vetoed the bill.



The Senate moved to override the veto, which requires a two-thirds vote.

On the roll call, the Senate failed to override the President on the size of the wage increase.

Voting to override the veto ..54 (46 Dem., 8 Rep.)

Voting to uphold the veto ..39 (37 Rep., 2 Dem.)

A new bill was then drafted and passed which called for a 8.1% in-

crease for postal workers. Congress then passed a similar increase for classified employees.

During the second session of the 84th Congress, the major accomplishment for federal employees was extension and improvement in the federal retirement system. Optional retirement after 30 years of service, regardless of age, is now permitted. A new formula for computations and other benefits, all of these for only a half-percent increase in contributions, make the present federal retirement system one of the truly liberal systems in the country.

Among other favorable actions taken by the 84th Congress are status for postal service indefinite substitutes and military leave with pay for absence while on reserve military training.

GENERAL WELFARE LEGISLATION

THERE is rather broad agreement among people of both political parties that the federal government has an important role to play in carrying out a stated objective of our constitution—"to promote the general welfare." Very few McKinley-era politicians remain who would argue that there should be no social security system,

no minimum wage law, or no insti-

Despite this general agreement, however, the 84th Congress provided new evidence of the difference between those who only say the right words about general welfare legislation, and those who are willing to work and vote for progress in the welfare field. The national

Administration has talked much about being "liberal" in human affairs; but the record shows it has failed to back up these words with meaningful action.

SOCIAL SECURITY

NE of the major legislative accomplishments of the 84th Congress was the passage of H.R. 7225, a bill which made several vital improvements in our Social Security law. Its passage—despite fierce opposition by the Administration, the American Medical Association, and the Chamber of Commerce—is a tribute to the leadership of the Congress and to the good sense of the American people who indicated their interest in the much-needed changes.



For many years, it has been recognized that our social security system had two serious deficiencies:

(1). It contained a rigid 65-year eligibility age for women workers, for wives of retired workers, and for widows. This meant that a woman who became widowed at any age below 65 had to wait until that age before she could receive any benefits. This was a cruel blow to a woman of, let us say, 60 years of age who had never worked before. Could she be expected to go to work at that age? Similarly, a married man retiring at 65 or 70 could receive benefits only for himself, rather than for a couple, as long as his wife was under 65.

(2). The other major deficiency of the system was the fact that a totally and permanently disabled person, although otherwise entitled to retirement benefits, had to wait until age 65 to receive such benefits. The only recourse to such a person was public assistance.

In the last days of the first session of the 84th Congress, the House had before it a bill which made some modest beginnings to meet these two problems, plus some other welcome changes. The eligibility age for all women was reduced to 62—on the basis that the average wife was three years younger than her husband—and totally disabled persons aged 50 or over were made eligible for retirement benefits.

Modest as these changes were, the Administration opposed them even though the bill called for higher taxes to pay for the extra costs. But before the Administration could mobilize against the bill, the House passed it by the overwhelming vote of 372 to 31.

The situation in the Senate was *not so easy. By the time the second session rolled around, the Administration guns were aimed at H.R. 7225. Led by the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, Marion Folsom-and supported by all the conservative groups in the country-the Administration fought against the two major provisions of the bill. The opposition was formidable; H.R. 7225 prospects did not look hopeful. The Senate Finance Committee dropped the disability provision and retained the 62 year change only for widows.

To meet this situation, the Senate leadership and influential members developed a modified program which immediately won the support of the AFL-CIO. Sen. George sponsored an amendment to establish disability pensions under a separate trust fund and Sen. Kerr sponsored an amendment to make working women and wives eligible for pensions at age 62, with payments slightly reduced from those paid at age 65. AFL-CIO support was also given to the Long amendment to liberalize federal grants for payments to those on public welfare rolls.

The bitter opposition to these amendments—especially the George proposal—remained; but the modifications were sufficient to rally some doubtful Senators to support of the proposals. The lowered age requirement for women was adopted by an overwhelming vote—86 to 7. But the real showdown came on the George proposal.

On the roll-call, the Senate voted to adopt the George Amendment.

Voting for disability benefits 47 (41 Dem., 6 Rep.)

After these tests, the Senate unanimously approved final passage of the bill. The President reluctantly—but aware of the political implications—signed the bill.

With the passage of H.R. 7225, important improvements have been made to our social security system. But much more needs to be done.

The AFL-CIO will continue to work with other forward-looking groups in the furtherance of other improvements. These include more liberal payments under social security; a unified and liberalized unemployment insurance system; and a system of temporary disability insurance.

HEALTH LEGISLATION

LOSELY related to social security is health legislation. Although the 84th Congress passed no truly major legislation in the field of health, it took several very constructive steps.

 It made substantial increases in the funds appropriated for medical research.

In line with AFL-CIO recommendations, the Congress ignored the proposals of the Administration and allocated the full amounts recommended by the doctors themselves for the operation of the National Institutes of Health. Administration requested, for 1957. an increase of only \$24,000,000 over the previous year. But the Democratic House added another \$9,000,000 and the Democratic Senate added still another \$49,000,000. Thus, the final action represented an increase from \$102,000,000 in 1956 to \$184,000,000 in 1957. The larger appropriations will scientific work in the fields of cancer, mental health, heart, arthritis, neurology and other sicknesses.

In presenting its recommendations, the Senate Appropriations sub-committee, chaired by Sen. Lister Hill (D., Ala.), attacked the "lack of foresight and imagination displayed by those in the executive branch who are responsible for the grand national strategy of medical research."

2. The Congress extended the Hospital Construction Act for two additional years.

It also appropriated \$125,000,000 for this purpose for 1957, an increase of \$14,000,000 over the previous year. This was the amount requested by the Administration. AFL-CIO had urged that the full amount permitted in the law—\$210,000,000—be appropriated.

- 3. The Congress also enacted laws providing grants for the construction of facilities for medical research by local governmental units and non-profit institutions; provided for the first comprehensive survey of sickness since 1937; set up a five year program for training practical nurses, and a program for advanced training in public health work.
- 4. An important step to reduce the traffic in heroin and other narcotics was taken in the passage of Public Law 728. A major provision provides the death penalty for dispersing heroin to persons below the age of 18.

No action was taken on a widelysupported bill to provide medical aid for medical colleges. All the moneys appropriated for hospitals and for medical research will some day soon be completely useless unless there are enough trained doctors to use these funds intelligently and efficiently.

The Administration renewed its "re-insurance" proposal but the 84th Congress, like its predecessor, ignored the request, not having changed its mind that the proposal could benefit only the insurance companies, not the people who need help.

During the first year of the 84th Congress, the hottest health issue was the Administration's bungling of the Salk vaccine operation. The failure to develop a program which might have avoided many of the problems which developed in the production, distribution, and safety of the vaccine led to the resignation of the first Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, Mrs. Oveta Hobby. After many months of confusion, the Congress did pass a bill authorizing the expenditure of \$30,-000,000 for distribution of the vaccine to the states. In 1956, the program was continued until June 30, 1957,

SCHOOL CONSTRUCTION

ONE OF the most serious disappointments of the 84th Con-

gress was the failure to enact a bill to provide federal aid to school construction. The millions of America's school children are the unfortunate victims of this failure—a failure resulting from what AFL-CIO President Meany called "crass politicking" on the issue.



The crucial need for hundreds of thousands of new schoolrooms to meet the needs of America's rapidly expanded population is beyond dispute. Last year's White House Conference on Education made it clear that decisive action was needed quickly.

Early in 1955 the President sent a long-awaited message to Congress, which although described by the White House press agents as a "seven billion dollar" program, was soon seen to be much less and totally inadequate. Only \$200,000,000 would have been available in grants to states for a three-year period. The other provisions were either unworkable or calculated to

do more for the bankers than for the schools. Democrats countered with more generous proposals.

Late in July, 1955, the House Education and Labor Committee finally voted out a bill which provided for a total of \$1,600,000,000 in direct grants to the states over a four year period. Too late for final action in 1955, the bill went over to the second session.

In the meantime, the White House Conference had taken place, and an election year was approaching. The Administration improved its proposal—now suggesting a program of \$250,000,000 in grants to states for each of five years.

As the 1956 session got under way, violent controversy raged around the measure. Conservative members of the House who were opposed to all federal aid fought the bill. Southern members were disturbed over the possibility of an amendment to be offered on the floor by Rep. Powell of New York, which would have forbidden the payments of any funds to states not conforming to the Supreme Court decision on school integration.

It soon became clear that opponents of the bill would play politics with the Powell amendment. Many liberal members of Congress were for the amendment because of their sincere conviction that it was proper and necessary. But other liberals felt that the executive branch of government had all the power necessary to withhold funds from states which are actually in open defiance of the Court. Moreover, these members felt, attaching the Powell amendment might mean defeat of the bill in the House, and would lead to certain filibuster and to the death of the bill in the Senate.

The AFL-CIO Executive Council gave careful study to the matter and concluded that the "pending Powell amendment is unnecessary." It attacked the "cynical and hypocritical backing from scheming politicians" which the amendment was receiving. And it pledged to do everything possible to see that the law of the land was upheld, and that there should be no "misuse of the tax-payers' money."

The Powell amendment was offered on the floor of the House on July 5, 1956.

Now this vote was very interesting—and very crucial. Even though President Eisenhower had stated he was opposed to the Powell Amendment, three out of four Republicans voted for it.

Soon after this vote, they voted again—this time on actual passage of the bill.

On the roll-call, the school construction bill was defeated.

Thus, by a vote of 194 to 224, the school construction bill was defeated.

But it is important to know how and why. Ninety-six of the Republicans who voted for the Powell amendment later voted against the bill itself. Many of these foes of aid to the schools had figured out that a vote for the Powell amendment was the way to assure defeat of the bill. For if the Powell amendment had been defeated, it appeared enough Southerners would have voted for the bill to assure passage. Some Republicans, including the President himself-later used the excuse that the bill wasn't exactly the one offered by the Administration. But it was a lame excuse indeed.

The school kids—and parents of America must now look to the 85th Congress.

HOUSING

The kind of housing program which the Congress enacts affects not only the social welfare of millions of American families but also the economic health of the nation. The AFL-CIO has often stated that at least two million new housing units a year must be built to meet the housing needs of America. A lower figure fails to provide the number of jobs needed to keep the building and materials industries at maximum levels. Our pres-



ent rate of housing construction, however, comes to only about 11/4 millions.

During both sessions of the 84th Congress, major attention was focused on the issue of public housing. Although this issue touches on only a small part of the over-all problem, it does serve to illustrate the degree of social concern which the members of Congress and the Administration have demonstrated.

In 1955, President Eisenhower requested authorization for only 35,000 public housing units for each of two years. But the Senate had before it a bill calling for 135,000 units for each of four years, plus 10,000 units each year of housing for elderly persons. On the Senate floor, however, Sen. Capehart (R., Ind.), acting for the Administration, offered an amendment to substitute the Eisenhower program.

On the roll-call, the inadequate Eisenhower - Capehart program was defeated.

Voting for only 35,000 units 38 (32 Rep., 6 Dem.)

Voting for adequate program 44 (35 Dem., 9 Rep.)

In the House, however, the Banking and Currency Committee would do no better than the President's request. But on the floor even this was considered too liberal, and the Republicans determined to cut out all public housing. An amendment to this effect was offered by Rep. Wolcott (R., Mich.), on July 29, 1955.

On the roll-call, the Wolcott amendment to cut all public housing was agreed to. Voting to kill public housing _______217 (151 Rep., 66 Dem.) Voting to save public housing ______188 (152 Dem., 36 Rep.) The Senate-House conference committee restored 45,000 units for just one year, slightly more than the President had requested for one year. Even that barely passed the House; the vote was 187 to 168.

In 1956, the battle over public housing was renewed. Again the Administration requested only 35,000 units for each of two years. The Senate again approved 135,000 units a year. But it did this only after defeating another attempt, this time by Sen. Bricker of Ohio, to lower the program to the 35,000 level for two years.

On the roll-call, the Bricker attempt to reduce the public housing program was defeated.

In the House, the committee reported out a bill calling for 60,000 units annually, including 10,000 for elderly persons. Bottled up by the Rules committee until the last week of the session, the bill finally came to the floor. Foes of public housing insisted upon a limit of 35,000 units, with no additional units for the elderly. This was adopted by the House without a roll-call. On the very last day of the session,

these House conservatives forced the Senate to agree to this inadequate program in order to get any housing bill at all.

In addition to public housing, the Housing Act of 1956 also carried provisions authorizing more liberal terms for FHA rental projects designed for elderly persons, liberalizing the FHA home repair program, extending the military housing program, and other improvements. In a separate action,

the Congress extended the Veterans Home Loan Program for another two years to July 25, 1958.

The Congress failed to enact a middle-income housing program such as has been advocated by AFL-CIO. The Senate Banking and Currency Committee defeated such a program by a 6 to 6 tie vote. However, the committee staff was directed to do a complete study of the problem in advance of the start of the next session.

NATURAL RESOURCES

S INCE the Administration of President Theodore Roosevelt, the national government has pursued a policy of protecting our natural resources from big business exploitation and preserving them for all the people. The Eisenhower Administration, early in its term, began to change this policy, substituting the "giveaway" programs



to turn natural resources over to private business.

The first years of this program were successful: tidelands oil was turned over to the states, with which private industry could make better "deals"; the field of atomic energy development was thrown wide open to monopolistic utilities; the expansion of TVA was stopped.

Congressional liberals, however, fought these giveaways at every opportunity, and eventually were able to stop a giveaway of public timber and grazing lands, and to cause cancellation of the Dixon-Yates contract.

In 1956, these liberals mounted the offensive, and by sponsoring positive legislation hoped to change the Administration's natural resources policy.

ATOMIC ENERGY

The nation's economy depends upon an abundance of electrical energy to turn the wheels of industry. Our future demands for electricity will be enormous. A major source of electricity in the future will be atomic-powered generators.

Under the 1954 atomic energy legislation, private industry is permitted to enter this field and develop needed reactors, but they have not done so. Evidence shows that both Soviet Russia and Great Britain are far ahead of us in peacetime development of the atom. To the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, it was apparent that something substantial had to be done in the field of atomic energy.

The result was a bill sponsored by Sen. Gore (D., Tenn.) which called for a \$400 million "crash" program for atomic power reactors. The Administration opposed the program.

Following the favorable Senate action, the House took up the bill, and the Administration put on the heat.

On the roll-call, on July 24, 1956, the House voted to defeat the bill.
Voting for atomic power program
Voting against atomic power program
Defeat in the House meant for

Defeat in the House meant further delays in power reactor development.

HELLS CANYON

Part of the Administration's giveaway program is centered on the so-called "partnership" development of power sites. "Partnership" means, as a practical matter, development by private utility interests.

A key example of the effects of this program was demonstrated when the Federal Power Commission licensed the Idaho Power Co. to construct three small dams in Hells Canyon, on the Idaho-Oregon border. The alternative, supported by AFL-CIO, was a big, high federal multi-purpose dam.

Experts testified that the federal dam would produce nearly twice as much power at less than half the cost of that produced by the smaller dams. It would store nearly four times as much water for flood control purposes, and provide greater benefits in navigation, conservation, recreation and irrigation. It would permit much greater future expansion by industry, with more job opportunities, than the small dams proposed by the utility industry.

Sen. Morse (D., Ore.) introduced a bill to nullify the FPC licenses and authorize construction of the high-level dam. The White House worked overtime to defeat it.

On the roll-call, on July 19, 1956, the Senate voted to defeat the Hells Canyon high dam bill.

Voting for the high dam..... 41 (39 Dem., 2 Rep.)

Voting against the high dam 51 (8 Dem., 43 Rep.)

Following the Congressional defeat, Hells Canyon advocates moved to the federal courts to try to stop construction of the small dams.

NIAGARA POWER

By treaty with Canada, the U. S. for years has had the right to develop part of the power potential of the Niagara River. A bill which died in the 83rd Congress, following approval by the House, would have given our development rights to five private utilities.

This year, a bill by Sen. Lehman (D., N. Y.) to permit the New York State Power Authority to develop the Niagara, was favorably reported by the Senate committee. The bill included provisions requiring the Authority to share the power with neighboring states, and to give public bodies and cooperatives a preference in the purchase of the power.

The bill would have insured the availability of low-cost power in what is now a high-cost area.

The key vote was on a motion by Sen. Bush (R., Conn.) to recommit, and thus kill, the Lehman bill.

On the roll-call, on May 16, 1956, the Senate rejected the Bush motion.

Voting to kill the bill........... 38 (3 Dem., 35 Rep.)

Voting against killing the bill 48 (43 Dem., 5 Rep.)

The recommittal motion failed, and the Senate went on to pass the bill, 48 to 39. But in the rush to adjourn late in July, the measure was blocked in the House Rules Committee, and Representatives never had a chance to vote on it.

NATURAL GAS

In the 84th Congress, the big oil and gas companies tried again to remove federal regulation of natural gas prices at the well-head. Their first attempt had failed in 1950, when President Truman vetoed the Kerr bill.



Behind the industry's drive was the fact that in future years the four largest companies alone could expect a \$30 billion increase in the value of their reserves. The cost to consumers was estimated at \$800 million a year.

Although the industry claimed that the existence of 4,300 producers of natural gas would insure competitive pricing, it did not point out that only 175 of this number control 90% of natural gas production.

The bill came up for House action in 1955.

On the roll-call, on July 28, 1955, the House voted to pass the bill.

Voting to pass the bill......209 (86 Dem., 123 Rep.)

Voting for federal regulation......20 (136 Dem., 67 Rep.)

The Senate did not act on the bill until 1956.

On the roll-call, on February 26, 1956, the Senate voted to pass the bill.

But the gas and oil companies had tried too hard. During the Senate debate, Sen. Case (R., S. D.) announced that he had been offered a \$2,500 campaign contribution to vote for the bill. The result was a Presidential veto, based on the activities of the lobby; though in his veto message Eisenhower announced that he supported the principle of the legislation.

Subsequently, a special Senate investigating committee charged the oil lobby with "irresponsibility run riot," and a federal grand jury indicted the Superior Oil Company and two of its lobbyists for violation of the Federal Lobbying Act.

SOUTHWESTERN POWER

For three years Southwestern U. S. farmers have suffered devastating drought. Their incomes have gone down, and some of them have had to leave their farms for work in cities.

In the teeth of these facts, the Dept. of Interior proposed a 40% rate increase for power sold by the Southwestern Power Administration to rural electric cooperatives and other public bodies. The rates

to private utilities would have remained unchanged.

Sen. Kerr (D., Okla.) introduced a bill to freeze these rates for one year, until some method could be found to relieve the distressed farmers. The bill passed the Senate by a voice vote on April 19. In the last week of the session, it came to the House floor for action.

On the roll-call, on July 27, 1956, the House voted to pass the rate freeze bill.

Voting for the rate freeze....201 (166 Dem., 35 Rep.)

Voting against the rate freeze......140 (6 Dem., 134 Rep.)

But despite the Congressional approval of the measure, President Eisenhower vetoed it.

FLOOD INSURANCE

Major flood disasters on both coasts in 1955 clearly indicated the need for some kind of insurance against flood losses that the people could afford. High-premium policies offered by insurance companies were not the answer to the need for protection.

The result was a bill providing federal funds to secure lower flood insurance premiums for homeowners and small businessmen. The bill passed the Senate on May 26 by a vote of 61 to 7, and the House on July 25 by voice vote. The President, who had requested a similar program, signed it into law.

WATER POLLUTION

The once-abundant water supply of the nation has been dwindling under increased industrial, agricultural and municipal use. One method of conservation is to reduce the pollution in our rivers and streams.

The House, by a vote of 338 to 31, and the Senate, by voice vote, approved a \$500 million program of matching grants to communities to build sewage disposal plants. The bill also authorized federal legal action against polluters.

OTHER PROGRAMS

Congress also adopted, and the President approved, a multi-billion dollar program of water conservation, reclamation, and power development in the Upper Colorado Storage Project. The Fryingpan-Arkansas project, which would have tunneled a mountain to bring water to parched lands in eastern Colorado, was killed in the House after favorable Senate action.

CIVIL RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES

THE record of the 84th Congress on civil rights and civil liberties issues is nearly non-existent.

The first effort to strengthen federal civil rights statutes was made by Rep. Celler (D., N. Y.). He introduced, and later held hearings, on an omnibus civil rights bill providing severe criminal penalties for segregation on interstate travel, broadening other criminal civil rights statutes, and setting up a special Civil Rights Division in the Justice Department and a special Congressional civil rights committee.

In light of Congressional interest in the Celler bill, the Administration made its own proposals; it accepted Celler's proposal for the new unit in the Justice Department but omitted the other Celler proposals. In their place, the Administration substituted a provision permitting the federal government to seek injunctions in federal courts against proposed violations of civil rights, particularly the right to vote.

In the Judiciary Committee, Republicans managed to substitute the Administration bill for the Celler bill. The bill was debated on the floor of the House for over a

week, amid parliamentary delays sparked by Southerners of both parties.

On the roll-call, on July 23, 1956, the House voted to pass the civil rights bill.

Voting to pass the bill.......279 (111 Dem., 168 Rep.)

Voting to defeat the bill.....126 (102 Dem., 24 Rep.)

In the Senate, the bill was never reported from the Judiciary Committee, where a coalition of Republicans and Southern Democrats kept it bottled up. Efforts by Sen. Douglas (D., Ill.), Sen. Lehman (D., N. Y.) and Sen. Hennings (D., Mo.) to bring up the bill during the last days of the session were resisted by floor leaders of both parties. It was their opinion that this would have started a filibuster, threatening pending action on social security, mutual security and other important measures.

IMMIGRATION

Pressures to modify the McCarran-Walter immigration law were frustrated during most of the 84th Congress. On the last day of the Congressional session, a bill to admit 350 Basque sheepherders was

brought up for Senate action. To this bill the Senate, by voice vote, added several liberalizing amendments.

One of these amendments would have made a slight modification of the antiquated and discriminatory quota system. This system has resulted in small quotas for countries in southern and eastern Europe, where the desire to emigrate to the U. S. is greatest, and larger quotas for the nations of western Europe, whose quotas have been unfilled for years. The amendment would have pooled and re-distributed some of these unused quotas to nations showing greater demand for emigration to the U. S., but would not

have made any fundamental change in the quota system.

In the House, however, this amendment became a stumbling block. With only a matter of hours remaining in the session, there was no time to compromise differences, and the bill died.

The AFL-CIO Executive Council had favored the principal objectives of a much broader and more fundamental revision of the McCarran-Walter Act which had been introduced by Sen. Lehman (D., N. Y.); but it also called upon Congress to adopt the more limited Administration proposals, a few of which were included in the measure which died with the Congress.

WORLD AFFAIRS

A FL-CIO Pres. George Meany has stated that "as patriotic citizens and trade unionists, American workers have the highest interest in build-



ing a world free from dictatorship, poverty and war." This attitude, expressed in convention-adopted policy resolutions, is the basis of the AFL-CIO legislative program in international affairs.

On the home front, it means AFL-CIO supports a strong national defense; recent shifts in the tactics of world communism must not be permitted to blind us to the potential dangers that the Kremlin continues to pose.

On the international scene, it means strengthening of the United Nations, military and economic assistance to our free allies, technical assistance to under-developed nations, and a consistent foreign trade policy designed to promote a freer flow of goods among nations without destroying domestic industries.

The outstanding thing about the 84th Congress was the co-operation between the Republican administration and the Democratic Congress in the area of foreign affairs. As a matter of fact, President Eisenhower's policies, which were mainly a continuation of policies adopted by previous Administrations, frequently received greater support among Democrats than among Republicans.

In the matter of reciprocal trade, for example, the President's program was saved by the Democrats. Early in 1955, he asked the Congress to enact a liberalized, three-year reciprocal trade program. The House Ways and Means Committee, with a Democratic majority, gave him just what he requested. But on the floor of the House, there was trouble. A group led by Republican Dan Reed (N. Y.) moved to recommit the bill, with the purpose of taking the heart out of the program.

On the roll-call, the attempt to cripple the reciprocal trade program failed.

Voting to recommit the bill..199 (119 Rep., 80 Dem.)

Voting against recommital...206 (66 Rep., 140 Dem.)

When the bill came to the Senate, some damaging amendments were added—but only after a band of Democratic Senators tried to save the President's program. This came on an amendment by Sen. Douglas (D., Ill.) to strengthen the bill as it came from the Finance Committee.

On the roll-call, the Douglas attempt to strengthen the trade program failed.

Voting for the Douglas amendment 21 (21 Dem.)

Voting against the amendment 67 (46 Rep., 21 Dem.)

Unfortunately, the President himself backed down on his program, and the Senate version of the bill was enacted into law.

The Congress failed to approve our entrance into the Organization for Trade Cooperation (OTC). This was a serious blow to effective operation of the Reciprocal Trade Agreement Program. AFL-CIO has declared that OTC "is the logical and necessary next step in facilitating international cooperation directed toward expansion of world trade."

MUTUAL SECURITY

* D URING each session of the 84th Congress there were serious battles waged on the issue of the size of our mutual security program.

During the first session, the President requested \$3.5 billion for the total program. On the Senate side, a Republican Senator failed in an effort to hamstring the program by requiring that 75% of all funds for economic development be on a loan basis. In the House, the Democrats again came to the help of the Administration to keep the program at a reasonably high level. On June 30, 1955, the House voted on passage of the bill, which was at a level somewhat below the President's request. Only the diehards opposed it.

On the roll-call, the mutual security program was approved. Voting for the program......273 (160 Dem., 113 Rep.) Voting against passage......128 (77 Rep., 51 Dem.)

Subsequently, the Appropriations bill cut out about 20% of the President's request, leaving a final level of \$2.7 billion for fiscal year 1956.

In 1956, there was another hassle over the size of the program for fiscal year 1957. Again, there was some opposition in both parties, and the resulting figure was seriously below the level recommended by the President and strongly supported by the AFL-CIO.

The final appropriation enacted by the Congress was for \$3.8 billion, as against the recommended \$4.9 billion. Most seriously cut was military assistance, reduced from \$2.9 billion to \$2.2 billion.

Just how bi-partisan this question is can be seen clearly from the final Senate vote on passage of the conference report on appropriations.

On the roll-call, the foreign aid appropriations were approved by identical votes of the two parties.

Voting against the program 30 (15 Dem., 15 Rep.)

Our effective and appropriate participation in United Nations affairs was jeopardized for a while when the House approved a reduction in our payments to the UN for technical assistance activities for under-developed countries from the current level of \$15,500,000 down to \$10,000,000. The AFL-CIO strongly opposed this unwise pennypinching. Although the Senate Appropriations Committee also approved the lower figure, the Senate

itself, upon motion by Sen. Mansfield (D., Mont.) restored the larger amount.

The AFL-CIO has continued to urge an expansion of both the U. S. bi-lateral program of technical assistance and the UN multi-lateral program.

The Bricker Amendment, which would hamstring our foreign affairs, made very little progress during the 84th Congress. Early in 1955, a Judiciary subcommittee reported out a version of the amendment, but the full committee never considered it.

During the course of the 84th

Congress there were several issues on the conduct of our foreign affairs which divided the Congress. Lack of decisiveness and clarity in the Administration's actions led to sharp differences over such questions as the defense of Formosa, aid to Yugoslavia, a resolution on slave labor, and other matters.

The 85th Congress will again be called upon by the AFL-CIO to take all necessary steps to resist communist imperialism and strengthen our alliances with the free nations of the world toward the goal of peace and freedom throughout the world.

AND NOW ... THE 85th

THE AFL-CIO has studied the record of the 84th Congress. It has made its appraisal, and it has taken steps to inform union members of that record. But looking back is not enough.

The real job is to look ahead, to plan for the next session, to work for the laws which will best serve the public interest.

By the time the 85th Congress convenes in January 1957, the American people will have elected the President and Vice-President of the United States. And they will have elected 35 United States Senators and 435 Congressmen. But whomever they elect, no matter which party controls the Congress, the American people must be served.

The AFL-CIO and its affiliated unions and bodies will continue to work with all men and women of good will, regardless of party affiliation, in the pursuit of legislation which will provide assurances for world peace, an expanding economy, and an ever greater measure of freedom for all people at home and abroad.

Only a few days after the 84th Congress adjourned, the AFL-CIO * had the opportunity to outline the broad objectives of organized labor's legislative program for the 85th Congress. President Meany appeared at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago, and Secretary-Treasurer William Schnitzler appeared before the Republican National Convention in San Francisco. The platform committees of both parties were urged by organized labor's chief spokesmen to pledge themselves to a program in the public's interest.

Here are the main planks affecting domestic legislation which the political parties were urged to adopt and to work for in the period ahead:

- Complete overhaul of the Taft-Hartley Act to make it fair and just to labor and management.
- Broadening the coverage of the minimum wage law and raising the floor to at least \$1.25 an hour.
- Strengthening of the Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act, the Bacon-Davis Act and other labor statutes.
- 4. Reduction of federal income taxes for families in the

- low- and middle-income brackets and for small business.
- Legislation to provide assistance to depressed industrial areas where unemployment persists.
- 6. Modernization of our present inadequate unemployment compensation system and further liberalization of social security, including the adoption of federal insurance against the cost of medical care.
- 7. A housing program which will result in construction of two million units a year, including encouragement of private construction of reasonably priced homes for the average family, and expansion of public housing and slum clearance projects for low-income groups.
- A comprehensive farm program, embracing price supports, conservation payments, low-interest loans and rural electrification.
- Government loans, under liberal terms, to stimulate business and farm investment and modernization, especially for small enterprises.

- 10. Major federal and state programs to meet acute shortages of roads, schools, hospitals and other vital services.
- 11. Development of all possible sources of power through both public and private ownership; support of multi-purpose harnessing of our river basins; construction of atomic reactors as provided in the Gore-Holifield bill.
- 12. A federal act requiring disclosure of all financial operations of welfare funds, whether jointly administered or company-sponsored.
- 13. Civil rights legislation aimed at eradicating discrimination and segregation based upon race, color, creed, or national origin; specifically, there is needed:
- An effective, enforceable Fair Employment Practices Act;
- Legislation making lynching a federal crime;
- A law abolishing state polltaxes as a prerequisite of voting;
- A provision establishing within the Dept. of Justice a civilrights division under an assistant attorney general;
- A change in Senate Rule 22 to permit a majority of Senators

voting and present to limit and close debate.

In addition to the above objectives aimed at a prosperous and democratic America, the AFL-CIO will of course watch closely developments in both the legislative and executive branches of our Federal government affecting our national defense and our international affairs.

The struggle against world communism and other totalitarian forces requires both determination and patience. It also requires a willingness to play fully the role—diplomatic, military, and economic—which our unique position in world affairs makes so crucial.

The next years can see an easing of world tensions and extension of human liberty, or it can see atomic warfare and further enslavement of peoples. These years, at home, can see rapid improvements in the standard of living for all our people—or it can see spotty "prosperity" and perhaps even widespread unemployment and hardship.

The actions of the 85th Congress can play a vital part in determining which of these alternatives will actually come to pass. At stake are the future security and prosperity of every American. What is good for America, we know, is good for organized labor in America.



GEORGE MEANY
President of AFL-CIO



Wm. F. Schnitzler Secretary-Treasurer







Workmen's Compensation Under

Burdadtellen	Intended	Actual	Maximum	-
Jurisdiction	Benefit as % of Weekly Wage	Maximum Weekly Benefit Allowed	Duration in Weeks	B
Alabama	55-65%	\$28	300	
Alaska	65	100	*********	8
Arizona	65 t	150 ⁵	W,C-18 °	
Arkansas	65.	25	450	-
California	61 3/4	40	200-316 °	1
Colorado	66%	31.50	312	
Connecticut	60	40	W,C-18 °	
Delaware	66%	35	400 10	
District of Columbia	66%	35	W,C-18 °	
Florida	60	35	350	
Georgia	60	30	400	
Hawaii		50	W,C-18 °	
Idaho	55-60 1	23-40 1	400,C-18 °	8
Illinois	75-971/2 1	34-40 L		5
Indiana	60-	- 38	350	
Iowa	66%	82	300	
Kansas	60	32		
Kentucky		27	400	
Louisiana	65	80 .	300	-
Maine	66%	30	300	
Maryland	66%	35	500	
		S0 to average	- 000	_
Massachusetts	66%	weekly wage '	400,C-18°	
Michigan	66%	32-42	450	
Minnesota	66%	40	W,C-18 °	-
Mississippl	66%	25	450	
Missouri	66%	35		
Montana	66%	26.50-32.50 1	500	
Nebraska		30	325	
Nevada	90	41.54	W.C-18 °	
New Hampshire	66%	- 33	341	
New Jersey		30	300 10	
New Mexico	60	- 80	550	
New York		36	W,C-18 °	
North Carolina		32.50	350	
North Dakota		31.50-45.50	W,C-18 °	
Ohio		40.25	416	
Oklahoma	66%	28 .		
Oregon		26.54-61.15 1	W,C-18 °	
Pennsylvania		82.50	350 ¹⁰	
Rhode Island	60	32	600	
South Carolina		35	350	
South Dakota	55	28	300	0
Tennessee	65	30	W,C-18 6	
Texas	60	25	360	_
Utah	60	30-40.50 1	313	8,
Vermont		28 30	260	- 0,
Virginia		27	300	_
Washington		17.31-42.69		_
West Virginia		. 30	W,C-18 °	
Wisconsin		45.50	(²³)	_
* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *		20.00	()	(W
				wid
Wyoming		25.38-46.15 ¹	W,C-18 *	-
wyomug		20.00 10.10	W,U-10	

U. S. Civil Employees 6634-75 121.15 W.C-18 *

1 The lower figure represents the benefit for a single worker; the higher the maximum for workers with dependents.

2 Benefits may not exceed period of time or amounts indicated.

3 Cover's only specified dust or pulmonary diseases and/or diseases caused by the inhalation of poisonous gases or fumes.

4 The lower figure represents payments to a widow only; the higher, maximum payments for all dependents.

6 Plus \$10 per dependent.

6 "W" means payment to widow until death or remarriage; "C" means payment to children until age specified.

7 Limited benefits for occupational disease in Arisona and Utah.

8 Limited benefits for silicosis and asbestosis in Arkansas, Illinois, Maine, Nevada, Vermont, and West Virginia.

9 Depending on size of award.

10 After maximum weeks of payment, reduced benefits may be paid until children reach the age of 18.

11 Period may be extended for additional time and amount not exceeding \$375 within the discretion of the board.

12 Divided into \$1,000 for hospital services and \$500 for medical and surgical. Commission may authorize an additional \$1,000.

NOTE: For a more complete comparison of the laws, write to the Superintent.

in estremation 16 alice NOTE: For a more complete comparison of the laws, write to the Superintendent of STATE WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION LAWS published by the U. S. Dej publication brought up to date to reflect more recent legislation.)

32

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der State Laws, January 1, 1956 Death Benefits

n In	Maximum Total Payments	Maximum ² Medical Care	Benefits for Vocational Rehabilitation	Coverage of Occupational Disease
	\$8,400	90 days-\$1,000	No	(8)
-	9,000 1-15,000	4 years	Yes	Full
6		(1)	Yes	Limited
	8,000	(*)	Yes	Full
9	10,000 '-12,500	2000-00	No	Full
	9859.50	6 mos.—\$1,000	No	Limited
6	000000000	esperiench	No	Full
	\$1000 mass	69400000	No	Full
6	*******	*********	Yes	Full
	*******	************	Yes	Full
		10 wks.—\$1,125 11	No	Limited
6	20,000	P0+1+5500	Yes	Full
3 6	8,000-10,000 4	*******	No	Limited
	9,250-12,000 4	(*)	No	Full
	12,500	##17000\$	No	Full
	Processes	\$1,500 12	No	Limited
	12,500	120 days 13-\$2,500	No	Limited
	9,500	\$2,500	No	(a)
	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	\$1,000	· No	Limited
	9,000	(")	No	Limited
	10,000	Annual Control	No	Full
3 6	10,000	Equipment .	Yes	Full
_	###\$#####	441.646144	No	Full
6	17,500	41.000kg/d	Yes	Full
	8,600	augutement	Yes	None
	12,000	\$6,703,000.4	Yes	Full
		18 mos.—\$2,500 14	No	(8)
	******	01170010	No	Full
6	*******	6 mos.15 5	No	Full
	11,250	in contribution.	No	Limited
	011110010	Buccooked	Yes	Full
	201492840	2014001420	No	Limited
8	010111000	basephon	Yes	Full
	10,000-	exempted.	No	Limited
9	900006499	Quantum a	Yes	Full
	12,000	appropriate	Yes	Full
	13,500	Greenest	No	Limited
6	Berringung	peliconnect	Yes	Full
	00000000	120 days-\$450 14	No	Limited
	D1101-0000	50000000	Yes	Full
	8,000	-	No	Full
	7,500 17-9,000 4	20 wks.—\$1,000	No	Limited
6	10,000	1 yr\$1,500	No	Limited 18
	9,000	4 wks. 10	No	Limited
	8,800-10,759.38 4	(7)	Yes	Full
	9,240	\$2,500 "	No	Limited
	8,100	60 days "	No	Full
6	5000000	who are	No	Full
6	*******	\$1,600 ^{22 8}	Yes	Full
V	13,000 (Widows only) (For vidows plus children, no maximum set)	No Limitation	Yes	Full
	6,000-12,350 4	*********	No	None
			Yes	Full

[&]quot;Additional time may be authorized in extreme cases. In case of occupational disease, an additional ninety days.

"In cases of total disability where the \$2,500 is insufficient to meet all hospitalization expenses, \$1,000 additional may be allowed.

"May be extended for specified limited period of time.

"Hospitalization for 120 days in addition to the \$450 total medical and surgical allowance.

"Tor 4 times the average annual earnings whichever is less.

"Full coverage optional with employer.

"Up to 91 days for medical care may be authorized by the board.

"Plus \$2 per dependent child under 21.

"Commission may extend for an additional period of 1 year.

"May be increased by \$800.

"Maximum death benefits payable to the widow are \$13,000, usually payable in weekly installments of 50% of weekly earnings (maximum weekly carnings, established in 1955 legislation, are \$65). However, the Industrial Commission may vary the payments, depending upon the circumstances of each case. Additional benefits payable from Children's Fund to the widow for children under 16 years of age (13% of the widow's benefit is usually the weekly or monthly allowance made for each dependent child.)

lent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., for S. Department of Labor. Price: 20 cents. (The above table is based on that

Unemployment Insurance Unde

State	Average weekly benefit paid for total unemployment JanJune, '55	Maximum weekly benefit amount with and without dependents' allowances (Oct. 1, 1955)1	Average weekly total wages in covered employment, 1954
United States	\$25		\$75
Alabama	18	\$25	60
Alaska	34	45-70	121
Arizona	21	30	74
Arkansas	18	26	52
California	26	33	81
Colorado	26	28-35	74
Connecticut	27	35-52	77
Delaware	21	35	79
District of Columbia.	25	30	71
Florida	18	26	63
Georgia		26	58
Hawaii	21	35	59
ľdaho	24	30	66
Illinois	26	28-40	83
Indiana	24	30	78
Iowa	22	30	69
Kansas	24	32	78
Kentucky	22	28	66
Louisiana	23	25	65
Maine	19	30	62
Maryland	25	30-38	66
Massachusetts	25	2 25	68
Michigan	31	30-54	90
Minnesota	23	33	72
Mississippi	19	30	52
Missouri	21	25	73
Montana	22	26	68
Nebraska	24	28	67
Nevada	31	3050	80
New Hampshire		32	61
New Jersey		35	80
New Mexico	25	30	67
New York		36	81
North Carolina		30	55
North Dakota	26	26-35	68
Ohio	28	33-39	80
Oklahoma.	24	28	72
Oregon.	23	35	78
Pennsylvania	26	35	70
Rhode Island	23	30	66
South Carolina	18	26	55
South Dakota	23	25	64
Tennessee	19	30	63
Texas	18	28	71
Utah	25	33	66
Vermont	24	28	63
Virginia	19	24	61
Washington	25	35	78
West Virginia	21	30	73
Wisconsin	28	36	76
	29	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	
Wyoming	29	30-36	68

¹ Where two figures are shown, the smaller does not include dependents' a ³ \$3 per dependent up to average weekly wage.

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nder State Laws, January 1, 1956

re total			Claimants Who Exhausted Benefits July '54-June '55		Average employer tax
in ed ent, -	Duration of October	, 1955	Number	Average weeks of	(percent of taxable
	Minimum	Maximum		benefits drawn	payrolis)
			1,773,748	20	1.1
	11	20	35,081	18	.9
	15	26	3,961	22	2.7
	10	26	4,713	17	1.3
	10	18	18,125	15	1.2
	15	26	78,302	23	1.4
	10	20-26	4,254	17	.4
	10	26	25,285	22	1.2
	11	26	4,339	19	.5
	11	26	6,971	19	.4
. ;	4	16	29,965	13	.7
	20	20	37,292	18	1.2
	20	20	3,825	20	.9
	10	26	4,627	18	1.7
	10	26	108,610	19	.6
	6	20	68,561	16	.8
	6	24	/ 14,004	13	.4
	8	20	15,586	16	1.0
	26	26	36,813	26	1.6
	10	20	32,655	17	1.1
	23	23	11,279	20	1.6
	7	26	34,490	18	.6
	6	26	77,531	19	2.0
	9	26	91,636	22	1.3
	18	26	23,968	23	.7
	16	16	20,123	16	1.2
	1	24	42,408	19	.7
	20	20	3,272	20	1.2
	10	20	5,502	18	.6
	10	26	2,090	19	1.8
	26	26	5,534	. 26	1.7
	13	26	89,599	28	1.5
	12	24	4,516	20	1.1
	26	26	134,808	26	1.6
	26	26	87,448	25	1.5
	20	20	2,273	20	1.6
	9		77,160	25	.6
	6	22	18,061	16	.8
	12	26	18,164	20	1.2
	30	30	238,000	23	1.1
	10	26	21,976	18	2.7
	10	22	26,522	18	1.2
	10	20	2,110	14	.5
	22	22	51,919	22	
	9	24	46,584	14	1.5
	15	26	4,347	21	1.1
	26	26	3,700	23	1.1
	6	16	3,100	12	
	12	26	25,421	23	.4
	24	24			2.0
	10	261/2	36,625	24	.7
			46,814	4 =	.8
	8	26	2,908	15	.9

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ID CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

N. W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

The Greater Danger

The Post-Stalin Pattern for Communist World Conquest

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS



Published by

American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations

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THE GREATER DANGER

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Foreword

Where there is no democracy, there can be no free trade union movement. Where there is no free trade union movement, the democratic way of life cannot live—let alone thrive. And without freedom, peace and social justice are in constant peril.

That is why American labor has the greatest interest in the maintenance of world peace and in the advancement of human freedom and social justice. Anything that happens anywhere in the world affecting these vital interests of American labor is of the highest concern to our members as citizens of our country and as trade unionists.

Conscious of our responsibility to our nation, to our own labor movement, and to the international free trade union movement dedicated to the ideals of human liberty and world peace, we of the AFL-CIO are deeply interested in the deliberations and decisions of the last, the Twentieth, Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (C.P.S.U.). The latter now possesses the world's biggest military machine, dominates hundreds of millions of people in Europe and Asia and operates the most gigantic international fifth column in history—the worldwide Communist movement and its numerous open and concealed agencies.

This Communist Congress laid down a new line of strategy and tactics for the Kremlin dictatorship and all its satellites in their relations with the non-Soviet world. This Congress made a number of significant decisions aimed at strengthening the hold of the post-Stalin regime on the Soviet peoples. It also came forward with a program for streamlining the Communist Parties of all countries so as to improve their effectiveness as instruments of the Kremlin's foreign policy and their efficacy in promoting Soviet world domination and Communist subversion and enslavement. Consequently, the new Soviet line is a greater danger to human freedom and peace because it is more subtle and sinister and less openly brutal than Stalin's course.

What happened at this Soviet Communist Congress is, therefore, of real concern to every American worker and to our citizenry as a whole. By developing the fullest understanding of the aspirations, aims and actions of totalitarian Soviet Communism, as elaborated at this Soviet Communist Congress, our country and its democratic labor movement can the more easily fulfill their great responsibilities to the cause of human freedom and lasting world peace at this critical juncture of history. Towards furthering such understanding, "The Greater Danger" is published.

J. MEacuf

President, AFL-CIO.

Table of Contents

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Twentieth	Congress	of the	Communist	Party
	of the S	oviet	Union	

Chapter	1.	New Theories and Policies for International Communism	1
Chapter	2.	Down With the "Cult of the Individual": Long Live "Collective Leadership"	14
Chapter	3.	The Sixth Five-Year Plan	27
Chapter	4.	The Attitude of the West	37
Chapter	5.	Conclusion	40
		II .	
		Khrushchev's Secret Speech	
Chapter	6.	The Great Purges	42
Chapter	7.	Stalin During World War II	52
Chapter	8.	Stalin After the War	57
Chapter	9.	Stalin's Self-Glorification	60
Chapter	10.	Stalin's Methods of Rule	62
Chapter	11.	The Role of the Present Soviet Leaders Under the Stalin Regime	64
		III	
Re		ion of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. "On Overcoming the Personality Cult and Its Consequences"	
Chapter	12.	An Analysis and Evaluation	70
Appendix	αI.		78
Appendix	x II		81



The Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

NEW THEORIES AND POLICIES FOR INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM

SELDOM HAS A CONGRESS of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (C.P.S.U.) aroused so much interest in the entire world as has the 20th Congress which was held in Moscow in February 1956.

There are several reasons for the great attention paid to this Congress. As the first Congress held after the death of Stalin, it thus afforded an opportunity to review the changes in policy made by the present rulers in the Kremlin. But the real significance of the 20th Congress lies in the decisions it adopted. These decisions affect not only the Communist Parties outside the Iron Curtain. They are also of tremendous importance for the democracies. Consequently, it is imperative that freedom-loving forces everywhere study the deliberations of the recent Congress of the C.P.S.U. in order to evaluate the actions taken by the Communist leaders and adapt the strategy of the free world to the new course chartered by the Kremlin rulers.

The 20th Congress dealt with three principal issues: (1) international policies of Communism; (2) the regime of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union; and (3) the Sixth Five-Year Plan.

Since the Communist International was founded in 1919 by the Bolshevik Party, the international Communist movement has become increasingly dependent upon and subservient to the Soviet rulers in the Kremlin. It is they who have formulated, decided, and enforced Communist policies everywhere. In doing so, their sole purpose has been to serve the interests of the Moscow regime. Hence, the theories and activities of the Communist Parties outside the Soviet orbit have been changed constantly and consistently during the last few decades in accordance with the wishes and needs of the Soviet dictators. So-called right-wing policies have alternated with ultra-left tactics. These shifts have either reflected factional fights in the Soviet ruling cliques or changes in Moscow's foreign policy.

The 20th Congress marks another of those shifts in the international policies of Communism. The new doctrines and the new strategy that were proclaimed correspond to the "new look" foreign policy pursued by the Kremlin since Stalin's death. Khrushchev and his "collective" leadership have deemed it necessary to supplement the policy of "peaceful co-existence" with a return by the Communist Parties abroad to the united front and popular front tactics of the 'thirties and the first post-war years.

But just as the foreign policy of the post-Stalin rulers is a mixture of the aggressive strategy applied by the deceased dictator and the "spirit of Geneva," so the new course to be followed by international Communism is a compromise between a policy consisting of an open frontal attack on democracy and the more subtle methods of infiltration and subversion. And just as in the field of foreign policy the "new look" does not mean an abandonment of Soviet imperialism, so the united front tactics do not signify a renunciation of the ultimate goal of international Communism: the establishment of a one-party totalitarian dictatorship in all countries.

"Capitalism" Dying—Communism Triumphant

The 20th Congress made it abundantly clear that Moscow is, more than ever, convinced of the final victory of Communism on a global scale. In his report, Khrushchev, the principal speaker at the Congress, painted in sharply contrasting colors the picture of the situation in the capitalist countries and in the Soviet Empire. While he boasted of "steady economic advance in the U.S.S.R. and the People's Democracies," he asserted that:

"The trend of capitalist economy is that of the everincreasing enrichment of the monopolies, the further intensification of exploitation and cuts in the living standards of millions of working people, particularly in the colonial and dependent countries, of increased militarization of the economy, the exacerbation of the competitive struggle among the capitalist countries and the maturing of new economic crises and upheavals."

According to Khrushchev, capitalist world economy has become still more unstable, the "general crisis of capitalism has continued to deepen," the exploitation of the working class has been sharply intensified, the living standards of the working people have been reduced and the United States and Great Britain have continued to wage a fierce battle against each other. He stated that "only a temporary coincidence of circumstances favorable to capitalism [above all rearmament] prevented the crisis phenomena developing into a deep economic crisis."

D. T. Shepilov, now Foreign Minister and member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., elaborated on Khrushchev's general thesis of the "decay" and "dying-away" of present-day capitalism. He maintained that, "distinct from the middle 'twenties," it was not possible now to speak of "a stabilization of capitalism, not even partial, conditional or restricted."

In other words, in the eyes of the Soviet "theoreticians," the economy of the free world has deteriorated for the last thirty years. The phenomenal rise in productivity, the increased living standards of the workers, the enhanced prestige and social status of labor, the growth of the numerical, economic and political power of trade unions, the emergence of the welfare state—all these facts which have characterized the development of the democracies in the last decades—were completely ignored by the 20th Congress.

Though this distorted view of Western economy was in the best Stalinist tradition, the present rulers in the Kremlin felt obliged to take exception to one conclusion drawn by their late master from the theory of the "decay of capitalism." Stalin had said that "decaying capitalism" had nothing to offer to the Soviet Union. As is well known, his successors have adopted a different attitude. They are anxious to make use of the advances made by the West in science and technology.

Since the Communists are always able to adapt their "theory" to the practical needs of the policy they follow at a given moment, Khrushchev, Mikoyan and Shepilov made one reservation in their analysis of "decaying capitalism." They distinguished between the "decay" and the "stagnation" of capitalism. While reaffirming the thesis of "capitalist decay," they rejected the doctrine of "capitalist stagnation," i.e., a halt in production and technical progress of the economically advanced countries. Through such casuistry they hope, on the one hand, to save the fundamental Communist doctrine of the certain doom of capitalism and, on the other hand, to justify their eagerness to acquire and make use of capitalist "know-how."

Indorse Stalin's Foreign Policies

In dealing with international relations, Khrushchev's report compared the foreign policy of the Soviet Empire with the foreign policy of the democracies. It goes without saying that this comparison was highly unfavorable to the West. He repeated the old Communist clichés about the "imperialist policy of lining up aggressive blocs and fanning the cold war." As usual, the United States was branded the main culprit. In accordance with the Kremlin's present foreign policy, much attention was paid to the neutral countries, above all in Asia. They were praised for having identical views on fundamental international issues with the Soviet Union. Warm words were also addressed to "fraternal Yugoslavia."

The Soviet Union was credited with having worked "vigorously" to ease international tension and to strengthen peace and with having scored "big successes"—one of them being the Geneva Summit Conference. But when Khrushchev discussed in detail the position Moscow takes on such decisive problems as German reunification, disarmament and security in Europe and Asia, he made it clear that the Soviets are not prepared to make any real concessions in the interest of a consolidation of peace.

At the same time, he stressed that the Kremlin intends to continue its present policy of "peaceful co-existence" from which the Soviet Union has indeed greatly benefited in the past. Khrushchev announced that, above all, Moscow will seek an expansion of "business and cultural contacts"—that is, to obtain from the West the strategic goods and scientific and technical information it so sorely needs.

The continuity of Soviet foreign policy has, at no time since the death of Stalin, been disturbed. Wishful thinkers who are eager to swallow the current Soviet myth that Stalin was aggressive but that Khrushchev is a dyed-in-the-wool peace-loving co-existentionalist would be well-advised to give realistic, serious thought to the following evaluation which appeared in the special issue of PRAVDA, March 5, 1954, featuring tributes to Stalin, one year after his death:

"Under the guidance of the Communist Party, the Soviet state is consistently pursuing a peace-loving foreign policy, the principles of which were worked out by Lenin and persistently implemented by Stalin. The peace-loving Soviet foreign policy arises from the Lenin-Stalin principle of the possibility for prolonged co-existence and peaceful competition of two different systems—the capitalist and the socialist."

Communists Now Strong Enough to Prevent War

In order to further the "new look" in Soviet foreign policy, the 20th Congress decided to revise some of the political theories of Communism. The first theory which was modified concerns the question whether it is possible to prevent war in the present era. Khrushchev answered this question in the affirmative. Referring to the "Marxist-Leninist precept that wars are inevitable as long as imperialism exists," he asserted that this thesis was correct in the past when "1) imperialism was an all-embracing world system and 2) the social and political forces which did not want war were weak, poorly organized, and hence unable to compel the imperialists to renounce war." Today, however, he said, "the situation has changed radically," and he pointed to the "world camp of Socialism which has become a mighty force" (meaning, of course, the Soviet Empire) and to the labor movement in the capitalist countries both of which, he stated, would together be able to prevent the "imperialists" from unleashing war.

Actually, this theory that war is at present not inevitable means no fundamental change. Khrushchev declared that

Hop Right In-



Talbert in N. Y. World-Telegram & Sun

Lenin's thesis that, as long as imperialism exists, the economic basis of war is also preserved, remains in force. The doctrine that imperialism is bound to breed wars and economic crises has always been one of the basic arguments adduced by Communists in advocating the necessity to overthrow capitalism. When the Communist rulers now emphasize the possibility of averting war through the combined efforts of the Soviet Union and "peace-loving" forces in non-Communist countries, they do this for practical

political reasons. As M. A. Suslov in his speech at the Congress put it:

"The knowledge that in this age war is not a fatal inevitability, is no longer unavoidable, will doubtlessly stimulate further expansion of the peace movement..."

In other words, Moscow hopes, through this shift, to find mass support for its large-scale "peace" offensive in the so-called uncommitted countries and in the West.

And, how much Khrushchev's "deviation" from Stalin takes place in the context of Stalinism, on this issue, is further shown in the following formulation which appeared in BOLSHEVIK, the central theoretical organ of the Soviet Communist Party, Number 11, June 15, 1951:

"Because of the increased strength of the U.S.S.R., because of the presence of the countries of Peoples' Democracy, because of the colossal extent of the organized mass movement for peace, because of the basic change in the relationship between the camp of peace, Socialism, and democracy, and the camp of war and imperialist reaction—a new war can be avoided if the people take the fate of peace in their own hands. To deny this possibility means to play into the hands of the warmongers, to sow abroad a feeling of hopelessness, despair and fatalism, instead of inspiring the masses to struggle against the warmongers."

In this connection, it is likewise interesting to note that during the period of the popular front tactics in the mid'thirties— when Moscow tried to exploit the yearning for peace of millions of people in the democracies—the Communists also proclaimed that war could be prevented through a "peace movement." This did not prevent Moscow from signing in 1939 the Stalin-Hitler Pact which gave Hitler the green light for starting World War II.

Different Roads to "Socialism"

Another Communist theory which was revised by the 20th Congress refers to the forms of transition to Socialism in different countries. In his report, Khrushchev stated that "alongside the Soviet form of reconstructing society on Socialist lines, we now have the form of People's Democ-

racy." He also referred to "many peculiarities in the process of Socialist construction" in Communist China and mentioned Yugoslavia where "specific concrete forms of economic management and organization of the state apparatus are arising in the process of Socialist construction." All these different "forms of transition to Socialism" received the approval of the Congress.

Actually, although the methods applied in building a "Socialist" society in these countries have not always followed exactly the Soviet pattern, there exists a similarity in regard to fundamental policies (one-party rule, despite occasional paper existence of so-called other parties, compulsory collectivization, forced industrialization, etc.). Thus, these "different forms of transition to Socialism" are not so different after all. Moreover, this new theory does not mean that Moscow now recognizes the satellites as equals. On the contrary, the Soviet rulers continue in their role as the overlords of all countries behind the Iron Curtain.

The 20th Congress also qualified the Communist theory that the Communist Party can conquer power only through an armed uprising. Khrushchev declared that "it is not true that we regard violence and civil war as the only way to remake society." Mikoyan, who spoke at length about this subject, gave examples of different roads to "Socialism": "anti-imperialist", "anti-feudal war" (Communist China); "partisan war" (Yugoslavia); "peaceful means" (People's Democracies). In reality, however, in all those cases the Communists succeeded in establishing their dictatorship only by using violence or under the cover of the Red Army—always in violation of democratic procedures.

Khrushchev even asserted that it was possible to establish "Socialism" by parliamentary means. In support of this thesis, Mikoyan quoted Karl Marx who, in 1872, had declared in Amsterdam that in countries like America and Britain—and possibly Holland— the workers might achieve their goal by peaceful means. Heretofore, anybody who had quoted that statement by Marx was violently denounced by the Communists as a "class traitor." Mikoyan also recalled that Lenin had thought it possible that in a small country surrounded by "Socialist" countries the transition to Socialism could take place peacefully.

What Lenin actually did say in October 1916 was the following:

"The dictatorship of the proletariat, of the only class that is thoroughly revolutionary, is essential for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and for frustrating its counterrevolutionary efforts. . . It cannot be denied, however, that, in certain cases, as exceptions to the rule—for example, in a small state adjacent to a big state in which the social revolution has been accomplished—the bourgeoisie, having become convinced that resistance is useless, and preferring to save their heads, may surrender power peacefully. It is much more probable, of course, that even in small states, Socialism will not be achieved without civil war, and, therefore, the only program international Social-Democracy can advance is the recognition of such a war." (Collected Works, Volume 19, page 256.)

This means that Lenin foresaw "peaceful" seizure of power by the "proletariat" only after the pattern followed some thirty years later by the Communists in the "Peoples' Democracies" (Czechoslovakia and others).

Mikoyan even went so far as to declare that the Bolshevik October Revolution was accomplished "almost peacefully." Actually, as is well known, the Bolsheviks seized power by employing armed force first, in order to overthrow, in November 1917, the democratic Kerensky government and, secondly, in order to dissolve, in January 1918, the democratically-elected Constituent Assembly whose overwhelming majority consisted of democratic Socialists.

Khrushchev made it perfectly clear that the Communists, regardless of the means employed by them in order to gain control of a country, after taking power, will destroy democracy and establish their totalitarian one-party regime. He said very cynically that "the use or non-use of violence in the transition to Socialism depends on the resistance of the exploiters, on whether the exploiting class itself resorts to violence, rather than on the proletariat." In other words, if the non-Communist forces submit voluntarily to Communist dictatorship, the Communists promise not to use force!

Khrushchev foresaw that in "the countries where capitalism is still strong and has a huge military and police ap-

"Ever See the Russian Rope Trick?"



(Seaman in ILGWU Justice)

paratus at its disposal, the reactionary forces will, of course, inevitably offer serious resistance; there the transition to Socialism will be attended by a sharp class revolutionary struggle." Obviously, he had in mind the United States and Great Britain. On the other hand, he believed that in a number of capitalist countries—he was probably thinking of former colonial countries and of France and Italy where the Communist Party is strong—the Communist Party has a chance of winning a "stable parliamentary majority, backed by a mass revolutionary movement of the proletariat," i.e., a Communist-controlled movement to terrorize the population and the Parliament. (Our emphasis.)

Of course, the Kremlin will seek to soft-pedal Lenin's emphasis on violence, in order to attract new supporters especially in Asia and among European Social Democrats for its united front maneuver. But as Communists, the Soviet rulers will continue to insist that, come what may,

the Communist Party—arrogating to itself everywhere the title of "vanguard" of the working class—must dominate the situation completely. This is decisive. All else is secondary for the role of Communist Parties on both sides of the Iron Curtain, after the 20th Congress, no less than before. Khrushchev made this clear to the 20th Congress when he declared:

"... The working class by rallying around itself the toiling peasantry, the intelligentsia, all patriotic forces, ... is in a position to defeat the reactionary forces opposed to popular interests, to capture a stable majority in parliament and to transform the latter from an organ of bourgeois democracy into a genuine instrument of the people's will. ... Whatever the form of transition to Socialism, the decisive and indispensible factor is the political leadership of the working class headed by its vanguard..." (Our emphasis.)

Moscow Continues to Brand Free Labor As Enemy Number One

In order to prevent anybody from suspecting that the Communists have become adherents of democratic Socialism, the Soviet rulers criticized severely "reformists" and "revisionists." Mikoyan characterized them as people who "have always... worked only to restrict the struggle of the working class to minor reforms" while, he said, it was necessary to accomplish a revolution. He concluded:

"That is why the question of the possibility of peaceful revolution in separate countries should not be confused with reformism. It should be remembered that revolution—peaceful or not peaceful—will always be revolution, while reformism will always remain a fruitless marking of time. Hence, in order to win, the working class must wage a ceaseless struggle against reformism and the illusions which reformism engenders in its ranks." (Emphasis in the original.)

Oddly enough, simultaneously with their attacks upon Social Democrats, the Soviet rulers called for a return to the "united front" and "popular front" tactics. In this connection, it might be useful to refer to the previous experience with those Communist tactics. The Communists first

called for a "united front" with the Socialists and free trade unions in the 'twenties. In the 'thirties, the Communist Parties employed the tactics of collaboration with Socialist organizations only as a stepping-stone to an ever-widening alliance with non-labor and even anti-labor forces. The "popular front" policy wound up with the Communists lining up with the Nazis and other Fascists.

From 1944-1947 the Communists staged a return to the united front and popular front strategy. They entered Socialist coalition governments. They succeeded in luring most of the free trade unions into the World Federation of Trade Unions (W.F.T.U.). The Communist leaders then also proclaimed—as they do today—that each country must seek its own road to "Socialism"; there was talk of a "French road to Socialism," a "German road to Socialism," etc. Simultaneously, the Communists courted the worst reactionary elements and in many instances fought the legitimate demands of the workers. This period ended abruptly when Moscow decided to terminate its war-time alliance with the democracies and to resort to acts of aggression (Greece, Berlin Blockade, etc.). The Cominform was founded. Communism again openly designated free labor as its enemy No. 1. The thesis that there were different paths to "Socialism" was soon condemned. The Communist Parties and their agencies busied themselves as the Kremlin's tools in the cold war.

Free labor should remember those lessons today as the Soviet rulers attempt to re-enact for the third time their popular-front game. In the final analysis, the real aim of this Communist strategy is the destruction of the free labor movement. Being an utterly reactionary force, Communism hates and fears free labor most. The Kremlin rulers feel more at home with non-labor forces than with representatives of free labor. Just as Stalin put highest trust in Hitler, Khrushchev confessed, during his recent visit to Great Britain, that he preferred the Conservatives to the Labor Party.

By making the above-mentioned changes in the international policies of Communism and by professing formally sincere interest in establishing "unity of the working-class," the Soviet leaders hope to convince public opinion in the

non-Communist countries that the aims and practices of Communism are peaceful. The Kremlin rulers hope to make Communism more palatable, more acceptable and even respectable in the eyes of the free world and thus to undermine the vigilance and the military, political and moral strength of the democracies.

Cominform Dissolved

Since the 20th Congress ended, Moscow has made another move to lull the free world into complacency. The Cominform has been dissolved. Thus, Khrushchev has repeated the trick which Stalin employed so successfully during World War II when he decreed the end of the Comintern. However, this time the West will not be so easily deceived. From several books which were written by non-Russian Communists who were on the staff of the Comintern—when the latter was officially dissolved—we have learned how the Comintern continued to operate in spite of its nominal non-existence. (See, for instance, Enrique Castro Delgado, J'ai Perdu La Foi à Moscou—I Lost My Faith At Moscow—Paris, Gallimard, 1950.)

Unlike the Comintern, the Cominform never played an important role. More and more, Moscow has abandoned the pretense that there existed an international organization of Communist Parties independent of the Kremlin. Every Communist Party has been made directly subject to the orders of the Soviet leaders. Consequently, the dissolution of the Cominform will not necessitate any change in the direction or operation of the international Communist movement.

The program and policies of the Communist Parties for the near future have been formulated and decided by the 20th Congress. It is significant that it was the Russian Communist Party alone—without seeking the advice, let alone the approval of the other Communist Parties—which modified the theories of international Communism and prescribed the new tactics for the Communists outside the Iron Curtain. Never before has a Congress of the C.P.S.U. done this so openly; never before have the relations between the Kremlin and the non-Soviet Communist Parties been so mercilessly exposed as relations between master and puppets.

DOWN WITH THE "CULT OF THE INDIVIDUAL": LONG LIVE "COLLECTIVE LEADERSHIP"

Important as are the changes which the 20th Congress decreed in regard to the policies of international Communism, they were not the most startling and far-reaching decisions made by the present leaders of the C.P.S.U. The truly sensational actions taken by the Congress concern the regime of the Soviet Communist Party. They center around the personality of Stalin, they signify a criticism of the inner party system he built, of his methods of rule.

Since Stalin's death in March, 1953, his successors have tended, although only slowly, hesitantly and waveringly, to fight against the personal aspects of the Stalin myth, i.e. against his deification which took place while he was alive. The 20th Congress formally authorized this fight and made

it the official policy of the Party.

The attack upon Stalin is being carried out in the form of a condemnation of the "cult of the individual" and under the slogan, "return to the Leninist principle of collective leadership." Khrushchev declared that since the 19th Congress in October 1952 it had been necessary "to re-establish the Party standards worked out by Lenin, which in the past had frequently been violated." He continued:

"It was of paramount importance to re-establish and to strengthen in every way the Leninist principle of collective leadership. The Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. tried to set an example in this matter. Every one can see how much the role of the Central Committee as the collective leader of our Party has grown in recent years. . .

"The Central Committee was concerned to develop the creative ability of Party members and all the working people, and to this end it took steps to explain widely the Marxist-Leninist conceptions of the role of the individual in history. It vigorously condemned the cult of the individual as being alien to the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, a cult which tends to make a particular leader a hero and miracle worker and at the same time belittles the role of the Party and the masses, and tends to reduce their creative effort. Currency of the cult of the individual tended to minimize the role of collective leadership in the Party, and at times resulted in serious drawbacks in our work."

Mikoyan even said that "for approximately twenty years we actually had no collective leadership, the cult of the individual . . . prevailed." That would mean that the present Soviet leaders fix the mid-'thirties, i.e. the time of the great purges, as the date when Stalin's personal role began. But in another part of his speech Mikoyan went still farther back. He reminded his audience of the "alarm Lenin felt as he departed from us, for the destinies of our Party and the revolution. He feared above all divisions in the Party. . ."—an allusion to the famous testament of Lenin in which he severely criticized Stalin, then General Secretary of the Bolshevik Party, and recommended that Stalin be removed from that post. Stalin suppressed the testament and Lenin's last will was not fulfilled.

At the end of his speech, Mikoyan exclaimed: "How glad Lenin would be, if now, after 32 years, he could see the organizational and political unity which exists today in the ranks of our Party and its leadership. . ."—thus implying that not only in "recent years," not only for "20 years," but ever since Lenin's death in 1924 Stalin had violated "Leninist standards of Party life."

Stalinist Technique Employed to Downgrade Stalin

In the speeches at the 20th Congress, in Khrushchev's secret speech to the delegates—to the extent that it was first reported in the press—and in the official statements made since then, the attacks against Stalin have been directed primarily against his role as the head of the Party, against his arbitrary, absolute and ruthless rule of the Party. Khrushchev, Mikovan and others have above all complained about the treatment Stalin dealt out to his close associates, all prominent Communists, in the leading bodies of the Party, the government and the army. A number of them became victims of Stalin's terror system. It is significant that those who have been publicly rehabilitated so far were all loyal Stalinists, men who supported Stalin against his adversaries in the struggle for Lenin's succession. On the other hand, those adversaries themselves, who were executed during the great purges in the 'thirties, were expressly excluded from the category of those who might be rehabili-

"He Done You Wrong"



(Seaman in ILGWU Justice)

tated. In his report to the 20th Congress Khrushchev stated:

"The Party's unity has been built up over the course of many years and decades; it grew stronger in battle with a host of enemies. The Trotskyites, Bukharinites, bourgeois nationalists, and other malignant enemies of the people, the men who would restore capitalism, tried desperately to undermine the Party's Leninist unity from within—and all of them broke their necks." (Our emphasis.)

In his secret speech to the delegates. Khrushchev is reported to have said that Stalin was a psychiatric case, suffering from megalomania, persecution psychosis, etc. Evidently, the present Soviet rulers want the Russian people to believe that Stalin was mad and wrong when he murdered those Politburo members who have been rehabilitated by Khrushchev and Company but that he was sane and right—when he drove to suicide or ordered Zinoviev, Bukharin, Tomsky, etc., to be executed.

Stalin's mass terror directed against millions of workers,

peasants and entire nationalities was not condemned by the 20th Congress. Since Stalin's death, his successors have made it plain through words and deeds that they intend to continue the terror system in its basic forms. In true Stalinist fashion, Beria was secretly arrested, tried and executed by his "colleagues." Khrushchev, in admitting that State Security agencies (secret police) had in a number of cases been guilty of "lawlessness" and "arbitrariness," made only the "Beria gang" responsible for this situation. But he defended the secret police as such in declaring that:

"It should be stated that because a number of cases have been reviewed and set aside, some comrades have begun to manifest a certain distrust for the workers of the State Security agencies. That, of course, is incorrect and very harmful."

In justification for the continued existence of the secret police system, he used the same arguments as Stalin did in defense of his terror methods. Khrushchev declared:

"It should not be forgotten that enemies have always tried and will go on trying to hinder the big job of building Communism. The capitalist world around us has sent a good many spies and saboteurs into our country. It would be naive to suppose that the enemies will now give up their attempts to harm us in every way. Everybody knows that the subversive activity against our country is openly supported and advertised by the reactionary circles of a number of capitalist states. It is enough to point out that since 1951, the United States has appropriated 100 million dollars annually for subversive activity against the Socialist countries. We must, therefore, in every way raise revolutionary vigilance among the Soviet people and strengthen the State Security agencies."

The bogus theory of "capitalist encirclement" of the Soviet Union has clearly not been buried with Stalin, its author.

There are some who attach undue significance to the fact that today there is no mass purge in the Soviet Union. This is supposed to be proof of the "liberalization" trend being fostered in accord with the policies of Khrushchev and his "collective leadership." Actually this attitude is without foundation of fact and flies in the face of all the facts of the history of the mass purge as a technique of Communist Party rule and inner regime.

The fact of the matter is that Stalin himself admitted at the Eighteenth Soviet Communist Party Congress, held in March 1939, that there were grave errors in the policy of the mass purge. He said:

"It cannot be said that the purge was not accompanied by grave mistakes. There were unfortunately more mistakes than might have been expected. Undoubtedly, we shall have no further need of resorting to the method of the mass purge."

The Resolution adopted by the 18th Congress declared:

"The method of the mass purge was of very little effect and did not achieve its purpose with regard to hostile elements who had wormed their way into the Party and who had masked their true character by double-dealing and deceiving the Party."

This resolution also sought to absolve Stalin and his Party leadership from all blame for the "excesses of the purge" and to assure members that in the future purges would be supervised by the Party. This is exactly the attempt Khrushchev and Bulganin are making today when they seek to blame all crimes on Stalin and Beria.

As a sop and guarantee to Party ranks, Party statutes were amended to include the following:

"11. When the question of the expulsion of a Party member or the reinstatement of an expelled member is discussed, the maximum caution and comradely consideration must be exercised and the grounds for the accusations brought against the Party member thoroughly investigated.

"12. Appeals against expulsion from the Party must be examined by the Party bodies to which they are addressed within not more than two weeks from date of receipt."

As shown by the latest executions (Bagirov and others) even the most violent expression of the purge continues to be a very important instrument of Party leadership. Since the purge is one of the essential means of stabilizing the totalitarian regime, it will continue to flourish as the pres-

ent ruling group stabilizes and consolidates itself. Whoever emerges as the undisputed leader will seek to make his dominance indisputable by relying on the purge as the powerful stabilizer.

"Judicial Reform" In U.S.S.R.

Immediately after Stalin's death, his successors announced that they would carry out a thorough judicial reform. Since then a few of the most despotic and shocking laws of the purge era have been abolished. But Soviet citizens continue to be deprived of most of the elementary personal guarantees provided for by the laws of democratic countries.

Khrushchev has sought to create the impression abroad and at home that the regime is being liberalized. Towards this end, Moscow has announced a decree which is supposed to do away with the special powers granted to the Soviet secret police for investigating acts of so-called sabotage and terrorism. This decree, however, covers only such cases investigated by the Security organs under sections 7, 8 and 9 of Articles 58 of the Criminal Code of the Russian Federation (R.S.F.S.R.) and the relevant sections in the codes of the other constituent Republics.

This decree does not take away, or even reduce, by one iota, the vast powers of the political police under other sections of this dreaded Article 58 which deals with economic sabotage, revealing of state or military secrets, espionage, high treason, theft of "Socialist" property, and contacts with foreigners and other such crimes. The secret police can, under other sections of Article 58, continue to exercise their powers of "investigation" just as brutally as they did under sections 7, 8, and 9. In fact, the Ministry of Interior continues its Special Board—as in the days of Stalin—with the power to incarcerate those whom it considers as "socially dangerous" for a term of five years—without any trial. As under Stalin, the Soviet system of "justice" is only a crude travesty of justice.

No general amnesty has been proclaimed. Faced with the necessity to remedy the growing lack of manpower and to increase labor productivity, the Soviet government has sent some of the inmates of concentration camps home and has "transformed" others into forced settlers. However, the slave labor camps have not been closed. New prisoners arrive in these camps daily. This has been reported by German prisoners just returned from Russian camps. Among the most recent arrivals were Georgians who had staged protest demonstrations against the demotion of their national hero, Stalin.

Their lot has benefited very little from Khrushchev's "liberal" policies. Austrians who have recently been released from Soviet slave labor camps have told in considerable detail how the Security police shot down camp inmates imprisoned during the Stalin era when they demanded their release under the new Party line. On the evening of April 3, 1956, serious rioting took place at Camp Mirnoje, commanded by Captain Gorelikov. The latter was killed during the revolt which was suppressed by special secret police units rushed from the Norilsk and Igarka districts, 250 miles to the north.

Over two hundred captives were slain by the secret police forces in the outbreaks which engulfed the camps of Vereshchagino, Verkhne Imbatskoe, and Mirnoje located on the Yenisei River, 500 miles north of Tomsk. It is clear that only "excesses" and some of the most obviously obnoxious practices of the secret police have been outlawed. The terror system as such has been maintained for the simple reason that no totalitarian regime can exist without terror.

Basic Stalinism Continues

Besides attacking Stalin's one-man rule, the 20th Congress criticized the late dictator as an ideologist, as a philosopher, as an economist and historian. His theoretical works, specially his "History of the C.P.S.U. (B), Short Course" and his essay on "Economic Problems of Socialism"—which only a short time ago were still considered as "sacred writings" by Communists throughout the world—were rejected as non-scholarly, biased and unsatisfactory. All this, of course, is part of the process to destroy the myth of a god-like, all-knowing and infallible Stalin.

However, the 20th Congress remained silent in regard to Stalin's all-important role in elaborating, determining, and executing the economic and foreign policies of the Soviet Union during the last three decades. After all, Stalin was not only the Ivan the Terrible of the Communist Party. He was also responsible for the ruthless carrying out of compulsory collectivization; forced industrialization with its priority on heavy industry, accompanied by ruthless exploitation of the workers and privations for the entire population; the Hitler-Stalin Pact; the annexations and aggressions of the post-war period; the unleashing of the cold war.

We have already mentioned that the 20th Congress reaffirmed the Soviet position—which was adopted when Stalin was still alive—on most of the fundamental international issues of our times. As Khrushchev demonstrated in India and a short while ago in Great Britain, one of the favorite topics of his speeches abroad is the Hitler-Stalin Pact which he continues to defend.

We shall see later that Stalin's successors are also continuing his economic policy without any decisive changes. In other words, the revision of Stalinism does not include the basic domestic and foreign policies as evolved by the deceased dictator. The present Soviet rulers are well aware of the danger that any reversal of Stalin's economic and international course might shake the very foundations of the Soviet slave empire. They also realize that any repudiation of Stalin's achievements would undermine their own prestige, since they themselves were among his chief lieutenants when those policies were originated and were put into practice.

Certainly Khrushchev and the other top leaders do not ignore the fact that the demotion of Stalin—limited as it is—affects their position as well. They cannot deny their knowledge of and participation in Stalin's crimes. It is reported that when, in his secret speech to the 20th Congress, Khrushchev denounced Stalin as a madman and assassin, a delegate asked him why he had not opposed the late despot. Khrushchev is said to have answered that he and the other members of Stalin's entourage feared for their lives. A pitiful answer—an answer which does not absolve them of their responsibility for the deaths of millions of innocent people.

Moreover, Khrushchev and his colleagues had defended

and praised publicly the very actions for which they now attack the dead tyrant. If Stalin was deified, it was they who were the first to glorify him. In demoting their late master they have also lowered their own stature.

No one should exaggerate the extent to which freedom of criticism is now permitted even to members within the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. In stressing this, we do not deny that the Khrushchev leadership faces many problems as a result of even its mere talk about permitting freedom to criticize. This is especially true in satellite countries like Poland and Czechoslovakia. The Communists will be permitted to criticize only that which they are ordered and allowed by the "collective leadership" to criticize.

If in the course of the process anyone goes beyond those orders or transgresses the line laid down by the "collective leadership," he will be denounced with the same venom and violence used in the days of Stalin. Thus we find PRAVDA declaring on April 5, 1956, in its leading editorial captioned: "The Communist Party Has Triumphed and Triumphs Through Loyalty to Leninism":

"At the same time, we cannot disregard instances when individual rotten elements try to make use of criticism and self-criticism for all sorts of slanderous fabrications and anti-Party assertions. For example, at a meeting of the Party unit of one of the scientific laboratories, staff members Avalov, Orlov, Nesterov, and Shchedrin used inner-Party democracy to make slanderous speeches directed against the Party policy and its Leninist foundations. The Communists in the Party unit did not display the proper militant, Bolshevist intolerance of these sallies against the Party. Provocative anti-Party statements were also made by L. Yaroshenko at the Party meeting of the Moscow Province Statistical Board. Such speeches are essentially echoes of someone else's voices, reiteration of threadbare, slanderous fictions of reactionary foreign propaganda."

Incidentally, the Yaroshenko censured by PRAVDA is the same Yaroshenko denounced by Stalin in 1952 in his "Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R." And this despite the fact that the latter Stalin "masterpiece" was repudiated at the 20th Congress by none other than Anastas I. Mikoyan, member of the Communist Party Presidium.

Obviously, Tovarish Yaroshenko was wrong in concluding that because Mikoyan repudiated the Stalin "analysis," he, as a Party member, had, under the new, "liberal" line, the right to uphold the views for which Stalin (and Mikoyan) condemned him in 1952.

"Return To Leninism"—Its Real Meaning

The Soviet rulers now call for a return to Leninism. By posing as true disciples of Lenin, they hope to repair the damage their reputations have lately suffered. Actually, the policy of the present Kremlin rulers is a far cry from Soviet rule under Lenin. Compared with conditions prevailing under the present regime in the Soviet Union, Lenin's regime was mild.

On the other hand, it should not be forgotten that without Leninism there would have been no Stalinism. It was Lenin who created the Bolshevik Party which from its very beginning was alien to the principles of a democratic party. It was Lenin who formulated the theory of the Communist revolution as an armed uprising of the minority of the population. Moreover, when Lenin carried out such a revolution by the minority of the population in November 1917, it was directed not against an autocratic regime but against a democratic, even a Socialist government. The so-called dictatorship of the proletariat which he established in Russia, has, in reality, always been only a one-party dictatorship over the entire Russian people including the workers.

It was Lenin who organized the Tcheka, the Soviet secret police. Although he did not carry out mass purges on the scale of those organized by Stalin, he ruthlessly persecuted his political enemies; he had them imprisoned and a number of them shot. He brutally suppressed the Kronstadt rebellion which had raised the demand of more freedom for Russia's toiling masses. It was Lenin who destroyed "innerparty democracy" when, at the 10th Congress of the Bolshevik Party in 1921, he outlawed the further existence of ideological groupings inside the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and insisted on iron discipline and blind obedience for its members.

It was Lenin who split the international labor movement and made the Communist International subservient to Moscow. He ordered the Communist Parties to wage an unrelenting war on "reformism"; i.e., the free labor movement.

It was Lenin who conceived the world as divided into two irreconcilably hostile camps: a "Socialist" camp and a "capitalist" camp between which—notwithstanding the gibberish of the present Soviet rulers about the "Leninist principle of co-existence"—no true and lasting cooperation was possible. Actually, Lenin spoke publicly only once of "co-existence." In an interview with the NEW YORK EVENING JOURNAL at the beginning of 1920, he declared that the Soviets were for a "peaceful co-existence of peoples, of workers and peasants of all nations who awake to a new life, a life without exploitation, without landowners, without capitalists, without businessmen." (Lenin, Works, Russian Edition, Vol. 30, p. 340.) That means Lenin thought co-existence possible only between Communist countries.

It was Lenin who wrote that "Soviet Socialist democracy is not contradictory to individual management and dictatorship in any way, that the will of a class may sometimes be carried out by a dictator, who at times may do more alone and who is frequently more necessary." (Selected Works, Vol. VIII, p. 222.) Lenin recognized and welcomed the trend to personal rule, inherent in every dictatorship. Thus, when Stalin established his one-man rule, he did not violate any teaching of Leninism.

In examining the meaning of the Khrushchev slogan "Return to Leninism," we must pose the following questions: (1) Will it bring democracy at home, to the various peoples now under Kremlin rule? (2) Will it bring peace to the peoples of the world yearning for peace and freedom? In pondering these questions, we must not forget that Lenin himself was a master at varying his tactics. He swung from War Communism to the N.E.P., from frontal assaults against Social Democrats to the tactics of the united front, and from aggression to "co-existence" and back to aggression. Thus, in 1918-19, he inspired and instigated the Bolshevik invasion of Finland and the Baltics. Then followed Moscow-instigated civil war in Hungary and Germany. In 1920 came the invasion of Poland. The seizure

of Outer Mongolia was ominously significant, in view of what has since happened on the Chinese mainland.

In short, as long as the monolithic Communist Party dictatorship, with its totalitarian control of every walk of life continues in the U.S.S.R., the roots and cause of the Communist evil will continue virile and virulent. As long as this situation prevails, no tactical change, no matter how important or spectacular, will alter the basic and over-riding fact that the Soviet state—regardless of who is or are at the helm—is a machine for a world-wide counter-revolution against human freedom and democracy, an infernal instrument for remolding all human society on the Soviet Communist pattern.

Will There Be a Successor to Stalin and Another Personal Dictatorship?

The present Kremlin leaders emphatically declare now that no return to a personal dictatorship is possible. They assert that they are all loyal adherents of the principle of "collective leadership." But actually Khrushchev is way out in front of the other members of the Presidium. He has pushed himself into the foreground by the same ruthless methods that Stalin employed in his rise to unlimited power. After having liquidated his most dangerous rival, Beria, he downgraded Malenkov, whom he forced publicly to confess mistakes which he, Khrushchev, himself had committed especially in agriculture. Then Khrushchev eliminated Molotov as a possible heir to Stalin's throne by subjecting him to public humiliation. Molotov has since been replaced as Foreign Minister. Khrushchev has seized control of the secret police. He has purged the Party machine of many of his opponents and replaced them with his henchmen. Even before the 20th Congress convened, Khrushchev had secured for himself a solid majority in the Party apparatus. He removed more than one-fourth of the Central Committee members elected at the 19th Party Congress. Out of 236 members and candidates (non-voting members) elected to the 19th Party Congress in October 1952, Khrushchev purged 54 before the 20th Congress. Five died a natural death.

The leading bodies which were elected at the Congress are his tools. Of the 133 members of the Central Committee, 55 are newcomers who owe their election to Khrushchev. The same holds true for the 74 new candidates of the Central Committee. (There are altogether 122 candidates.) Of the 11 members of the Presidium, two were newly elected—both are Khrushchev's men. Five of the six candidates of the Presidium were newly appointed at the 20th Congress—four of them are Party bosses who were elevated by Khrushchev. The most important organ of the Party, the Secretariat of the Central Committee, is headed by Khrushchev. Of the other seven members, four belong to his clique. In addition, he controls the newly created Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party for Russia proper (R.S.F.S.R.).

Khrushchev made the main report to the Congress—for seven hours. He laid down the line which all other leaders glowingly indorsed and all other speakers slavishly followed. He was applauded and praised almost in the same exaggerated manner as Stalin was.

This does not mean that the question of who shall be Stalin's successor has already been definitely settled in favor of Khrushchev. At this time, he does not yet have either the prestige, the authority, or the power Stalin enjoyed. But at the moment, it looks as if he will one day occupy in the Communist hierarchy the place left vacant by Stalin's death.

Streamlining the Communist Party Machine

A considerable part of Khrushchev's report to the 20th Congress was devoted to the activities of the Soviet Communist Party. His main thesis was that Party work must be closely linked with economic work and that the main tasks of the Party should lie in the field of economics. He called upon Party cadres "to study more thoroughly the technology and economics of industrial enterprises, collective farms, machine and tractor stations, and state farms so as to gain profound knowledge for directing their work." He bitterly complained about Party bureaucracy, red tape, divorce of Party activities from economic work, alienation

of Party officials from the masses, etc. In order to make Party leaders more interested in and feel more responsible for the jobs entrusted them, he proposed to have their salaries depend to a certain extent on the results they achieved.

In the data he gave, Khrushchev showed that the present C.P.S.U. is largely an organization in which paid full-time party functionaries prevail. Thus, of some 90,000 members in the coal industry, only 38,000 work underground in the mines; of more than 3 million Party members and candidate members living in rural localities, less than half actually work on collective farms, machine and tractor stations and state farms. To remedy this situation, Khrushchev urged on the one hand an increase in the recruiting of industrial workers, on the other hand, a reduction of the bureaucratic apparatus.

In short, his endeavor is to activate, to streamline the Communist Party, to end its rigidity and sterility, to awaken its members to their duties in the economic field, to bridge the gap between Communist Party work and the actual life of the country, to bring the Party closer to production.

Complaints about Party bureaucracy and proposals to overcome it are not new in Soviet Russia. It remains to be seen whether Khrushchev's plan will have greater success than had previous attempts to reform the Party. Such plans are, of course, not popular in the vast Party machine. However, the present Kremlin rulers are evidently aware of the fact that the large majority of the Russian people regard the Communist Party as a parasitic body and hate it. They seem to realize that without a rapprochement between Party and people the vast tasks set by the Sixth Five-Year Plan cannot be fulfilled.

THE SIXTH FIVE-YEAR PLAN

The 20th Congress adopted a new Five-Year Plan, the sixth of its kind (1956-1960). It is a highly ambitious program.

It cannot be denied that, since the end of World War II,

Soviet economy has made great progress as shown by the following official Kremlin figures:

Commodity	Unit	1945	1955
Coal	Million metric tons	149.3	390.1
Petroleum	Million metric tons	19.4	70.7
Electricity	Billion kilowatt-hours	43.2	170.2
Pig Iron	Million metric tons	8.9	33.3
Steel	Million metric tons	12.3	45.2
Cotton Cloth	Billion meters	1.6	5.9
Leather Shoes	Million pairs	64.5	297.4

This rise in production was achieved by giving priority to heavy industry while, at the same time, neglecting agriculture and the output of consumer goods. The main target of the new Five-Year Plan is to catch up with and to overtake the most developed industrial countries in the West in per capita production. Growth of industrial production in the five-year period is to be approximately 65 per cent. If the plan goals are attained, the Soviet Union would produce in 1960, as compared with U.S.A. production in 1955, (same units as above):

U.S.A.	Soviet Russia			
1955 Actual	Commodity	1955 Actual		1960 $Goal$
448	Coal	390.1		593
332	Petroleum	70.7		135
623	Electricity	170.2		320
70.9	Pig Iron	33.3		53
106	Steel	45.2		68.3

This table shows that Soviet industrial production is approaching the United States level. On the other hand, the economy of the entire Soviet bloc still has a long road ahead before reaching the output of the most important industrial products in the Western countries (U.S.A. and West Europe) as the following data show:

drope) as the following data show.	
Production	Soviet Plan
Actual 1954	Goal 1960
(In Mile	lion Tons)
a) Coal	
Soviet Union 26	5 593
Soviet bloc (including Soviet Union) 45	3
U.S.A. 486	
Western countries (including U.S.) 1,028	8

Production	Soviet Plan
Actual 1954	Goal 1960
(In Million	Tons)

b) Steel Soviet Union U.S.A. Western countries	(including U.S.)	51 186 270	68
c) Petroleum Soviet Union Soviet bloc U.S.A. Western countries	(including U.S.)	58 70 312 611	135
d) Electricity Soviet Union Soviet bloc U.S.A. Western countries	(In Billion (including U.S.)	Kilowatt 148 225 544 1,123	Hours) 320

In other words, the Soviet Union or the Soviet bloc may hope to overtake in the foreseeable future the production of some of the Western countries, but will not be able to surpass their total output.

In the Sixth Five-Year Plan, as in the previous plans, the emphasis will be on the development of heavy industry. Although an increase in consumer-goods industry and agriculture has been planned, these branches of the Soviet economy will continue to be its stepchildren.

The achievement of the far-reaching goals of the new Plan depends primarily on an increase in labor productivity. Eighty per cent of the rise in production is to be attained through increasing labor productivity. The following labor productivity targets have been set for 1956-1960: increase in industry of at least 50 per cent; in the building industry—at least 52 per cent; in state farms—at least 70 per cent; in collective farms—approximately 100 per cent. Although the Plan provides for expanded utilization of modern techniques and technology, it is evident that the rise in labor productivity is to be mainly the result of higher work norms, i.e., intensification of human work, increased exploitation.

Towards that end, output norms are to be revised "corresponding to the level of modern technology and organization of production." That is, they are to be raised; wage scales are to be changed, those of certain categories of engineers, technicians, and office employees are to be "adjusted," that is to be cut. This process has already begun. The method of giving bonuses is to be enhanced in order "to stimulate new technical innovations, higher labor productivity and reduction of production costs."

Thus, on April 25, 1956, the Soviet government decreed drastic salary cuts for some of the highest paid members of the Soviet professional and administrative groups. In some cases, the reduction is about 50 per cent. This salary "reform" is significant in two respects. It provides for a steeply graduated system of bonuses for professional workers. Then, the groups affected by the salary cuts are those whom some of the Western experts on the Soviet Union have considered to be the "new Soviet bourgeoisie"— the new source of power and hope for "liberalization" in the Soviet orbit.

The above decree shows how unfounded is this "theory" about technocrats coming to the fore as the new rulers of the U.S.S.R. and serving as the fountain of freedom and democracy. After, as well as before, the 20th Communist Congress, it is the Communist Party which has the monopoly of all power in the Soviet orbit. And whoever, or whatever clique, dominates the Communist Party dominates the life of the land—including the life of the technocrats, the workers, the peasants, the artists, the scientists, the soldiers, and whatever organized religious bodies there are still extant in the U.S.S.R.

The sole aim of Khrushchev's proposal to the 20th Congress for vitalizing the Communist Party in its structure and relations to the great mass of people was to enable the Communist Party to function all the more effectively as the instrument of the dictatorship over the people and as an ever greater driving force for world Communist domination.

At the same time, the new Plan calls for a substantial reduction of production and distribution costs. Industrial production costs, railway operating expenditures and distribution charges in state and co-operative trade are sched-

uled to decline by 17 per cent. The total amount of savings in all branches of the economy is expected to add up to approximately 500,000 million rubles over the five-year period—or to more than half of the total capital investments under the Sixth Five-Year program. It can be rightly assumed that wage cuts will contribute a considerable portion of these reductions in cost.

As a result of these wage "savings," the Soviet government will have more capital for export to underdeveloped countries—with a view of using such economic and commercial transactions as means of infiltrating and subverting the lands thus "aided" by the Kremlin. It is clear that the present Soviet economic and foreign trade offensive is organically bound up with the offensive against the standards and income of many workers in the Soviet Union.

It is all the more imperative for the Soviet economy to achieve greater labor productivity because manpower is scarce. Due to the purges, war casualties, the maintenance of an immense armed force, and a lowered birth rate resulting from the war and imprisonment of millions of men and women, Soviet labor resources have been greatly depleted. The announced reforms of the slave labor camps and the cut in the size of the Soviet Army are measures designed to remedy this situation.

Experience has taught the present Soviet rulers that terror alone is not likely to help them attain the high labor productivity targets of the Sixth Five-Year Plan. They have come to realize that after so many years of hardships the Soviet workers are weary of merely increased tasks without any adequate compensation. Hence, the new Plan provides for some material concessions to the Soviet people. First of all, the Kremlin has promised to cut working hours and to introduce, by 1960, the 40-hour week. It has also promised to increase wages, especially for the lowest-paid workers, to produce more consumer goods and to step up housing construction. However, since Moscow has always been generous in regard to promises, it remains to be seen how far these promises will be fulfilled.

In this connection, it is necessary to recall that the Stalinist Constitution—which has served for twenty years as a sacred fount of pure democracy in the U.S.S.R.—pro-

vides for a 7-hour workday for Soviet labor. This humanitarian and liberal guarantee incorporated in the very Constitution of the Soviet Republic has been a dead letter for two decades. Nobody in the U.S.S.R. dares talk about it. And the "collective leadership" is so contemptuous of the feelings and so cynical about the needs of the working people that it even promulgates "new" legislation to give the workers in the future that which was proclaimed for them twenty years ago!

At the 20th Congress, it was also announced that the pension system would be revised and that the lower categories of pensions would be increased. Such a reform was overdue—old age and disability pension benefits have been grossly inadequate. The educational system is likewise to be expanded to ten-year school attendance. Tuition fees for higher education which were introduced during the 'thirties are to be abolished, thus enabling children of lower-income families to attend high schools and colleges. At the same time, it will be possible for children of the higher strata of Soviet society to maintain a privileged status. Special boarding schools will be established for them.

Furthermore, the abolition of some of the most stringent labor laws of the Stalin era is also meant to improve the morale and, thereby, the efficiency of the workers. Henceforth, workers are no longer to be frozen to their jobs and liable to imprisonment for being absent from work without permission. However, these reforms are not as important as they seem to be. First of all, these laws have not been enforced for the last five years. Secondly, workers who change jobs are still frowned upon and will suffer financial disadvantages (loss of credits for certain social benefits); absenteeism continues to be liable to disciplinary measures. Thirdly, compulsion still rules labor relations. Thus a worker must continue to carry a work book. No worker can be hired without having presented his work book. Furthermore, the government has retained the right to draft young persons and graduates from universities and higher technical schools for certain types of work. In addition, a largescale so-called "voluntary" recruitment of workers for the Eastern parts of the country has been organized.

In improving somewhat the sad lot of the Soviet worker,

the Communist bosses are motivated solely by the need to enhance his efficiency. This is shown by the fact that in the post-Stalin period the Soviet "trade unions" have been assigned the same role they played under the late dictator Stalin—to serve primarily as organs subservient to the Communist Party.

It is significant that the role of the "trade unions" was not discussed in Bulganin's Report on the Sixth Five-Year Plan, but by Khrushchev in that part of his speech entitled "Party Organizational Work." At the 20th Congress, Khrushchev criticized the Communist Party for serious shortcomings in its activities. He also criticized the Soviet "trade unions" because of lack of militancy, "creative fervor, incisiveness, adherence to principle, and initiative in raising fundamental vitally important questions." He cited as an example the attitude of trade unions towards collective agreements. Collective agreements in Soviet Russia have, of course, nothing in common with free collective bargaining as we know it in the United States. Soviet collective agreements serve only the purpose of putting on paper wage rates fixed by the government.

Nevertheless, even those so-called "collective agreements" are, according to Khrushchev, often enough not carried out and "the trade unions keep silent, as though everything were right and proper." But what did Khrushchev propose in order to improve the work of the trade unions? He declared that "we must make the trade unions a genuine Leninist school of administration and management, a school of Communism for the millions of factory, office, and other workers." In other words, the Soviet "trade unions" will continue to serve the interests of the Communist Party ruling clique and not those of the workers. Thus, the Soviet worker will continue to be anything but free in the economic realm, just as he is anything but free on the political field.

That the Communist Party bosses see in the Soviet trade unions nothing but their tools was further stressed by a development subsequent to the 20th Congress. N. M. Shvernik, chairman of the "Central Council of Trade Unions," resigned from that post following his election as chairman of the Party Control Committee. He was replaced by a cer-



Seaman in ILGWU "Justice'

tain V. V. Grishin, an utterly insignificant person who had played no role in the trade unions. Thus, at the orders of the Kremlin chieftains, the highest trade union post has been entrusted to a nincompoop. Nothing could show clearer in what contempt the "collective leadership" holds the Soviet "trade unions."

What are the perspectives of Soviet economy? It is clear that even if the *entire* Sixth Five-Year Plan will not be fulfilled, the Soviet Union will be a formidable industrial power by 1960. The gap between her and the United States will have been considerably narrowed.

Furthermore, the Soviet Union will be increasingly able to expand its foreign trade—although not to the extent Khrushchev has boasted. The more Soviet production increases, the more Moscow will be able to export merchandise in exchange for goods it needs. In addition, Moscow will be in a position to grant substantial economic and technical aid to underdeveloped countries.

Nevertheless, Soviet economy suffers from serious weaknesses. It is doubtful whether these can be eliminated within the short period of the next five years. We have already mentioned her lack of manpower. As a result, the success of the new Plan depends upon a rapid rise in labor productivity. However, we must recall here that the *productivity objectives set for the preceding Five-Year Plan were not fulfilled*: for instance, in industry productivity rose only 44 per cent whereas the target was 50 per cent; agriculture, likewise, failed to reach its productivity goals. Will the Sixth Five-Year Plan prove to be more successful in this respect?

The Kremlin rulers hope to make the Russian worker produce more by loosening a little the iron grip which holds him down and by bettering his standard of living. But the nature of the totalitarian regime forecloses any real liberalization of its labor policy. And no substantial improvement in the working and living conditions of the workers is possible as long as the advance of the Soviet economy is based on ruthless exploitation of the working masses. Thus, while the new Plan envisages a 60 per cent increase in the national income, wage expenditures will amount to only 30 per cent and the income of the collective farm (kolkhoz) peasants will be raised by only 40 per cent.

In other words, production increases faster than the national income and the real income of wage earners and salaried employees lags behind the rise in national income. Moreover, the same discrepancy exists between the increase in labor productivity on the one hand and the rise of real wages and salaries on the other hand.

In addition, higher income would raise the demand for consumer goods. Any such demands would require an expansion of consumer-goods industries and would, consequently, endanger the continued preferential treatment accorded heavy industry in the Sixth Five-Year Plan. Higher wages would also result in larger food consumption and, especially, in greater demand for milk and meat products.

However, there is little chance that the present dark picture of Soviet agriculture will considerably brighten during the next five years. Communist policy towards the peasantry is the cause of agricultural production continuing

to lag behind. The simplest way to eliminate the bottlenecks in the field of agriculture would be to abandon compulsory collectivization. But Khrushchev, the present Kremlin boss, is, on the contrary, the champion of a policy which tends to destroy even the last vestiges of private peasant property and to transform the Russian peasants into farm laborers. For example, shortly after the 20th Congress, a decree was published which authorizes the kolkhozes to limit even the tiny individual plots and the restricted heads of cattle which the peasants are still permitted to possess. Simultaneously, it was decreed that, henceforth, the kolkhoz peasants are no longer to receive their wages after the harvest, but through advance payments in order to stimulate their material interest in higher output. These measures will certainly not be liked by the rural population. It is, therefore, doubtful whether such measures will contribute to a solution of the agricultural crisis.

It is likewise doubtful whether the increase in grain production—regarded by Khrushchev as a panacea for the ills which plague Soviet agriculture—can be attained. His plan to cultivate the barren lands ("virgin" soil) in Soviet Asia has so far been a failure and the expansion of the cultivation of corn upon which he has set so much store did not materialize last year—due to his own false directives. Of course, in his report to the 20th Congress, he blamed others for these false directives.

Another weakness of Soviet economy is connected with Russia's relations to the other Iron Curtain countries. The Kremlin will be able to fulfill its trade and aid commitments only with the help of its European puppet states. The economies of the satellites have been increasingly coordinated with and subordinated to the Soviet economy. In order to enable these countries to fulfill their production goals fixed by Moscow, the Soviet rulers have to provide them with the strategic goods they need and cannot get from abroad. This will be an additional strain on Soviet production. Complete co-ordination, "Gleichschaltung", of the economies of the satellite countries with Russia's economy—regardless of the needs of their own peoples—is bound to arouse resentment and resistance in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Eastern Germany, etc. This may very well interfere with Soviet economic calculations.

Finally, the more the ambitious industrialization projects of Communist China get started, the greater the demands on Soviet financial, economic and technical aid will become—thus increasing the burdens to which the Soviet economy will be subjected.

THE ATTITUDE OF THE WEST

In evaluating the results of the 20th Congress, the Western democracies should beware of certain pitfalls. Some experts on Soviet affairs tend to underestimate the importance of the decisions of the 20th Congress. According to them, nothing new has happened in the Soviet Union since Stalin's death, the place of the late tyrant has been filled by a new one, Khrushchev, and the policies adopted by the 20th Congress are a continuation of the course pursued by Stalin.

It is true that no fundamental changes have occurred either in regard to the regime itself or its aims and actions. The Soviet Union is still a totalitarian dictatorship and is still bent on conquering and transforming the world in its image. Nevertheless, the demotion of Stalin is a new element in Soviet politics. As events subsequent to the 20th Congress have already shown, it may have far-reaching consequences in the Soviet Union as well as in the satellites. To deny this would deprive the West of a powerful propaganda weapon against Communism everywhere.

Other observers have taken the opposite position. They hold that with the 20th Congress the Soviet Union has embarked on a road that will lead eventually to the establishment of genuine democracy in Russia. These experts already speak of a liberalization of the Soviet regime and its policies. They attribute this change to Soviet weakness and to the impact of Western strength.

This is not only wishful thinking but a dangerous illusion. In reality, the Soviet system is, after the 20th Congress, just as alien to and far from our kind of democracy as it was before the 20th Congress. At most, the present Kremlin rulers are resolved to eliminate some of the worst features of Stalin's rule. In doing this, they intend not to destroy but to strengthen Communist totalitarianism. They are certainly not contemplating—and they have said or done

nothing to justify such a hope—to restore democratic rights and liberties in their country. Nothing warrants the assumption that Khrushchev, awed by his visit to the British House of Commons, is planning to introduce the parliamentary system in Russia.

The West would likewise deceive itself if it ascribed the change in Soviet foreign policies to the might of the free world. In terms of military power, the Soviet Union is stronger than ever before—largely as a result of its enormous advances in the field of nuclear weapons. This military strength, together with Soviet industrial potential, has convinced the Kremlin rulers that they have to gain more from posing as champions of peace than from engaging in armed aggression of the Korean type. They have come to realize that the war in Korea was one of the worst Soviet blunders, since it caused the West to organize more efficiently its defense systems and alarmed and alienated some Asian neutral countries.

By advocating the theory that war is not inevitable, by pushing the popular front idea, by calling for disarmament and preaching "brotherly love" between nations, by offering aid to underdeveloped countries, Moscow seeks to undermine Western moral, political and economic resistance and to draw into its camp a number of so-called uncommitted countries. All talk about the "new look" being a manifestation of Soviet weakness only furthers such Soviet efforts, because it blunts the vigilance of the free world.

Finally, we must warn against a third false approach to developments in the Soviet Union. Those who favor this approach focus their attention on the top leadership in the Kremlin. Whatever happens in Russia is interpreted as merely a reflection of the struggle over the succession to Stalin, as moves made by the different factions in the Kremlin. Consequently, such students of Soviet affairs concentrate their observations on shifts of Party personnel in even the remotest parts of the U.S.S.R. They speculate at length about their meaning and significance for the "balance of power" within the ruling clique. In our opinion, such a method is sterile, since it is based largely on hypotheses and not on definite facts. Undoubtedly a struggle over who is to succeed Stalin is now being waged, but that alone does

not explain what is now going on in Soviet Russia. That alone cannot explain why the Soviet leaders decided upon the demotion of Stalin.

The as yet unsolved succession issue is no doubt one reason. At present, none of the Kremlin rulers has the prestige and power of Stalin. Hence co-operation among them, "collective leadership," is imperative in order to govern the Soviet Empire. Another reason may be the wish to curry favor abroad by attacking the "cult of the individual." The Soviet leaders hope, thereby, to be considered as "good democrats." The army may also have been interested in rebuking Stalin for having liquidated Tukhachevsky and other high army officers and for having given himself the entire credit for the defeat of Nazi aggression against Russia.

Moreover, there is widespread dissatisfaction among the Soviet intelligentsia and youth. They are tired of petty controls, of being held in leash and subjected to continuous brainwashing. German prisoners who recently returned from Soviet slave labor camps have reported that there exist in the U.S.S.R. opposition groups of intellectuals, students and young party workers who call for a return to Leninism. In taking over this slogan, the Kremlin leaders may hope to put an end to such opposition tendencies. Besides, every dictatorship needs a scapegoat on which it can put the blame for the failures of its policy and the hardships they impose upon the people. Stalin serves the present Soviet leadership as such a scapegoat.

Lastly, economic reasons have surely been a determining factor in the Kremlin's decision to open a campaign against Stalin. Terror and bureaucratization have stifled initiative, efficiency, enthusiasm, intellectual courage and freedom of decision. However, these are indispensible prerequisites for the success of the Sixth Five-Year Plan.

In denouncing the man who, for thirty years, was the personification of the Soviet regime, the Kremlin rulers are taking a dangerous gamble. Nobody knows what its outcome will be. Will the degradation of Stalin bind the Russian people closer to the Communist Party as Khrushchev and his associates hope? Or will the Russian people not be satisfied with the dethroning of Stalin and proceed to ques-

tion the soundness of a system which allowed such a monster to rise to absolute power and to terrorize for decades many millions of people? Since the 20th Congress, the Kremlin's anti-Stalin drive has had serious repercussions in the Soviet orbit and among the Communist Parties outside the Iron Curtain.

The democracies should do everything in their power to exploit this situation in order to promote the cause of freedom throughout the world and especially in the Soviet Empire. They should organize an extensive ideologicial campaign in order to enlighten international public opinion about the real meaning of the new Soviet course. Furthermore, the West should remain united and strong—militarily, politically, and economically. It should refuse to make any diplomatic concessions to Moscow.

Free labor everywhere should reject and thwart all Communist united front and popular front maneuvers.

No efforts should be spared to assist generously the underdeveloped countries in order to block Moscow's moves to draw them into the Soviet sphere of influence. In order to be able to fight Soviet colonialism effectively, the West should abandon the last vestiges of its own colonialism.

CONCLUSION

We cannot emphasize too forcefully that free labor and the free world should welcome even the slightest Soviet step away from the savagery of the Stalinist system. In the same spirit, we should encourage all forward steps—steps towards a more humane attitude and regard for human dignity— that might possibly be manifested in the Soviet "Paradise." But in this connection, we must never lose sight of the fact that it was the hostility and opposition of the free labor movement and the free world towards Communism and its inherent fallacies and bestialities which have had a great impact on the Soviet scene and have undoubtedly contributed towards the recent shifts for the better by the Kremlin.

Certainly, it is clear that we of free labor and the free world will never be able to encourage any progress whatsoever towards freedom and human decency in the U.S.S.R., if we keep silent about the dictatorship, its slave labor system, its destruction of free trade unions and other democratic institutions, its enslavement of other countries, its rule by force, fraud and hypocrisy, its world-wide Communist subversion, and the rest of the multitude of totalitarian evils still gripping the Soviet orbit. To hail those now at the helm in the U.S.S.R. as democrats and statesmen devoted to peace and social progress, to overlook their continued adherence to the basic foreign and domestic policies of Lenin and Stalin, would be the worst of folly and would only hurt the cause and forces of freedom inside the Iron Curtain Empire and gravely jeopardize the possibilities and prospects for a just and enduring world peace, human freedom, and social progress.

The free world must remain firm in its purpose of furthering and protecting peace, freedom, social justice and progress. In seeking to advance these ends, we must be flexible in our tactics. But flexibility of tactics does not mean or require flabbiness of basic purpose. Flexibility of tactics in the interest of serving a great purpose means the ability to apply different programs to meet the different situations and needs. Yes, it also means readiness by the forces of freedom to bear new burdens in facing up to the new challenge and new threats growing out of totalitarian Moscow's new strategy.

We do not need to fear Communism either as a threat or challenge. But we must understand the very nature and unalterable aims of Communism—in order to meet its challenge, defeat its threat, and assure the full and final triumph of human liberty. The strengthening of the social and economic fabric and unity of the free world, invincible deterrent military power, and the end of all colonialism are the basic guiding lines of strategy for all programs of action which the free nations individually and the free world collectively should adopt in the atomic age in order to speed the attainment of a truly new day for all mankind, without regard to race, color or creed.

11

Khrushchev's Secret Speech

THE GREAT PURGES

The sensation of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party was its criticism of the "cult of the individual" as personified by Stalin. However, this criticism, directed at the late dictator, was voiced timidly and with great restraint. Khrushchev himself accused Stalin only indirectly and rather cautiously. Hence, the public report by Khrushchev to the 20th Congress might have given the impression that the main villain was not Stalin, whose name he mentioned very casually only twice during the open sessions, but the "imperialist agent" Beria, who was the target of his vituperations.

However, all such false impressions were soon dispelled in consequence of Khrushchev's secret speech delivered to the 20th Congress on February 24 and 25, 1956. This speech—as first disclosed and published by the United States Department of State—had only one theme and one target: Stalin. Openly, violently and in minute details, it charged the dead despot with having committed the most horrible crimes imaginable.

In his address at the dramatic closed session, the present Soviet Party boss pursued three objectives: First, he wanted to substantiate, prove and justify the charges levelled by the Party leaders against Stalin—charges originally made under the guise of a condemnation of the "personality cult." Second, to defend and whitewash the present occupants of the Kremlin who were Stalin's "comrades-in-arms" when he was still alive. Third, to assure the assembled Communist Party officials that a return to Stalin's methods of rule was impossible and that the new Party chieftains would adhere strictly to the principle of "collective leadership."

In other words, the primary purpose of Khrushchev's secret report was to strengthen the position of himself and his colleagues and to win support of their policies. In his examination of Stalin's record, Khrushchev was not motivated by a desire to contribute to historical truth or to

promote an objective evaluation of the Stalin era. On the contrary, while thundering against the "Stalin myth," he sought to replace it with another one—the "Lenin myth." In the very process of deploring Stalin's falsifications of history, Khrushchev was producing a remarkable number of his own distortions of historical events. All in all, his address was significant not merely for what he said and revealed but also for what he ignored and omitted. Nevertheless, his speech is of the greatest importance. It is one of the most astounding and shocking political documents of all times.

It is the tale of incredible brutalities and horrors. It is the tale of a cruel absolute ruler who, suffering from megalomania and persecution psychosis, was devoid of any human feelings and terrorized and murdered millions of innocent people. At the same time, it is an indictment of those who today pose as Stalin's accusers and pretend to choke with moral indignation at his misdeeds but who, during his lifetime, were his closest associates and most zealous admirers. Above all, this Khrushchev address is the condemnation of a system under which such a maniac could gain unlimited power, cause untold miseries and continue for decades as the unchallenged master of an empire.

Khrushchev's speech dealt mainly with Stalin's actions during his last fifteen years of life. According to Khrushchev, the "deterioration" in Stalin's personality began during the mid-'thirties. Khrushchev realizes that this change did not occur without prior warnings. At the 20th Congress, the so-called Lenin testament was distributed among the delegates. This "testament" is a confidential letter which Lenin dictated in December 1922-January 1923. In it, Lenin said that Stalin, then General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, had concentrated "enormous power in his hands; and I am not sure that he always knows how to use that power with sufficient caution." Lenin characterized Stalin as "excessively rude" and proposed that he be removed from his position and replaced by a man who would be "more patient, more loyal, more polite and more attentive to comrades, less capricious, etc." than Stalin.

Lenin's advice was not followed. The 13th Congress of

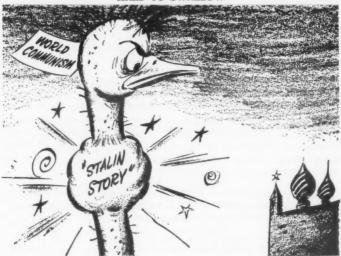
the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, held in 1924, after Lenin's death, decided not to remove Stalin from the post of Secretary General. In his secret speech, Khrushchev stated that the delegates made this decision in the hope that Stalin "would heed the critical remarks of Vladimir Ilyich (Lenin) and would be able to overcome the defects which caused Lenin serious anxiety."

But the fact of the matter is that Stalin was able to retain his position because, following Lenin's death, a factional fight had broken out in the Party. The resulting power constellation in the Central Committee favored Stalin. This struggle continued for ten years. It ended with the emergence of Stalin as the undisputed absolute dictator after he had eliminated all his political enemies—whom Khrushchev branded as "Trotskyites, Zinovievites, Bukharinites, and bourgeois nationalists." The present Kremlin rulers supported Stalin in that conflict. Even today they persistently defend and commend Stalin's crushing of the opposition. In his secret speech, Khrushchev declared: "Here Stalin played a positive role."

According to Khrushchev, this fight was waged on "ideological grounds" and "extreme repressive measures" were not used against those whom he brands as the "enemies of Leninism"—that is, in reality, of Stalin. It is true that Stalin did not yet have the power at that time to order the physical liquidation of his political opponents. But one would have to stretch the meaning of the term "ideological" pretty far to maintain, as Khrushchev does, that the defeat of the Trotskyites and the so-called right wing was attained by means of ideological weapons. Actually, the opposition was muzzled and terrorized; many of its leaders were arrested and deported; Trotsky was exiled; their followers were not only expelled from the Communist Party but also chased from their jobs and thrown out of their apartments.

Khrushchev would have the world believe that the "practice of mass repression" started only in the mid-'thirties. In reality, Stalin applied repressive measures on a mass scale years before. In the July 1928 meeting of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., Soviet Premier Rykov complained against the use of the Red Army for the forcible collection of grain. In the period of 1929-1932, at the peak of the collectivization drive, millions of peasants were de-

'HARD TO SWALLOW'



Fawcett in The Providence Journal

ported and lost their lives. In his lengthy secret speech, Khrushchev deliberately and conveniently overlooked this aspect of compulsory collectivization—a policy which he praised. He also chose not to mention the various trials staged in 1928-1931 against professional personnel and former Mensheviks. These trials, with their confessions, death sentences and executions, were really the dress rehearsal and the forerunners of the notorious trials of the 'thirties.

It is rather significant that Khrushchev should ignore these early manifestations of repression and should deplore only the repressive policy which began after 1934 when the 17th Congress of the C.P.S.U. was held. The explanation for this attitude is that the victims of the purges in the 'thirties were, in the main, Communists—either members of the inner-party opposition or, in Khrushchev's words, "honest Communists . . . , Party cadres who had borne the heavy load of the Civil War and the first and most difficult years of industrialization and collectivization, who actively

fought against the Trotskyites and the rightists for the Leninist Party line." It is this liquidation of Party members, especially of loyal Stalinists, which has aroused Khrushchev's ire and has contributed to his decision to tell the story of the massive purges as carried out by the late dictator.

Most of the facts which he revealed about the liquidation of those whom Stalin considered to be his enemies have been known outside of the Iron Curtain for quite some time. However, up to the moment of Khrushchev's speech, those facts were vigorously denied by Communists throughout the world and denounced as "capitalist slanders and lies." Now these crimes are not only confirmed but also condemned by the highest Communist authority.

One must grant that Khrushchev did not mince words in describing Stalin's crimes. Let us quote some of his accusations against the defunct despot:

"Stalin originated the concept 'enemy of the people.' This term automatically rendered it unnecessary that the ideological errors of a man or men engaged in a controversy be proven; this term made possible the usage of the most cruel repression..."

"The only proof of guilt used, against all norms of current legal science, was the 'confession' of the accused himself; and, as subsequent probing proved, 'confessions' were acquired through physical pressures against the accused."

"This led to glaring violations of revolutionary legality and to the fact that many entirely innocent persons, who in the past had defended the Party line, became victims."

"The formula 'enemy of the people' was specifically introduced for the purpose of physically annihilating such individuals."

Stalin "abandoned the method of ideological struggle for that of administrative violence, mass repressions and terror. He acted on an increasingly larger scale and more stubbornly through punitive organs, at the same time often violating all existing norms of morality and of Soviet laws."

"Arbitrary behavior by one person encouraged and permitted arbitrariness in others. Mass arrests and de-

portations of many thousands of people, execution without trial and without normal investigation created conditions of insecurity, fear and even desperation."

"Many thousands of people (fell) victim of the method of terror."

"Fabrication of cases."

"False accusations."

"Glaring abuses of Socialist legality which resulted in the death of innocent people."

"Barbaric tortures."

"Cruel and inhuman tortures."

"Stalin decided everything. He was the chief persecutor in these cases. Stalin not only agreed to but, on his own initiative, issued arrest orders."

In the case of the "doctors' plot" Khrushchev pointed out—

"(Stalin) said the academician Vinograd (one of the arrested) should be put in chains, another one should be beaten. . . Stalin told him (Minister of State Security Ignat') curtly: 'If you do not obtain confessions from the doctors we will shorten you by a head.' Stalin personally called the investigative judge, gave him instructions, advised him on which investigative methods should be used; these methods were simple—beat, beat and, once again, beat."

As Khrushchev put it, Stalin began to use the above described measures against the "Party cadres" after the 17th Congress, known as the "Congress of Victory"! It was at that Congress held in 1934 that Stalin's victory over his political opponents within the Party was celebrated. However, the leaders and followers of the opposition, although politically crushed and in great numbers arrested or deported, were still alive. Furthermore, within the ranks of Stalin's own supporters voices were heard demanding an end to the inner-party strife and calling for a reconciliation with the opposition. These same forces were aware of the Russian people's weariness after the grim years of 1929-

1933, the years of the first Five-Year Plan with its forced industrialization, compulsory collectivization, deportations, and famine. They advocated moderation in the carrying-out of Stalin's economic and domestic policies. Stalin, fearful that his newly gained absolute control of the Party was again endangered, decided to liquidate all his opponents—old and new.

The pretext for the mass purges set in motion by Stalin was the murder on December 1, 1934, of Sergei M. Kirov, Secretary of the Leningrad Communist Party organization. Stalin regarded Kirov as his strongest rival. In his secret speech, Khrushchev openly hinted that Kirov's murder was organized by Stalin—a fact long suspected. The first victims of the wave of terror that began after the assassination of Kirov were mainly members of the opposition. But soon the purges, arrests and executions reached into the ranks of loyal Stalinists. Even the "victors" of the 17th Congress were not spared. According to the figures cited by Khrushchev, of the 139 members and candidates of the Party's Central Committee elected at the 17th Congress, 98 persons, i.e. 70 per cent, were arrested and shot (mostly in 1937-38).

"The same fate," Khrushchev, stated, "met not only the Central Committee members but also the majority of the delegates to the 17th Party Congress. Of 1,966 delegates with either voting or advisory rights, 1,108 persons were arrested on charges of anti-revolutionary crimes, i.e., decidedly more than a majority."

As Khrushchev told the 20th Congress delegates: "Mass repressions grew tremendously from the end of 1936." N.K.V.D. chief Henry Yagoda was dismissed and later himself executed, because, as Stalin declared in a telegram on September 25, 1936, "Yagoda has definitely proved himself to be incapable of unmasking the Trotskyite-Zinovievite bloc." Nikolai I. Yezhov was appointed Yagoda's successor. The worst terror period began, the so-called Yezhovshchina. Yezhov was so "successful" that, according to Khrushchev, "the number of arrests based on charges of counter-revolutionary crimes had grown ten times between 1936 and 1937."

Khrushchev described how the N.K.V.D. prepared lists of arrested persons whose sentences were set in advance.

"Yezhov would send these lists to Stalin personally for his approval of the proposed punishment. In 1937-1938, 383 such lists, containing the names of many thousands of Party, government, Komsomol, army and economic workers, were sent to Stalin. He approved these lists."

Due to the fact that the mass purges resulted in "heavy cadre losses to the Party," even Stalin was forced at the end of 1938 to slow down on mass repressions. Yezhov, in his turn, was executed and replaced by Lavrenti P. Beria. But, as Khrushchev pointed out at the 20th Congress, arrests and executions continued well into 1939. For instance, Robert I. Eikhe, an old Bolshevik and candidate of the Politburo, was shot in February 1940. And with such arrests there continued the practice of fabricating cases and obtaining "confessions" through torture. In a telegram sent on January 20, 1939, to the leading Communist Party and N.K.V.D. sub-divisions, Stalin defended the application of "methods of physical pressure" by the secret police as follows:

"It is known that all bourgeois intelligence services use methods of physical influence against all representatives of the Socialist proletariat and that they use them in their most scandalous forms. The question arises as to why the Socialist intelligence service should be more humanitarian against the mad agents of the bourgeoisie, against the deadly enemies of the working class and of the kolkhoz workers. The Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) considers that physical pressure still should be used obligatorily, as an exception applicable to known and obstinate enemies of the people, as a method both justifiable and appropriate."

As we know, out of the mouth of Khrushchev himself, the N.K.V.D. proceeded accordingly right up to the moment of Stalin's death.

Khrushchev revealed in his secret speech that a number of the purge cases are now being reviewed and that, since 1954, 7,679 persons have been rehabilitated, many post-humously. He singled out a few of them—Robert I. Eikhe, Jan E. Rudzutak, Stanislav V. Kossior, Vlas Y. Chubar, Pavel P. Postyshev, Alexander V. Kosarev and others. Practically all of them were devoted Stalinists.

Obviously, no rehabilitation of the anti-Stalinist victims of the purges is planned. Throughout his secret speech as well as in his report to the 20th Congress, Khrushchev stressed that the fight against the opposition had been necessary and justified. Though he did not say so openly, he implied, however, that Stalin went too far in executing his former political rivals (Zinoviev, Bukharin, Rykov, etc.). He also admitted that there was no basis for Stalin's contention that mass repressions were called for because the "Trotskyites" constituted a danger to the Communist Party and the Soviet state.

Khrushchev recalled that, even at the height of Trotsky's influence in 1927, on the eve of the 15th Party Congress, only 4,000 votes were cast for the "Trotskyite-Zinovievite" opposition against 724,000 for the Party line. Ten years later, when the terror raged against alleged Trotskyites, "Trotskyism was completely disarmed." Accordingly, Khrushchev declared: "It is clear that, in the situation of Socialist victory, there was no basis for mass terror in the country."

At the February-March Central Committee Plenum in 1937, Stalin attempted to give a theoretical justification for the mass terror policy "under the pretext that, as we march forward toward Socialism, class war must allegedly sharpen."

In his secret speech Khrushchev rejected this "theory" in contrasting Lenin's and Stalin's position of the use of terror:

"Lenin taught that the application of revolutionary violence is necessitated by the resistance of the exploiting classes, and this referred to the era when the exploiting classes existed and were powerful.

"Stalin deviated from these clear and plain precepts of Lenin. Stalin put the Party and the N.K.V.D. up to the use of mass terror when the exploiting classes had been liquidated in our country and when there were no serious reasons for the use of extraordinary mass terror.

"This terror was actually directed not at the remnants of the defeated exploiting classes but against the honest workers of the party and of the Soviet state . . ."

According to Khrushchev, Lenin ordered the abandon-

ment of mass terror and the death penalty in January 1920. Actually the death penalty was abolished only on paper and only for two months. It was officially restored in May 1920. What is more, mass terror was used by Lenin in 1921 in order to suppress the Kronstadt revolt which was organized not by the "exploiting classes" but by loyal workers and peasants. The victims of the reprisals which followed the fall of Kronstadt numbered hundreds, if not thousands, and no public trials were held.

Furthermore, Khrushchev did not reject terror as such. He defended its use against the "exploiting classes." In Communist parlance, "exploiting classes" is a term applied to all opponents of the Communist regime. Moreover, this loose term has served to justify the repressive measures carried out by the ruling clique in the Communist Party against any one who was considered a threat to its hegemony. In his secret speech, Khrushchev himself accused the Trotskyites and the Bukharinites of following a political line which "led actually toward the restoration of capitalism and capitulation to the world bourgeoisie." In other words, Khrushchev charged them, as Stalin did, with having been agents of "capitalism," i.e., of the "exploiting classes."

Khrushchev condemned the Stalinist terror only because it "was actually directed not at the remnants of the defeated exploiting classes but the honest workers of the party and of the Soviet state." Here again his (belated) regrets concerned only the fate of the loyal Stalinists.

We have already mentioned that Khrushchev ridiculed Stalin's "theory" that "the closer we are to Socialism," the more class war increases. But in 1939, when Stalin called a halt to mass purges, he himself abandoned that formulation. In his report to the 18th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Stalin declared that there were no more "exploiters" left. Did he, however, draw from that admission the conclusion that, since there existed no longer any "exploiting classes" which had to be suppressed, the notorious N.K.V.D. should be abolished? Not at all. At that time, Stalin advanced a new "theory" in order to justify the continued application—although not on such a mass scale as in the preceding years—of repressive measures and the maintenance of the secret police. According

to Stalin, the task of the N.K.V.D. henceforth would be "the detection and punishment of the spies, assassins and wreckers sent into our country by foreign espionage services." (Stalin, From Socialism to Communism, New York, International Publishers, 1939, pp. 56-57.)

At the 20th Congress, Khrushchev expressly reaffirmed that "doctrine" of Stalin when he defended the need for and the usefulness of the M.V.D. (N.K.V.D.). In accordance with that "theory," Beria was labelled in 1953 as a "foreign agent," charged with "treason," and summarily executed.

Stalin's formulation of 1939 was just as ridiculous as his contention of 1937 about raging "class war" in the allegedly "Socialist" Soviet Union. Both "theories" were unfounded and unproven. They were not based on facts. They were evolved in order to serve the political purposes of the Kremlin. As long as the totalitarian Communist regime exists, it will have to apply terror in order to keep alive. Of course, it will always attempt to give a "theoretical" justification of its repressive policies by referring either to alleged internal enemies ("exploiting classes") or alleged foreign enemies ("imperialist agents").

STALIN DURING WORLD WAR II

One of the attributes which Stalin had ascribed to himself was that of "military genius." According to the official Stalinist legend, it was the brilliant strategist Stalin who, almost single-handed, defeated the Nazi war machine and assured Soviet Russia's victory over Hitler Germany. In his secret speech, Khrushchev viciously attacked that legend. He showed, that, far from saving the Soviet Union in World War II, Stalin almost succeeded in having Russia destroyed by the Nazi onslaught.

In discussing Stalin's role in the Second World War, Khrushchev began with a description of the situation on the eve of Hitler's invasion of Russia (June 22, 1941). He was silent on the events preceding that date, above all on the infamous Stalin-Hitler Pact which enabled the German dictator to launch World War II. The reason for Khrushchev's silence in regard to this specific crime committed by Stalin is a very simple one. As he has repeatedly empha-

sized in recent months, Khrushchev still approves of Stalin's pro-Nazi policy. As a matter of fact, he thinks so highly of Stalin's alliance with the worst political regime Germany ever had that a few months ago, during his visit to Great Britain, he threatened the British people with a repetition of Stalin's feat.

As a consequence of the close cooperation between Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union during the first twenty-one months of the war, Stalin had unbounded faith in the German dictator. His trust in his Nazi ally was so great that he ignored the numerous warnings which he received regarding an impending German attack. Among these warnings were several by Winston Churchill. At the 20th Congress, Khrushchev criticized Stalin for not having heeded these warnings. At the same time, however, he impugned Churchill's motives for warning the Soviet government. Khrushchev said:

"It is self-evident that Churchill did not do this at all because of his friendly feeling toward the Soviet nation.

"He had, in this, his own imperialistic goals—to bring Germany and the U.S.S.R. into a bloody war and thereby to strengthen the position of the British Empire."

But if that were true, why then the warning? By making such slurring remarks, Khrushchev only repeated the old lies about Allied policies which Stalin invented in order to justify his pact with Hitler.

As a result of Stalin's refusal to pay any attention to the warnings about the impending Nazi aggression, the German armies were able to march deep into Russian territory. But Hitler's initial great victories were also due to the military unpreparedness of the Red Army.

According to Khrushchev, Stalin was responsible for the sad state in which the Soviet armed forces found themselves at the moment of the Nazi attack. He declared that, contrary to Stalin's boasts:

"Our army was badly armed, . . . we did not have enough artillery, tanks and planes to throw the enemy back. . . . We started to modernize our military equipment only on the eve of the war. . . . At the outbreak of

the war we did not even have sufficient numbers of rifles to arm the mobilized manpower."

It is a well-known fact that these grave deficiencies were finally overcome thanks only to the extensive help which the Western Allies, and especially the United States, granted the Soviet Union during the war. Khrushchev, of course, ignored this fact completely in his secret speech.

According to Khrushchev, another factor which contributed to the severe defeats suffered by the Red Army in the first months of the Nazi invasion was:

"Stalin's annihilation of many military commanders and political workers during 1937-41, because of his suspiciousness and through slanderous accusations. During these years, repressions were instituted against certain parts of military cadres beginning literally at the company and batallion commander level and extending to the higher military centers. During this time the cadre of leaders who had gained military experience in Spain and in the Far East was almost completely liquidated."

Khrushchev named only a few of the military leaders purged by Stalin. Among them was Marshal Konstantin K. Rokossovsky, the present Soviet proconsul in Poland and butcher of the Poznan workers. In the version of his secret speech published by the State Department, Khrushchev did not mention Marshal Tukhachevsky who was executed in 1937 along with a number of his closest collaborators. It is, of course, not possible to state whether Khrushchev originally did refer to Tukhachevsky's fate or whether he omitted his name on purpose. It is not out of place to recollect here that Voroshilov was People's Commissar of Defense at the time Tukhachevsky and his comrades were sentenced to death.

With the same bitterness with which he criticized Stalin's "care-free attitude" on the eve of the German-Soviet war and failure to prepare the Red Army adequately for war, Khrushchev denounced his late master's conduct of the war. In this regard, Khrushchev accused Stalin of the following:

"After the first severe disaster and defeats at the front Stalin thought that this was the end.... After this Stalin for a long time actually did not do anything whatever....

Therefore the threatening danger which hung over our fatherland in the first period of the war was largely due to the faulty methods of directing the nation and the Party by Stalin himself . . . Even after the war began the nervousness and hysteria which Stalin demonstrated, interfering with actual military operations, caused our army serious damage. . . . During the whole patriotic war he never visited any section of the front or any liberated city. . . . Simultaneously, Stalin was interfering with operations and issuing orders that did not take into consideration the real situation at a given section of the front which could not help but result in huge personnel losses. . . . Stalin planned operations on a globe . . . he used to take the globe and trace the frontline on it. . . . The tactics on which Stalin insisted without having the essence of the conduct of battle operations cost us much blood...."

After having thus accused Stalin of defeatism, cowardice, incompetence and irresponsibility, Khrushchev proceeded to praise the Red Army and its commanders. He reproached Stalin for having begun, after the end of the war, "to downgrade many of the commanders who contributed so much to the victory of the enemy because Stalin excluded every possibility that services rendered at the front should be credited to anyone but himself." According to Khrushchev, Stalin was especially jealous of Marshal Georgi Zhukov whom he banished from Moscow after the war and put in charge of the military district of Odessa.

Khrushchev pointed out that the favorable turn which the war finally took was due only to the fact that the generals "on whose shoulders rested the whole weight of conducting the war" took independent action and adopted a flexible strategy as against the "incessant frontal attacks" demanded by Stalin.

During the war, Khrushchev held the post of political commissar (Politruk) at the Southwestern front. In his secret speech, he told at length how he tried in 1942 to avoid a severe defeat of the Soviet armies at Kharkov and how he failed because of Stalin's objections to his proposals. Thus, Khrushchev claimed for himself the credit for having manfully stood up against the late dictator!

In his entire discussion of World War II, Khrushchev



(Chicago Tribune)

acknowledged neither Allied aid and assistance given to the Soviet Union nor the military contributions of the West to the defeat of Nazi Germany. This "omission" was in true Stalinist fashion.

In examining the domestic policies pursued by Stalin during the war, Khrushchev branded as "monstrous acts" the mass deportations of whole Soviet nations from their native places. "This deportation action was not dictated by military considerations." Khrushchev named as minorities that were exiled the Karachai, the population of the Kalmyk Autonomous Republic, the Chechen and Ingush peoples, and the Balkars. He did not mention the Volga Germans and the Crimean Tartars who suffered the same

fate. He was also silent on the mass deportations carried out in the countries and areas annexed by Moscow during and after World War II (Poland, Baltic States, etc.). With great indignation Khrushchev exclaimed:

"Not only a Marxist-Leninist but also no man of common sense can grasp how it is possible to make whole nations responsible for inimical activity, including women, children, old people, Communists and Komsomols, to use mass repression against them, and to expose them to misery and suffering for the hostile acts of individual persons or groups of persons."

So far so good. But this same principle applies also to the deportations of the German populations of the Sudeten region, East and West Prussia, and Silesia, the German minorities in Poland, Hungary, Rumania, etc. Khrushchev had no word of repudiation of the inhuman treatment meted out to these unfortunate people who were held responsible for the crimes committed by Hitler and his gang. This brutal policy was carried out by the Soviet Army and the satellite Communists. Nor has Moscow since then given any sign of its readiness to undo the wrong done to the German expellees. Apparently, Khrushchev objects to mass deportations only in cases where "Communists and Komsomols" are involved.

STALIN AFTER THE WAR

When war engulfed the Soviet Union in June 1941, the country was just recovering from the wounds inflicted by the great purges of the 'thirties. Hardly had the war ended, when Stalin resumed his favorite hobby of discovering "plots" and liquidating alleged "enemies."

As Khrushchev mournfully complained:

"We must state that after the war the situation became even more complicated. Stalin became more capricious, irritable and brutal; in particular his suspicion grew. His persecution mania reached unbelievable dimensions."

Stalin's first well-known post-war victims were prominent Communist Party leaders, among them Nikolai A. Voznesensky, a Politburo member and President of the State Planning Commission, and A. A. Kuznetsov, Secre-

tary of the Central Committee, who, as Khrushchev stated "once stood very close to Stalin." Their case, the so-called "Leningrad Affair" was, as Khrushchev told the 20th Congress delegates, fabricated. According to him, it was M.V.D. chief Beria who, fearing that the growing influence of Voznesensky and Kuznetsov upon Stalin would harm his own position, aroused the latter's suspicion and engineered their doom with the help of his aide, Victor S. Abakumov, then Minister of State Security. In December 1954, Abakumov and several of his co-workers were executed on Khrushchev's orders.

The next "plot" was discovered in 1951, in Georgia. There a "Mingrelian nationalist organization" was said to exist "whose objective was the liquidation of the Soviet power in that republic with the help of imperialist powers." Ridiculing that idea, Khrushchev declared:

"As it developed, there was no nationalist organization in Georgia. Thousands of innocent persons fell victim to willfulness and lawlessness. All of this happened under the 'genial' leadership of Stalin, 'the great son of the Georgian nation,' as Georgians like to refer to Stalin."

Khrushchev's speech has failed to lift the mystery which still surrounds the "Leningrad case" as well as the "Mingrelian conspiracy." Both may have been parts of a clique struggle in the higher Party circles which was fought over the question of who will gain influence upon Stalin and perhaps over the issue of Stalin's succession.

The third post-war major purge dealt with by Khrushchev in his secret speech was the "affair of the doctor plotters." It will be recalled that, in January 1953, the Soviet press announced that a group of eminent Soviet medical specialists had been arrested. They were charged with having deliberately used improper medical techniques in order to murder their patients. They were said to have poisoned such top Communist leaders as Andrei A. Zhdanov and Alexander S. Shcherbakov and to have plotted the death of Marshals Konev, Vasilevsky, Govorov and others. The doctors would certainly have been executed if Stalin had not died shortly after their arrest.

The circumstances connected with the imprisonment of the Kremlin doctors continue to remain obscure. Khrushchev's secret speech has shed no light on them. It has been widely assumed that the case of the "doctors' plot" was part of the new great purges planned by Stalin after the 19th Party Congress of October 1952. Beria was probably one of the intended victims of the second "Yezhovshchina." This would explain why, after Stalin's death, Beria ordered the release and rehabilitation of the arrested doctors. Khrushchev's indignation about the persecution of the doctors has a hollow ring. Many students of Soviet affairs maintain that Khrushchev himself belonged, at that time, to a clique which fabricated the "doctors' plot" in order to eliminate Beria. In this connection, it is significant that one of Beria's bitterest foes, S. D. Ignatiev, who, as Minister of State Security, was responsible for the doctors' arrest, was saved by Khrushchev—the moment Beria began the investigation of the doctors' case. Though his deputy, Ryumin, was executed in July 1954, Ignatiev himself now occupies the post of First Secretary of the Communist Party Bashkirian Provincial Committee; he was present when Khrushchev delivered his secret speech at the 20th Congress.

Next to Stalin, Khrushchev denounced most violently Beria whom he described as Stalin's evil spirit. He declared:

"In organizing the various dirty and shameful cases, a very base role was played by the rabid enemy of our party, an agent of a foreign intelligence service, Beria, who had stolen into Stalin's confidence."

Beria certainly deserves neither our pity nor our defense. Succeeding Yezhov as head of the N.K.V.D., he was responsible for untold arrests, deportations and murders of innocent people. He was the ruthless organizer of the slave labor system on a mass scale. But it is not these crimes which formed the basis of Khrushchev's charges against Beria. In typical Stalinist fashion, Khrushchev accused Beria, first of all, of having been a spy. For a change he did not accuse Beria of having spied for the United States but for having been in the pay of the "Mussavat," the nationalist Moslem party which played a major role in Azerbaijan in 1917-1920! Second, he denounced Beria for having persecuted "good Bolsheviks."

Many of the stories Khrushchev told about Beria were

undoubtedly distorted and falsified—and for these two reasons:

First, in order to blacken Beria as much as possible and, thereby, justify Khrushchev's liquidation of Beria.

Second, in order to cover up the role played by Khrushchev himself in these crimes. Contrary to Khrushchev's assertion that Beria enjoyed Stalin's confidence until the latter's death, Beria had actually fallen in disgrace during the last months of the dictator.

In describing Stalin's post-war crimes, Khrushchev again limited himself, as he did when he reported on the great purges of the 'thirties, to deploring the fate of top functionaries of the Communist Party who became victims of Stalin's terror. However, he did not see it fit or find it necessary to utter one word of regret about the thousands of Russians and foreigners (war prisoners and civilians) who perished in Soviet prisons and concentration camps after the war. He did not denounce Stalin's anti-Semitism which resulted in the suppression of Jewish culture in the Soviet Union, the arrest and execution of eminent Jewish writers and religious leaders and which was one of the most disturbing aspects of many of the post-war purges and trials behind the Iron Curtain. With the exception of the blunders made by Stalin in regard to Tito, Khrushchev did not criticize Stalin's post-war aggressive foreign policy. The reason why he failed to do so is simple—he still approves of these policies. This includes Stalin's anti-Jewish measures. According to well-informed sources, Khrushchev himself is a rabid anti-Semite.

STALIN'S SELF-GLORIFICATION

According to Khrushchev, the "cult of the "individual" reached "such monstrous size" chiefly because of Stalin's self-glorification and "lack of even elementary modesty." As his first example, Khrushchev cited Stalin's "Short Biography" published in 1948. This book was characterized by Khrushchev as follows: "Expression of the most dissolute flattery, an example of making a man into a godhead, of transferring him into an infallible sage, "the greatest

leader, sublime strategist of all times and nations'... loathsome adulation."

It is a pity that Khrushchev did not cite, in this connection, at least a few examples of the servile compliments addressed to Stalin by the present Kremlin leaders themselves. That would have made for still more grotesque reading.

Khrushchev likewise denounced "The Short Course of the History of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks)" as "permeated with the cult of the individual" and distorting historical facts in the interest of Stalin's glory. In addition, he made ironical remarks about the Stalin prizes, the praise of Stalin in the national anthem, the naming of enterprises and towns after Stalin, the innumerable Stalin monuments erected throughout the country, etc.

Stalin had the truth changed to his liking not only in regard to the past but also in respect to present happenings. Khrushchev told his listeners that Stalin never travelled anywhere, that this alleged leader of the toiling masses did not meet any "city and collective workers" and did not know the real situation in the provinces (the last time he visited a village was in January 1928):

"He knew the country and agriculture only from films. And these films had dressed up and beautified the existing situation in agriculture. Many films so pictured collective farm life that the tables were bending down from the weight of turkeys and geese. Evidently Stalin thought that it was actually so."

If we believe Khrushchev, this ignorance led Stalin to make utterly absurd proposals. Shortly before his death, he proposed that the taxes paid by the kolkhozes (collective farms) and kolkhoz workers should be raised by 40,000,000,000 rubles. However, in 1952, for instance, the kolkhozes and kolkhoz workers received only 26,280,000,000 rubles for all their products delivered and sold to the government. "The proposal was not based on actual assessment of the situation but on the fantastic ideas of a person divorced from reality."

But does not this criticism apply to the entire agricul-

tural policy pursued by Stalin? Was not the very policy of compulsory collectivization itself based on the "fantastic ideas of a person divorced from reality" and, we may add, devoid of any human feelings? Khrushchev, of course, could not admit this. He is one of the most fanatical proponents of ruthless regimentation and exploitation of the peasants. By denouncing Stalin, Khrushchev hopes to make him responsible, in the eyes of the rural masses, for their misery. Thereby Khrushchev hopes to win for himself their confidence and support.

STALIN'S METHODS OF RULE

Khrushchev's indictment of Stalin and his recital of Stalin's revolting crimes raise the question: how could it happen? Aware of the fact that this question was bound to be foremost in the minds of his audience at the 20th Congress, Khrushchev had an answer ready. He explained that the evils of Stalinism originated in Stalin's personality defects and in the false and "un-Leninistic" methods of rule he used. Referring to Lenin's criticism of Stalin's character, Khrushchev said:

"These negative characteristics of his developed steadily and during the last years acquired an absolutely insufferable character... The negative characteristics of Stalin, which, in Lenin's time, were only incipient, transformed themselves during the last years into a grave abuse of power by Stalin, which caused untold harm to the Party."

According to Khrushchev, Stalin became a despot

"who absolutely did not tolerate collegiality in leadership and in work, and who practiced brutal violence, not only toward everything which opposed him, but also toward that which seemed to his capricious and despotic character contrary to his concepts. Stalin acted not through persuasion, explanation and patient cooperation with people, but by imposing his concepts and demanding absolute submission to his opinion. Whoever opposed this concept or tried to prove his viewpoint and the correctness of his position was doomed to removal from the leading collective and subsequent moral and physical annihilation."

Khrushchev complained that Stalin, "using his unlimited

power, allowed himself many abuses, acting in the name of the Central Committee, not asking for the opinion of the Committee members nor even of the members of the Central Committee's Political Bureau; often he did not inform them about his personal decisions concerning very important Party and government matters."

Stalin showed the same contempt towards Party Congresses which, according to the rules of the C.P.S.U. are, after all, the "highest organs" of the Communist Party. Thus, thirteen years elapsed between the 18th and 19th Congresses (1939-1952). Khrushchev revealed that Central Committee plenums, too, were hardly ever called and that, for instance, not a single Central Committee plenum was convened during the entire war.

Stalin resorted to an unrestricted one-man rule right after the 17th Congress (1934). Thus, Khrushchev informed the delegates:

"At that time, Stalin had so elevated himself above the Party and above the nation that he ceased to consider either the Central Committee or the Party. While he still reckoned with the opinion of the collective before the 17th Congress, after the complete political liquidation of the Trotskyites, Zinovievites and Bukharinites, when as a result of that fight and Socialist victories the Party achieved unity, Stalin ceased to an ever greater degree to consider the members of the Party's Central Committee and even the members of the Political Bureau. Stalin thought that now he could decide all things alone and all he needed were statisticians; he treated all others in such a way that they could only listen to and praise him."

In other words, after Stalin had succeeded, with the help of his unscrupulous faction—of which the present "collective leadership" was an organic and the decisive part—in defeating his inner-party enemies and in becoming the all-powerful boss of the Communist Party, he transformed the Party executive and the Party Congresses into mere rubber-stamps. Accordingly, as Khrushchev admitted, the Central Committee and the Political Bureau obediently approved of all repressive measures taken by Stalin during the period of the great purges and afterwards—right up to the time of

his death. Khrushchev mentioned only one instance where a member of the Central Committee dared to oppose Stalin. At the February-March Central Committee plenum of 1937—which adopted Stalin's proposal to step up the purges under Yezhov's direction—Pavel P. Postyshev, an old Bolshevik, objected to Stalin's revenge plans. In 1938, he was arrested and executed as a "people's enemy."

After 1948-49, no Central Committee plenary sessions were held. The Political Bureau, too, was sharply curtailed in its activities; in Stalin's last years meetings were convened only occasionally. Stalin either "often failed for months to take up some unusually important problems, concerning the life of the Party and of the state, whose solution could not be postponed" or he made the decisions by himself.

The situation worsened after the 19th Congress. In describing developments during the last months of Stalin's life, Khrushchev reached the most crucial point of his whole exposé: namely, the delicate matter of the attitude and activities of the present Kremlin leaders during the long years of Stalin's despotic rule.

THE ROLE OF THE PRESENT SOVIET LEADERS UNDER THE STALIN REGIME

Sensing that many Congress delegates might have found it strange that such violent accusations were now directed against Stalin by those who were for years his closest and most faithful associates, Khrushchev said:

"Some comrades may ask us: Where were the members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee? Why did they not assert themselves against the cult of the individual in time? And why is this being done only now?"

Khrushchev's answer to these hypothetical questions is highly revealing. He replied that, "first of all, we have to consider the fact that the members of the Political Bureau viewed these matters in a different way at different times." Initially, he said, "many of them backed Stalin actively." He mentioned—approvingly—Stalin's fight against the opposition and his forced collectivization and industrialization policies. In other words, they supported Stalin in his struggle for power and in his ruthless oppression and exploitation of the Russian people. As soon as Stalin had established his personal dictatorship he rewarded them by promoting them rapidly in the Party hierarchy. Khrushchev continued:

"Later, however, Stalin, abusing his power more and more, began to fight eminent Party and government leaders and to use terroristic methods against honest Soviet people . . . Attempts to oppose groundless suspicions and charges resulted in the opponent falling victim of the repression. This characterized the fall of Comrade Postyshev."

Clearly then, when the great purges began, it became too dangerous to oppose Stalin! What Khrushchev did not say is that the present Kremlin rulers not only approved Stalin's terroristic policies but actively participated in carrying them out. Moreover, they personally profited by doing so.

Thus, Khrushchev owed his entire Party career to Stalin with whom he was closely associated since 1930. During the 'thirties, he purged first the Moscow Communist Party organization whose First Secretary he became in 1934. Then Khrushchev purged the Ukraine whose chief he became after the arrest in 1938 of Stanislav V. Kossior, General Secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party. He advanced rapidly in the Party apparatus. In 1934, he was elected to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. He became a candidate member of the Politburo in January 1938. After Khrushchev's successful purge of the Ukrainian Communist Party, the grateful Stalin promoted him in March 1939 to full member of the Politburo. During the war, he was one of the Politruks; in 1943, he became chairman of the Ukrainian Council of People's Commissars. In the last years of Stalin's life he was in charge of agricultural policy. At the 19th Congress, he was one of the main reporters. When Stalin died, Khrushchev was one of the 10 members of the Secretariat of the Central Committee.

Now let us look at the record of Bulganin. He became

Mayor of Moscow in 1931 and a Deputy Premier of the Soviet Union in 1938. He played a role in the war: first, as one of the political commissars appointed by Stalin to assure the loyalty of the Red Army; and later as a member of the Council of Defense which directed the war. He became a member of the Politburo soon after World War II. He was Minister of Defense in 1947-49. At the 19th Congress, he was reelected to the Politburo (then called Presidium of the Central Committee). This is certainly not the career of a critic of Stalin!

Another member of the present "collective leadership," Malenkov, was especially close to Stalin. In 1925, he was appointed personal secretary to Stalin. In March 1934, Stalin appointed him a member of the Orgburo and head of the personnel department. In that post, he played an active part in organizing the great purges. The 18th Congress of March 1939 elected him a member of the Central Committee which, in turn, appointed him one of its five secretaries. In February 1941, he became a substitute member of the Politburo. In March 1946, he became a full member. At the 19th Congress, he presented the main report and was elected member of the Central Committee, member of the Presidium, and member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee.

As far as the present head of State of the U.S.S.R., Klementi Voroshilov, is concerned, he was devoted to Stalin since the days of the Civil War. A member of the Central Committee since 1921 and of the Politburo since 1926, he was People's Commissar for army affairs from 1926-1940. From May 1940 on he was a deputy chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, and from July 1941 a member of the five-man State Defense Committee. The 19th Congress reelected him as a Central Committee member. The latter appointed him a member of its Presidium.

Finally, we should mention Molotov, one of Stalin's real stalwarts. He worked closely with Stalin from 1920 until 1953. Elected to the Central Committee in 1921, he became a full member of the Politburo in 1926. As Premier of the Soviet Union since 1930, he helped to carry out Stalin's ruthless compulsory collectivization and industrialization programs. In 1939, he became Foreign Minister. In that



Herblock in The Washington Post and Times-Heraid

"Explain why you ain't in there enjoying the new freedom."

capacity, he concluded the Nazi-Soviet Pact on the eve of World War II. In 1941, Stalin made him first Deputy Premier of the Soviet Union. At the time of Stalin's death he was a member of the Central Committee and of its Presidium.

These, then, are Stalin's successors, his heirs who are at present ruling the Soviet Empire. As their political life histories show, they bear all responsibility for the criminal policies of which they now accuse Stalin in righteous indignation. They were right there when these policies were decided and carried out. Khrushchev lied when he maintained in his secret speech that they learned about the horrible acts of Stalin only after the death of the tyrant. They not only knew about these crimes but approved them. Without their support, these crimes could never have been committed. Soviet history of the last twenty years proves that only those Communist leaders survived who cringed before Stalin, who were his staunchest backers, who were zealous and obedient executors of his orders and who flattered him in a most abject manner.

Apparently, the ever mistrustful Stalin had, at the end, begun to suspect the loyalty of even his most eager henchmen. According to Khrushchev, Stalin considered Voroshilov an "English agent" and forbade him to attend Politburo sessions or to receive documents. Molotov and Mikoyan had also aroused Stalin's displeasure. Bulganin and Khrushchev lived in constant fear of arrest. In his secret speech, Khrushchev even went so far as to suggest that Stalin planned to "finish off" the members of the old Politburo and to replace them by less experienced persons "so that these would extol him in all sorts of ways."

Thus, from the point of view of Khrushchev and his colleagues, Stalin died at a very opportune moment. And it may even be possible that they had a hand in hastening the arrival of that moment. Perhaps, in order to dispel any such notion, Khrushchev, at the end of his speech, praised Stalin for the "great services" he "doubtlessly" performed "to the party, to the working class and to the international workers' movement." His were not "the deeds of a giddy despot. He considered that this should be done in the interest of the Party, of the working masses, in the name of

the defense of the revolution's gains. In this lies the whole tragedy!"

As Khrushchev had emphasized throughout his entire speech, this "tragedy" concerns only the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Accordingly, he declared in conclusion that "we cannot let this matter get out of the Party, especially not to the press. It is for this reason that we are considering it here at a closed Congress session. We should know the limits: we should not give ammunition to the enemy; we should not wash our dirty linen before their eyes."

Fortunately, the wish and hope of the present Kremlin rulers to keep Stalin's skeleton safely locked in the Party's closet, hidden in all its ugliness from the Russian people and the free world, that is "the enemy," were not fulfilled. The publication by the United States State Department of the text of Khrushchev's secret speech made this document known to the non-Communist countries and even to parts of the Soviet orbit. Thereby, a new situation was created which forced Khrushchev, Bulganin and Company to engage in a public debate on Stalin's crimes and their own responsibilities in the horrors of the Stalin era.

Ш

Resolution of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. "On Overcoming the Personality Cult and its Consequences"

AN ANALYSIS AND EVALUATION

As We already observed, Khrushchev attempted in his secret speech to explain Stalin's misrule merely as the result of the "negative traits" of his character. In the light of this interpretation, Stalin would be an exceptional phenomenon of interest above all to a psychiatrist—he would be an "individual" and not a "social" case. Khrushchev and his colleagues would have us believe that Stalin's crimes were not the product of the Communist regime but merely of a mentally disturbed personality! Therefore, with Stalin's death, this chapter of Soviet history would be closed. No recurrence of this "tragedy" would have to be feared and his successors would not be obliged to institute any structural reforms of the totalitarian system.

However, this line of reasoning was too simple and too crude to be accepted even by a number of loval rank-and-file Communists in the free countries—let alone by anti-Communists. Under the pressure of public opinion and due to protests and criticism among their own members, the leaderships of several Communist Parties on this side of the Iron Curtain issued statements in which they demanded of the Kremlin further explanations and above all a "Marxist" analysis of the "objective" factors which led to Stalin's one-man dictatorship. In some of those statements there was expressed some doubt whether the present Soviet rulers had done everything in their power to prevent Stalin from committing the brutalities denounced in Khrushchev's secret speech. The leader of the Italian Communist Party, Palmiro Togliatti, even hinted that some of the reasons for the "cult of the individual" might be found in a "degeneration" of Soviet society.

In answer to these objections, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union adopted on June 30, 1956, a resolution "on overcoming the personality cult and its consequences." In this statement, the top functionaries of the C.P.S.U. again examine the question of the origin and development of Stalin's personal dictatorship. In this latest official Soviet document, however, the thesis presented in Khrushchev's secret speech—the explanation that Stalin's character was to blame for the "excesses" of his rule—plays only a minor role. Now, "historical circumstances" are said to be mainly responsible for the emergence and maintenance of the "cult of the individual."

First of all, we are told "capitalist encirclement" created conditions under which the Soviet Union existed like a "besieged fortress." Even after the end of the civil war, it is asserted, "the enemies of the Soviet country continued to prepare new 'crusades' against the U.S.S.R. Enemies sent into the U.S.S.R. a large number of spies and diversionists who tried in every way to undermine the first Socialist state in the world."

This assertion is, of course, not supported by facts. The 'twenties witnessed a marked improvement in the relations between the Soviet Union and the free countries. Yet, even at that time, the fairy tale about "spies and diversionists" served the Kremlin as a pretext for repressive measures. We need but consider the trials of 1928-1931.

According to the Central Committee resolution, "the threat of a new imperialist aggression against the U.S.S.R. became particularly intense after the advent to power of fascism in Germany in 1933..." What the Kremlin rulers do not say—but should have said in the interest of historical truth—is that the Communists helped the Nazis to establish their dictatorship, in the mistaken hope that the Hitler regime would be only another Kerensky episode and pave the road towards a Communist coup d'état.

Brazenly falsifying history, the Central Committee accuses the Western powers of having rejected repeated proposals of the Soviet Union to organize collective security against the Berlin-Tokyo Axis. Actually, Moscow refused to agree to any common defense preparations with the West and preferred to make a deal with Nazi Germany in order to share in the spoils of World War II.

According to the Central Committee resolution, the "in-

trigues of international reaction"—i.e. of the democracies and fascism which are again, in accordance with one of Stalin's favorite formulations, considered identical—were all the more dangerous because of the long drawn-out embittered struggle against the "Trotskyites, right-wing opportunists and bourgeois nationalists"—that is, Stalin's rivals:

"This complicated national and international situation demanded iron discipline, ever-growing vigilance and a most strict centralization of leadership which inevitably had a negative effect on the development of certain democratic features. In the course of a fierce struggle against the whole world of imperialism, our country had to submit to certain restrictions of democracy, justified by the logic of the struggle of our people for Socialism in circumstances of capitalist encirclement."

Thus do the Kremlin chieftains admit that the concentration of power in the hands of one man affected negatively even the limited extent of their so-called democracy. Significantly, we are not told what the "certain restrictions of democracy" were. As far as the substance of the argument of the Central Committee is concerned, we should like to point out two things: First, even in the most "complicated international situation," that is in World War II, democracy was not restricted in the free countries; in spite of the fact that "iron discipline and ever-growing vigilance" were also demanded of their peoples "a most strict centralization of leadership" was not deemed necessary. Second, in his secret speech, Khrushchev had emphasized that Stalin's "excesses" began at the very moment when the inner-party opposition had been defeated and were, therefore, not excusable. But in the Central Committee resolution the factional fight is referred to as a factor justifying Stalin's personal dictatorship. Where is the logic?

Continuing their explanation of the growth of the "personality cult," the Communist Party leaders declare that, through his successes in the fight against the opposition and the "intrigues of capitalist encirclement," Stalin acquired "great authority and popularity." However, the resolution complains: "All our great victories began to be incorrectly connected with his name. The successes attained by the Communist Party and the Soviet country and the

adulation of Stalin went to his head." Actually, the alleged "popularity" of Stalin was artificially created—in no small measure by those who are his present accusers. It is they who worked overtime to praise and glorify him.

Far from admitting this, the authors of the declaration state:

"It cannot be said that there was no counter-action against the negative manifestations which were connected with the personality cult..."

What was this mysterious "counter-action"? We are not told. If there had really been any "counter-action," Khrushchev, who cannot be accused of being too modest, would certainly have boasted about it in his secret speech.

In a further attempt to whitewash the present Kremlin leaders, the resolution continues:

"Moreover, there were certain periods, for instance during the war years, when the individual acts of Stalin were sharply restricted, when the negative consequences of lawlessness and arbitrariness were substantially diminished."

As examples, the document refers to "independent decisions" made by members of the Central Committee and also "outstanding Soviet war commanders" in their activities in the rear and at the front. Obviously, this is another move to enhance the prestige of Khrushchev, Bulganin and other Politruks as well as that of the army generals. As far as such "independent decisions" were made, they concerned only problems of military warfare. Khrushchev himself said as much in his secret speech.

And what about the assertion that Stalin's "individual acts" were "sharply restricted" during the war? It should be recalled that Khrushchev enumerated at the 20th Congress quite a number of crimes committed by the late tyrant during the war—especially the mass deportations of national minorities. In addition, whatever lessening there was of the kind of terror prevalent in the 'thirties, it was because Stalin himself had recognized that his own regime was at stake and that it needed the wholehearted support of the entire Russian people in order to survive. Thus, the slogan of the "Great Patriotic War" was born. It was, of course, a fraud perpetrated on the Russian people. But

Khrushchev and Company cannot claim credit even for this. That no real change had occurred, the resolution admits when it states that "after victory the negative consequences of the cult of personality re-emerged with great force."

Why did the same persons (the "Leninist core of the Central Committee," as Stalin's successors now like to call themselves) who, during the war, allegedly "curbed" Stalin not oppose him after World War II? Their answer is: "This could not be done in the circumstances which had arisen." The circumstances were, we are told, that his name had become synonymous with the "success of Socialist construction and the consolidation of the U.S.S.R." The resolution asserts that "any action against him in those conditions would not have been understood by the people, and this does not mean that there was a lack of personal courage involved. It is obvious that anyone who had acted in that situation against Stalin would not have received support from the people."

In other words, if "capitalist encirclement" is the first excuse given by the present ruling clique for not having resisted Stalin, the latter's "popularity" is their second alibi. Thus, only "foreign capitalists" and the Russian people themselves—and not "lack of personal courage"—prevented Khrushchev, Bulganin, etc. from deposing their defunct master.

The fable of Stalin's "popularity" is just as much an invention of his heirs as is their bugaboo of "capitalist encirclement." Due to the incredible sufferings which Stalin inflicted upon the Soviet peoples—sufferings caused by his entire domestic and foreign policies but still ignored by the present Kremlin hierarchy—he was not loved and respected but hated and feared. In confirmation, one has only to point to the friendly attitude of the Soviet population toward the German armies in the first period of the Nazi invasion when they mistakenly believed them to be their liberators from totalitarian yoke; to the mass defections of Soviet officers and soldiers during World War II; and to the refusal of many thousands of Soviet war prisoners and displaced persons to return to the U.S.S.R. after the end of hostilities.

As a final excuse for not having stopped Stalin's "law-lessness," the party leaders advance the argument that

"many facts and wrong actions of Stalin, especially in regard to the violation of Soviet law, became known only in recent times after his death." This assertion, too, is contradicted by facts. Actually, Stalin's survivors participated eagerly in the "violation of Soviet law," especially in the massive purges.

In the conclusion of this part of the resolution, it is categorically stated: "Such are the main conditions and causes which resulted in the emergence and currency of the personality cult of J. V. Stalin."

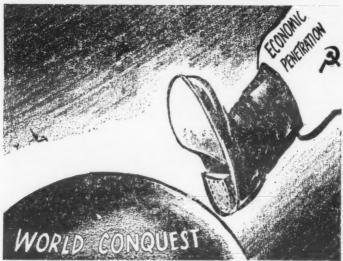
Obviously, the Kremlin leaders are disturbed by other interpretations of the origins of Stalin's personal dictatorship—by an interpretation above all that seeks the roots of the "cult of the individual" in the Soviet system itself. Consequently, the resolution warns:

"It would be . . . a serious mistake to deduce from the past existence of the cult of personality some kind of changes in the social order in the U.S.S.R. or to look for the source of this cult in the nature of the Soviet social order."

In rejecting such deductions the Party leadership maintains that the "personality cult of Stalin" did not change the social order of the Soviet Union: "Even Stalin was not big enough to change the state." There is some truth in that: after all, Stalin was an outcome, a logical result of Communist totalitarianism. However, this does not mean that the Communist regime did not become more intolerant, more intolerable, more inhuman under Stalin's domination. The resolution itself admits this when it says that the "personality cult" did inflict "serious damage on the development of Socialist democratism."

The Kremlin rulers denounce as "slanderous assertions" of "enemies" the view that "the personality cult of Stalin was not engendered by finite historical conditions which have already sunk into the past but by the Soviet system itself." In this connection, they roundly rebuke the Italian Communist leader Togliatti for having asked whether Soviet society had not reached "certain forms of degeneration." But what they have to say in defense of the Soviet

'NEW APPROACH-SAME OLD GOAL'



Pletcher in The Sioux City Journal

system, which they call a "truly democratic popular regime" as opposed to the "formal democracy" of the free countries, is the old Communist propaganda line as laid down by Lenin himself. This line has not become more convincing after the official Soviet revelations of Stalin's "abuse of power."

Not willing to tolerate in the ranks of world Communism even the mildest criticism of the Kremlin, the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., at the end of its resolution, bluntly tells the various Communist Parties that the new anti-Stalin policy does not mean more freedom for them from Moscow control. The Soviet leaders stress that, in spite of the dissolution of the Cominform, the Communist Parties must continue their ties and cooperation among themselves and retain and strengthen their ideological unity. In other words, the foreign Communist Parties are told that, just as in Stalin's days, they have still to be completely subservient to Moscow and to follow obediently and in strict discipline the instructions and policies of the Kremlin.

According to the resolution, this is all the more imperative because of the sinister machinations of "capitalist monopolies," mainly "American monopolist capital." In the best traditions of the pre-coexistence foreign policy of Moscow, the United States is accused of "activising" the cold war and of having organized the "anti-people's demonstrations in Poznan," the "foul provocation against the peo-

ple's authority in Poland."

Thus, just as the Central Committee resolution began by denouncing "monopolist capitalism" as the culprit chiefly responsible for Stalin's misdeeds, it ends by exploiting the alleged danger of "imperialist reaction" in order to reassert and reinforce Moscow's hold over the Communist Parties abroad. And in this the Kremlin has, to date, been successful. The Communist Parties have all dutifully approved the resolution and, thereby, the official Soviet ver-

sion of the "cult of the personality."

In comparison with Khrushchev's secret speech, the resolution of the Central Committee signifies a step backward in the anti-Stalin drive. In this resolution, Stalin's "merits" are emphasized more than his crimes; his misrule is to a large extent excused as the inevitable consequence of "objective" factors and "historical circumstances." At the same time, this "Marxist" analysis absolves Stalin's successors, since they were, just as Stalin was, prisoners of a situation over which they had no control. Furthermore, the "finite historical conditions" having "already sunk into the past." no repetition of the "cult of the personality" is to be anticipated! Consequently, any suspicion that the present "collective leadership" might develop into another one-man rule is unfounded. And last but not least, the Soviet system as such is acquitted. Therefore, according to the resolution, there is no need for any changes in the structure of the Soviet system.

This new explanation of Stalin's crimes is just as unconvincing as the one given by Khrushchev in his secret speech, namely that the "cult of the individual" was founded in Stalin's psychopathic personality. Neither argumentation furnishes an answer to the decisive question: Is there not something fundamentally wrong in a system which rears and fosters a Stalin? This question will continue to haunt Moscow until the Russian people will answer it themselves

by destroying the Communist regime.

APPENDIX I

STATEMENT BY AFL-CIO PRESIDENT GEORGE MEANY ON POLAND

Once again, the people of Poland are engaged in a great struggle for their national independence and democratic liberties. The sparks of the Poznan revolt have lit a flame of freedom which is now spreading throughout the land. Thousands of workers have staged sit-down strikes to demonstrate their determination to throw off the Russian Communist yoke and to express their solidarity with those of their leaders who oppose Moscow's maneuvers and intensified military threats against the Polish nation.

The stirring events in Poland are potentially far more significant than the Tito break with the Soviet dictatorship and its Cominform eight years ago. The present Polish struggle, unlike the Tito break in 1948, is much more than a conflict between two Communist parties or regimes. In Poland today, the entire nation has been aroused and is moving into action. The Polish people have taken in earnest the slogans and promises made by the Twentieth Soviet Communist Congress in regard to the right of each country to pursue its own "road to Socialism." Forced by the people to ask for more freedom from its Russian masters, the Polish Communist Party has reorganized its leadership. It is seeking to rally mass support in its behalf as if it were the champion of national independence and liberalization.

But the Communists cannot lead the Polish people in achieving these great goals. The Communists are totalitarians tied up closely with an imperialist foreign power—that very power which has been the traditional oppressor of the Polish people. Moreover, the Polish people realize that the Communists were the tools of Stalin, Molotov, and Khrushchev when the latter joined with Hitler and Ribbentrop to carve up their homeland and destroy their national independence. Nor can the Polish people ever forget that the Communists in Poland have been serving as the tools of the Russian dictatorship which has robbed them of their human rights, plundered their natural resources and econ-

omy, and doomed many thousands of their finest patriots, labor leaders, and intellectuals to die in the slave labor camps of bleakest Siberia.

Moscow is deeply perturbed by the turn of affairs in Poland. It fears the impact of these events on East Germany, on its other satellites, and even on the Soviet peoples who are also yearning for human liberty. The outcome of Poland's inspiring fight for freedom from the Russian Communist yoke will have even more significant consequences than the historic revolts of the Polish people against Russian Czarist despotism. That is why Pravda, central organ of the Soviet Communist Party, has savagely denounced the mighty Polish freedom movement and the effect it has already had on the Communist organization in Poland. That is why a delegation, representative of every clique in the highest echelons of the Soviet ruling group and Red Army, rushed into Warsaw to bring into line the wavering Communist leaders and impress forcefully upon the Polish people Russia's determination to maintain its political. economic and military grip on Poland.

American labor and freedom-loving people everywhere have boundless admiration for the embattled people of Poland. Throughout the world, those who love liberty have the warmest solidarity with the heroic Polish people in their efforts to get rid of Marshal Rokossovsky whom Stalin had made and Khrushchev has kept as Moscow's Gauleiter in Poland. We fervently hope that the brave Polish people will soon secure the unconditional release of all those imprisoned because of their fight for political liberty, free trade unionism, and freedom of religious worship. May the Polish nation soon become sufficiently free to elect democratically a truly representative National Assembly which will proclaim the restoration of Poland's complete national independence and human liberties!

- 1. We appeal to all the democratic signatory powers of the Yalta Agreement to call upon the Soviet government to join with them in complying fully with its provision which accords the Polish people the right to hold free elections and to establish a sovereign government of their own free choice.
 - 2. We strongly urge the U.N. to call upon the Soviet gov-

ernment to pledge itself to adhere to the Charter of the United Nations and not to resort to any military threats or aggression against Poland or to intervene in any form whatsoever in its internal affairs or interfere with its new policies.

3. We appeal to all the other peoples behind the Iron Curtain in Europe and Asia to express their fraternal solidarity with the Polish people and, encouraged by its inspiring example, act to hasten the hour of their own liberation.

APPENDIX II

QUARANTINE THE MOSCOW BUTCHERS!

Statement by AFL-CIO President George Meany on Hungary

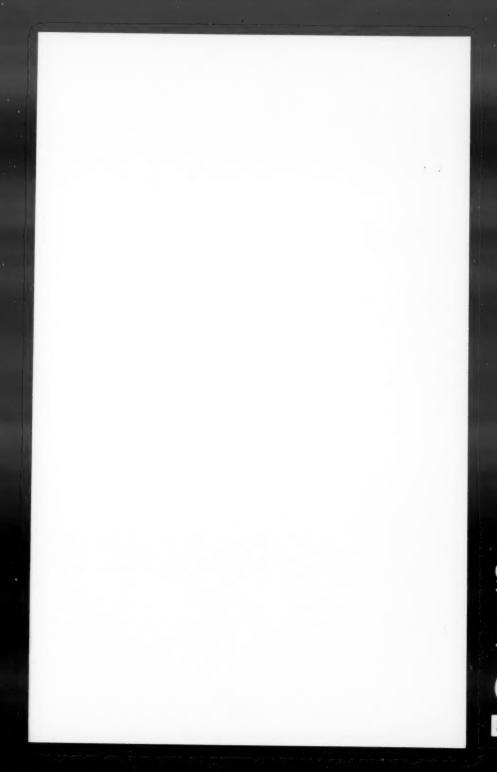
In contempt of every semblance of civilization and with a savagery outraging all human decency and international law, the gangster regime in the Kremlin has drowned in blood the heroic revolt of the Hungarian people for national independence and human liberty. With the brute force reminiscent of Hitler and Stalin at their worst, the Kremlin regime has crushed the Hungarian people striving to restore their national sovereignty and democratic liberties and to reestablish a genuine free trade union movement.

Free labor and freedom-loving people throughout the world cannot keep silent about this Communist butchery of the Hungarian nation. Everything should be done to demonstrate, especially to the peoples of the Soviet Union, the horror with which the civilized world views the barbarous acts of the Soviet imperialists in Hungary.

In the free world, there must be an end to every policy based on the fatal illusion that the post-Stalin Soviet regime is devoted to humane, honorable, and peaceful relations with other countries. With the barbarous Soviet crushing of Hungarian democracy, the "New Look" regime stands exposed as a greater danger to human freedom and world peace than any force that has menaced civilization in many decades. In this light, we call upon the government to:

- (1) Urge every country outside the Iron Curtain to sever all cultural, scientific, technical and economic relations with the Soviet dictatorship and, forthwith, to discontinue the exchange of any such delegations with the USSR.
- (2) Energetically block every effort of Moscow to seat in the U.N. the venal puppet regime it has imposed by brute force on the Hungarian people.

(3) Seek to have the U.N. specifically condemn the Soviet representative for having deliberately deceived its General Assembly on November 3, 1956 in regard to his government's plans and preparations to overwhelm Hungary, another member of the United Nations, by military force in violation of the U.N. Charter.







Farmers and Workers



Statement by the AFL-CIO Executive Council on Farmer-Labor Relations August 30, 1956

THE American labor movement is deeply concerned about the economic plight of our farmer neighbors.

Although some agricultural prices have recently tended upwards—largely in response to temporary factors—the long-run crisis of American agriculture is unresolved.

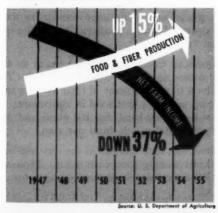
Since World War II, almost all of us have improved our lot—but not the farmer! His income has gone down, drastically.

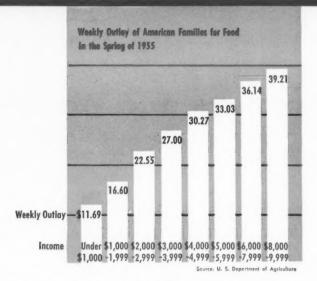
Between 1947 and 1955, total net income from farming dropped 37%, to a thirteen-year low. Since 1952, it has shrunk by 23%.

Meanwhile, hundreds of thousands of families have been

FARM PRODUCTION UP

FARM INCOME DOWN





FOOD CONSUMPTION GOES UP AS FAMILY INCOME RISES

driven off the land due to the further mechanization of agriculture and the pursuit of policies by the present Administration which discriminate against family-size farms and primarily benefit the largest farms.

As a result, in 1955, 15% more food and fiber was being produced in the United States than in 1947, but by almost one million fewer farmers.

Yet, even on a "per-farm" basis—which takes into account the drop in the number of farms—average income-per-farm had fallen off 27% by 1955 from the peak of 1948.

What's worse, no general improvement for the average family-operated farm is predicted despite the widely heralded national "prosperity."

For American trade unionists, the desire to aid the family farmer comes naturally. Millions of AFL-CIO members grew up on farms and many of their families and friends are still trying to earn a livelihood in agriculture. Thus, we of labor know first-hand that the needs and aspirations of farm families differ little from our own.

We know, too, how families in the city and on the farm depend increasingly upon each other. Thousands of jobless AFL-CIO agricultural implement workers, for example, have learned from bitter experience that there can be no prosperity for them when good times have vanished on the farm.

Likewise, farmers realize that growing markets for their products depend primarily on rising living standards for the millions in the cities.

Raising the food and fiber which feeds and clothes this nation is America's number one industry. We trade unionists—who have struggled to secure for city workers a fair share of the abundance they help create—cannot be indifferent to the welfare of those who work in agriculture, whether as farm proprietors, as tenants, or as farm laborers.

Surely, the 22 million rural Americans who live on farms and serve us so well have a moral right to a fair share of the abundance they help create. Much of this abundance is drained off by the food processors who are profiteering at the expense of the American farmers. The farmers' share of the consumer dollar is declining. More and more seems to be going to the middleman—the food processor.

Clearly, the crisis confronting American agriculture is not of the farmers' making. On the contrary, the important decisions which determine whether prosperity or depression shall encompass the countryside are now made in Washington. Today, the shaping of policies to move more of our abundant agricultural production to the millions at home and abroad who want and need it, and to insure income parity for the farmers who produce it, is a national responsibility.

For all of these reasons, we of labor seek to do our part to secure a just return and a better life for all who work in agriculture.

For many years the trade union movement has supported legislation to aid farm cooperatives, extend rural electrification, expand farm credit facilities, and to build an adequate system of farm price supports. In addition, we have given wholehearted backing to soil conservation efforts, the development of crop insurance, the inclusion of farmers under social security, and to every other measure to raise up the housing, health and educational standards of America's farm families.

Wherever progress has been made to help our rural neighbors, we are proud that organized labor has lent a helping hand.

We are heartened, too, by the growth of organizations among farmers that now boldly fight for those who engage



At its recent merger convention, the AFL-CIO reiterated its desire to befriend and to aid the nation's farmers in this pledge:

in agriculture. Like trade unions, they give voice to the needs and aspirations of people who are powerless when they stand alone. By working cooperatively together—even while functioning independently and performing their own specialized services—farm and city worker organizations can accomplish much to advance common aims and the welfare of the entire nation.

Today, American farmers and workers must stand together. The efforts of those who conspire to create misunderstanding between us and to spread distrust among us must be revealed and resisted.

"Labor eagerly desires and will vigorously support corrective measures to restore and to raise agricultural income. In particular, we wish to aid the family-operated farm through measures to increase its efficiency and its income so that the independent farmer may effectively compete with corporation farming and may remain the dominant producer in American agriculture.

"Surely this great nation must assure to its farmers, who have fed and clothed us through war and depression and flood and drought, a full partnership in the unlimited promise of the United States."

Just as through the years organized labor has toiled to insure wage and salary earners a fair share of the increasing output their efforts help create so, too, must we succeed for all who work in agriculture.

The solution of the farm crisis is not to be found by levelling down the living standards of any American. Rather, the immediate task to which the entire nation must now devote itself, is to raise farm family incomes up to parity with those of other Americans.





American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations

President George Meany Secretary-Treasurer William F. Schnitzler

Publication No. 38





Steps to Help Insure:
Your Life
Your Family
Your Community
Your Job
in a
CIVIL DEFENSE

OR NATURAL DISASTER



AFL-CIO Community Service Activities



Civil Defense is created by law. The responsibility for civil defense rests with government.

The intent of the law is to organize resources and direct action to minimize the civilian death toll and the loss of property in a disaster.

WHY CIVIL DEFENSE?

An attacking enemy will strike at:

- 1. Military installations.
- 2. Industry.
- 3. America's will to fight.

A natural disaster — hurricane, flood, tornado, drought — can strike anywhere at any time.

An accidental disaster can happen.

To meet the threat of enemy-caused disaster, Congress passed Public Law 920, the Federal Civil Defense Act of 1950.

State legislatures followed with similar laws. The responsibility for action in a disaster was fixed.

JOB RESPONSIBILITY

The governor of each state is the responsible civil defense officer. He may delegate that responsibility to a CD director.

At the city level, the mayor is responsible for civil defense planning and direction. He, too, may delegate authority.

WHAT CIVIL DEFENSE MEANS TO YOU

Your stake in civil defense is your life. Your objective in civil defense is survival.

HOME

Appoint a CD family head.

- Learn the local CD plan and be prepared to act within it.
- At least one member should know basic first aid.
- 4. Keep enough food on hand for a week.
- When possible, volunteer for local CD training.
- Keep basic home fire fighting equipment in order.
- 7. Keep the family car ready for movement at any time.
- 8. Take along food, water, blankets, camping supplies, tools, portable radio.
- Know the rendezvous area for your neighborhood if evacuation is ordered.
- Have plans for the family to contact each other if separated.

- GUIDE POSTS

Correct action in a disaster can save lives. For correct action you need:

- 1. Information
- 2. Experience
- 3. Training

People usually underestimate the extent of a disaster. Don't jeopardize your family by falling in this trap.



IN THE COMMUNITY

Civil Defense Leadership Must Be Competent And Responsible A Disaster Is No Place For Folly Or Caprice

AVOID CONFUSION

To avoid confusion, labor should insist on the automatic use of existing leadership in a CD emergency. It is not reasonable to expect well-meaning but untested volunteers, by some miracle, to take over leadership in a disaster.

GENERAL LABOR BODIES

In the community, organized labor can take part in civil defense as a group. Central labor bodies should seek official AFL-CIO representation on CD planning councils. Union members on these councils should pin down a workmen's compensation insurance for CD workers.

A non-compensable accident in CD training can kill civil defense.

Union headquarters should be offered for CD functions where possible.

LIST RESOURCES

AFL-CIO representatives should list union resources of skilled man-power. Thousands of union members are professionals in feeding, housing, and sanitation. Other thousands — cab drivers, elevator starters, conductors, bus drivers, dispatchers, checkers, building tradesmen, metal tradesmen, industrial unionists — meet the public and give directions every day. These are the skilled workers who, under accepted leadership, can be depended on to do a CD job right.



ON THE JOB

AFL-CIO can make a solid contribution to civil defense in factories. Industry is an enemy target. Plants can be hit by a natural disaster.

The problem is to organize for the protection of people and facilities. It must be done through joint Labor-Management-Civil Defense cooperation.

INSIDE THE UNION STRUCTURE

- 1. The local union should ask for a civil defense meeting with management and the local CD director.
- 2. The local union president should designate a CD committee. He may want to use a standing committee Community Services, Safety, Shop, Stewards.
- 3. The union's Business, National or International representative must be informed of developments.

AT THE MEETING

- 1. All three parties Labor, Management and local CD should agree in the selection of a plant CD director.
- 2. The responsibility of the plant CD director should be fixed.
- 3. The responsibility of all organizations within the plant should also be fixed:
 - A. Plant Protection force. B. Fire Brigade.
 - C. Foreman. D., Shop Steward organization.
 - E. Shop Committee. F. Rescue.
- 4. Get a legal opinion on Workmen's Compensation coverage.
- 5. Work out time schedules for necessary CD training.
- 6. Coordinate all plant CD plans with your community CD organization.

People who work together normally, work better together than strangers in an emergency situation.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AN CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIO.

GEORGE MEANY President

WM. F. SCHNITZLER Secretary-Treasurer

AFL-CIO COMMUNITY SERVICE ACTIVITIE

9 EAST 40TH STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y.

Director

LEO PERLIS ROBERT A. ROSEKRAN Assistant Director

COMMUNITY SERVICES COMMITTEE

JOSEPH A. BEIRNE Chairman

W. C. Birthright John Brophy William C. Doherty Patrick E. Gorman John J. Grogan Al Hartnett

Sal B. Hoffmann Emil. Mazey A. Philip Randolph George J. Richardso A. L. Spradling Ossip Walinsky Desmond Walker

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AFL-CIO PUBLICATION No. 39

November, 1956-100M



THE HOUS

TO MORE TO TRADE UNITED WASHINGTO MOVEMENT

USE OF LABOR

RE THAN FIFTEEN MILLION AMERICAN
UNIONISTS THE AFL-CIO HEADQUARTERS IN
NGTON IS THE NERVE CENTER OF THE LABOR
MENT IN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA...





AFL-CIO President George Meany pledged that America's workers will do their full part to preserve peace and freedom at cornerstone laying ceremonies, April 30, 1955. The President of the United States, the Secretary of Labor and other outstanding leaders participated in dedicatory ceremonies.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF FREE TRADE UNIONI IS CEMENTED INTO EVERY BRICK AND ST

Principles are imperishable, George Meany reminded the and spectators attending the dedication of the AFL-CIO Bu June 4, 1956. The building, said he, is dedicated to "those prideals that are embodied in the Constitution of our nation as precious freedoms spelled out in the Bill of Rights."

Secondly, he added, the AFL-CIO Building is dedicated preservation of peace.

Finally, he concluded, it is dedicated to the development of cunity and human progress which can come only with freedor peace. These are the essential elements of the philosophy free trade union movement which we have sought to cemer every brick and stone of this building.

In brief and stirring ceremonies, the President of the United was the first official visitor to the building. In steady streams him, day after day, have come many of the 15 million owners building — the members of the 138 national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and gress of Industrial Organizations.

This is truly the House of Labor, a focal point for the aspir of millions of men and women and their families whose lived depends upon fair wages, hours, and working conditions.

IONISM D STONE

d the guests IO Building, ose priceless tion and the

cated to the

ent of opporfreedom and ophy of the cement into

Jnited States eams behind wners of the ational labor or and Con-

e aspirations se livelihood ns.





THE COLORFUL S. WORKER IS DEPIC

As you enter the spaci see before you on the ea inates the entrance to the impressive collection of f size and beauty.

Executed in classic By designed by the distinguinstalled by skilled union

One of the most magnif the sweep of American I present. Its underlying t motivation from the wor on a simulated granite blo

Standing to the right of heroic figure of the Ame left shoulder the tools wi life — a pick, a double-bl and cable symbolizing shi

With his right arm he s on the central stone block to the next generation, sy

JL SAGA OF THE AMERICAN EPICTED IN LOBBY PANEL

e spacious lobby of the AFL-CIO Headquarters Building you the east wall a giant and colorful mosaic mural which domto the building. Although it is a recent addition to the n of fine arts in Washington, it is already renowned for its

sic Byzantine mosaic techniques, it is a 17 x 51-foot panel istinguished Kansas-born artist, Lumen Martin Winter, and union craftsmen.

magnificent tributes to the American worker, the mural depicts rican labor history from the days of the first settlers to the ying theme is man's control over the machine. It takes its e words of Thomas Carlyle, "Labor is life," which appear lite block in the center of the panel.

right of the block — a central figure in the design — is the American worker. Strong and unafraid, he bears upon his sols with which man has historically shaped the essentials of uble-bladed axe, a sledgehammer, and an adze. Coils of rope ng shipping and communications loop over his left arm.

m he shelters and protects his wife and child. The wife, seated block, is teaching the fundamentals of work and social living ion, symbolized by a son.







The AFL-CIO flag flutters beneath our nation's stars and Stripes at the entrance to the building.

These central figures Labor Day stamp i 1956. Printed in bluthe nation as three-

The sweep of Am At the upper left at the covered wagon, tive. As man scans mobile, a truck, an lines toward the green

Between and bel

The broad mural thousands of small glass-gold from Ital of wall space and i

The finished mura States, truly a cred represents. It serves the AFL-CIO Head ble there to plan fo

Directly opposite see three large wood dent of the American Philip Murray, the la ral figures in the mural served as the illustration for a special tamp issued by the Post Office Department on September 3, d in blue ink, the commemorative issue was mailed throughout three-cent, first class postage.

of American history swings from left to right across the panel. left are the early forms of transportation — the clipper ship, ragon, the stage coach, the steamboat, and the steam locomoscans his present and his future, we see a jet plane, an autock, and a diesel locomotive moving with straight, cleanswept the greater tomorrow.

nd below these two elements are the workers of past and ming the skills and crafts which have made America grow.

mural is a panorama of colorful mosaic tile — hundreds of small glossy units assembled one by one from five colors of m Italy and six colors of marble. It covers 860 square feet and is made up of more than 300,000 pieces of mosaic.

d mural is one of the largest single mosaic panels in the United a credit to the American working men and women which it serves as an inspiration to the men and women who work in Headquarters and to the hundreds of labor leaders who assemblan for the years ahead.

posite the lobby mural, on the street-side wall, the visitor will wood medallions. These portray Samuel Gompers, first presinerican Federation of Labor; William Green, his successor; and the late president of the Congress of Industrial Organizations. LABOR'S FUTURE
IS PLANNED IN THE
AFL-CIO EXECUTIVE
COUNCIL CHAMBER

The 29 members of council chamber on the is the AFL-CIO's gover convention by the natio Each of them came out

As administrators of have an intimate effect policy on legislative mat union disputes, and speak

Around the oval table with experience and disp



neers of the AFL-CIO Executive Council meet periodically in the on the eighth floor of the Headquarters Building. The Council is governing body, an assembly of veteran labor leaders elected in a nation's trade unionists to guide the course of AFL-CIO affairs. The out of the "rank-and-file" of his union.

ors of the world's largest trade union organization their decisions effect upon the well-being of the nation's workers. They establish we matters, confirm the establishment of new unions, arbitrate interd speak the voice of labor on wages, hours and other issues.

al table, shown below, they bear the responsibilities of the AFL-CIO and dispatch, in a tradition steeped in courage and ingenuity.







The office of President George Meany is the hub of the vast organization which is the AFL-CIO. Here the President confers with labor and public leaders, or greets visitors from abroad. Located in the southwest corner of the eighth floor, President Meany's office looks out upon Pennsylvania Avenue and H Street on one side and upon busy 16th Street on the other. The room has many mementos presented to President Meany by visiting trade union delegations.

Close by the office of the President is the busy office of Secretary-Treasurer William Schnitzler. Directing the administrative activities of the organization, Secretary-Treasurer Schnitzler confers here with members of the AFL-CIO staff. The AFL-CIO endeavors to insure that its worker-members will get maximum service from the per capita paid to it by the affiliated unions; and through the secretary-treasurer's office, careful examination is given to the organization's financial affairs.

An acoustically-designed, wood paneled auditorium on the first floor of the building, to the right rear of the lobby, serves as a general conference room. Here labor leaders from every part the nation frequently assemble to deliberate their problems. The auditorium is frequently used for meetings and discussions. The south wall of the room is all-glass, permitting natural lighting during the day. Chairs are of the folding type and have arm-rests convenient for taking notes.

The AFL-CIO Library, in the rear of the first and second floors, preserves the rich history of the American labor movement. The library has approximately 25,000 indexed volumes, some 5,000 pamphlets, and scores of vertical file cabinets of clippings—a collection of labor history which goes back 150 years. A hallowed section of the library is the Gompers collection which contains historic papers and treasured mementoes of the first AFL president.









Keeping the records of a 15-million-member organization is a tremendous task. On the seventh floor of the AFL-CIO Headquarters, the Department of Accounting records receipts and expenditures. Skilled union office workers operate the latest in office equipment, keeping daily accounts of the financial affairs of the organization.

Thousands of letters pass each day through the modern Mail Room. Communications go out to the affiliated unions and to local and state labor organizations. Letters in support of organizing drives must be folded and addressed. Pamphlets, leaflets and other materials are shipped out constantly, and in large quantities.







AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AN

EXEC

GEORGE MEANY, PRESIDENT

WALTER P. REUTHER
WM. C. BIRTHRIGHT
DAVID DUBINSKY
EMIL RIEVE
JAMES C. PETRILLO
MAURICE A. HUTCHESON
JACOB POTOPSKY
RICHARD F. WALSH
JOSEPH A. BEIRNE

JAM CHA HER JOSI

GEO

JOSE WIL

PUBLICATION NO. 40 NOVEMBER 1956

PRINTED IN U.S.A.

OR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

WM. F. SCHNITZLER, SECRETARY-TREASURER

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L. S. BUCKMASTER
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
A. L. SPRADLING
O. A. KNIGHT



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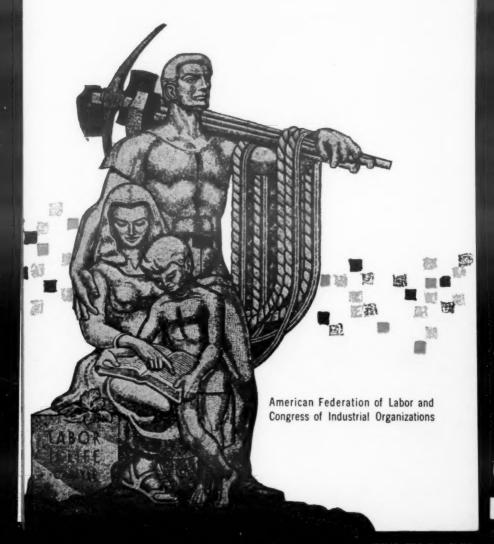
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O. A. KRIGHT

WHY UNIONS?



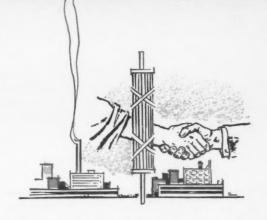
"Long ago we stated the reason for labor organizations. We said that they were organized out of the necessities of the situation; that a single employee was helpless in dealing with an employer; that he was dependent ordinarily on his daily wage for the maintenance of himself and family; that if the employer refused to pay him the wages that he thought fair, he was nevertheless unable to leave the employ and resist arbitrary and unfair treatment; that union was essential to give laborers opportunity to deal on an equality with their employer."

CHARLES EVANS HUGHES

Chief Justice, Supreme Court of the United States
—from the decision in the case of
United States vs. Jones & Laughlin, 1937.



WHY UNIONS?



"In union there is strength," the founding fathers of our nation knew almost two centuries ago. From the 13 colonies, each with its own traditions and its way of life, they set out to found "a more perfect union."

The "union" they established—our United States of America—has grown through the years in power, in influence and in moral standing among the peoples of the world.

The glory of our American democracy is the fact that we recognize and admire change. It is part of our way of life to build new institutions; and having built them, we constantly endeavor to improve them.

So it is with America's democratic trade union movement. From early beginnings—dating back into colonial history—working men have banded together to form trade unions for the purpose of bargaining collectively with employers.

Like our nation, our trade union movement has grown through the decades to positions of strength, of influence, of responsibility.

Yet, today, we of the AFL-CIO continue to seek a "more perfect union"—and in doing so, we seek the understanding and sympathy of men and women of good will. For America is a nation of workers, whose productive capacity has become the envy of the world. In developing their "more perfect unions," American workers have contributed much to the development of citizenship, of community education and of a better, more balanced, economy for all people in the United States.



In other words, it is our belief that what is good for America is good for labor; and conversely, that labor has much to contribute to the future, continuing improvement of the general welfare of all Americans.

WHAT PEOPLE SAY ABOUT UNIONS



PRESIDENTS, senators and congressmen, judges and churches, have proclaimed the right of workers to organize their unions, and the right and duty of those unions to participate in the advances of our nation.

Here is what some American presidents have said on the subject of labor:

THOMAS JEFFERSON:

"The mass of mankind has not been born with saddles on their backs, nor a favored few (born) to ride them..."

ABRAHAM LINCOLN:

"All that serves labor serves the nation. All that harms is treason. . . . If a man tells you he loves America, yet hates labor, he is a liar. . . . There is no America without labor, and to fleece the one is to rob the other."

THEODORE ROOSEVELT:

"Wage workers have an entire right to organize . . ."

WOODROW WILSON:

"The only way to keep men from agitating against grievances is to remove the grievances. While we are



fighting for freedom, we must see, among other things, that labor is free."

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT:

"If I were a worker in a factory, the first thing I would do would be to join a union."

HARRY S. TRUMAN:

"The right to join a union of one's choice is unquestioned today, and is sanctioned and protected by law."

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER:

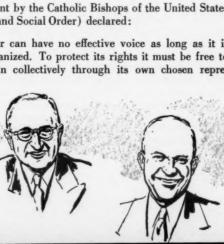
"Only a fool would try to deprive working men and working women of the right to join the union of their choice."

Spokesmen for every major religious group in the United States have similarly expressed their views that the organization of workers into democratic unions is good for America, and morally just.

The Executive Board of the Division of Christian Life and Work of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. (Protestant), at its June 1956 meeting, adopted a statement pointing out that in 1932 its predecessor, the Federal Council of Churches, recorded its conviction that "not only has labor a right to organize, but also that it is socially desirable that it do so because of the need for collective action in the maintenance of standards of living . . ."

A statement by the Catholic Bishops of the United States (the Church and Social Order) declared:

> "Labor can have no effective voice as long as it is unorganized. To protect its rights it must be free to bargain collectively through its own chosen repre-



sentatives. If labor when unorganized is dissatisfied, the only alternative is to cease work and thus undergo the great hardships which follow unemployment."

The Central Conference of American Rabbis said:

"Modern life has permitted wealth to consolidate itself into organizations and corporations. Workers have the same inalienable right to organize, according to their plan, for common good and to bargain collectively with their employers to such honorable means as they may choose."

These various statements reach a central conclusion: Union organization is good both for union members and for all of society. Unions are morally right as well as economically right.

UNIONS ARE HERE— AND HERE TO STAY



A QUARTER-CENTURY ago, when America was ravaged by the worst economic depression in its history, fewer than three million members belonged to trade unions. Today, there are some sixteen million union members—the overwhelming majority of them in 138 unions affiliated with the AFL-CIO.

Why do workers join unions in such great number? To earn better pay; to gain a little more security; to achieve human dignity through collective action without regard to race, creed, color, sex or national origin.

In these twenty-five years, wages have gone up; far more, in fact, than the cost of living. Workers are economically more secure. They have also attained a new status of human

dignity. This was realized by the Presbyterian Church U.S.A., in 1944 when it declared: "The labor movement has given the hungry soul a sense of belonging. The labor union affords a constructive outlook for an individual's resentment against injustice and for his demand for fair play. . . . At their best, labor unions have been a primary agent of democracy."

This last quarter-century has seen a tremendous expansion in America's capacity to produce and to consume. Labor has played, as leading economists and government experts concede, a tremendous role in that development. Our American mass production economic system requires a mass consuming market to keep it running and expanding. The additional buying power made possible by the raising of workers' wages has served as a lubricant for our economics of distribution.

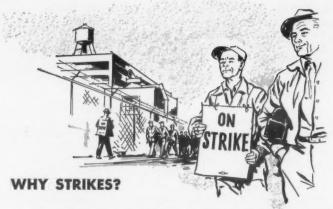
Without unions, wages would certainly be lower; buying power would be reduced; fewer cars, home appliances, clothes and industrial products would be sold. Without unions, farmers would have smaller markets, businessmen would enjoy less trade. Truly, prosperous labor is a keystone of a prosperous society.

Union efforts have led to other improvements in our way of life. Vacations with pay negotiated by unions have given millions of Americans the opportunity to see America and to enjoy the God-given blessings of our natural heritage.

Through union-negotiated health and welfare funds, workers and their families have been able to obtain better medical care regardless of income. Through union-negotiated pension programs, we have moved towards removing some of the fears and indignities of old age. By supporting proposals for necessary social welfare legislation, unions have contributed to a better, more dignified, way of life for every citizen.

As a result of these constructive achievements, America has come to regard its democratic labor unions as a fundamental part of our society. Labor unions are here and here to stay—and they are here to help all the people of our country.





SOME people say: "I like unions, but I don't like strikes."
Union members don't like strikes, either.

They recognize that strikes are a last resort which happen only when constructive collective bargaining breaks down in disagreement.

We read about strikes, because strikes are dramatic and strikes are news; we don't often read about peaceful settlements between labor and management—because they're not superficially dramatic and they don't make news. Actually, for all the publicity, there aren't many strikes.

U. S. Government figures show: only one-quarter of one percent of our total man-working days were lost by strikes or lockouts in 1955. During World War II, with all its tensions and problems, the proportion was scarcely greater. Clearly, the number of man-days lost by strikes is very low.

Many unions have the good fortune never to need to strike.

Workers only vote to cut off their income when they have no alternative. American workers place the power to call strikes in the hands of their officers through democratic procedures which insure that work-stoppages are only a matter of last resort.

The right to strike is essential. Workers and their unions have few economic resources compared to the much greater

economic strength of corporations, with their great treasuries and their ability to sustain themselves over long periods of time through the use of their reserves.

Without the right to strike—even if that right is used most sparingly—unions find it difficult to win peaceful settlements at the collective bargaining table. The threat to strike puts a deadline on negotiations—and where differences exist between management and labor, the rush to meet the deadline brings about compromises, on both sides, that might otherwise not be possible.

- That's why, in a free society, there's no constructive alternative to the right to strike.
- That's why, in dictatorship countries, the first act of the dictator is invariably to forbid the right to strike.

American labor treasures the right to strike. American labor wisely uses that right sparingly and cautiously.

WHY UNION SECURITY?



S EVERAL million American workers are employed in plants under union security conditions.

What is union security?

It is a provision in a labor-management contract that says, substantially, that every worker who gets a job at the plant must join the union.



Many of the largest and most efficient industries in the country operate almost totally under union security provisions. In automobile, steel, construction, aviation, clothing, printing and a host of others, employers and unions have agreed on union security clauses. Union security is popular with workers, unions, employers.

During its first years, the Taft-Hartley Act provided that no union security contract could be signed unless it had been specifically authorized by a government-conducted secret ballot vote. That Taft-Hartley provision was dropped when it became apparent that workers, by secret ballot, were 85%-95% in favor of union security.

Workers like union security because it helps all the workers, as "citizens" of their industry or trade, to share the responsibilities of the union which has helped to bring them economic and social benefits.

Union leaders like union security because it eliminates the threat that their organizations may be undermined through outside or illegal interference. Union security promotes industrial stability and permits the union, on the basis of its accepted status, to work constructively with management in a more cooperative relationship.

Employers have found that union security improves morale among the workers—because every worker knows that responsibility is equally shared and that the union, his collective bargaining instrument, has protection and status.

On the other hand, certain groups have been promoting legislation in the various states to outlaw union security. In 17 states, anti-union security statutes—popularly but mistakenly known as "right-to-work laws"—have prevented even employers and unions who want union security to include it in their collective bargaining contracts. The

argument for these so-called "right-to-work laws" is that it gives workers an alleged "freedom of choice," whether to join the union or stay out.

But industrial experience proves this to be an illusory right that bears no relationship to the realities of life in the factories, shops and mills.

Under the Taft-Hartley law, a union, when chosen by the body of workers, is the sole bargaining agent for all employees in the production unit. It has a responsibility to all workers; the benefits it wins apply equally to union member and non-union member. The non-union member, thus, is a



"free rider" who takes the advantages and benefits of the collective bargaining process but refuses to assume his share of the responsibilities.

The states in which laws to outlaw union security have been passed are, for the most part, the least industrialized states. The effort of the sponsors of this type of legislation is less to prevent union security per se than to weaken or jeopardize the status of unions and to make the organizing of unions among unorganized workers more difficult.

In the states with the most industrial experience, so-called "right-to-work laws" have received little support. In Massachusetts, for example, both the Democratic and Republican Parties joined together in the state legislature to defeat a "right-to-work law" proposal by a vote of 190-2.

The policy of the United States Government, as voiced by the Congress, is to encourage free and constructive collective bargaining. "Right-to-work laws" in 17 states hamper the collective bargaining process and hamper good industrial relations.

A number of religious groups have spoken out on the question of state laws to prohibit union security (the so-called right-to-work Laws):

Executive Board, Division of Christian Life and Work, National Council of Churches of Christ in the USA, June 1956:

> "It is (our) opinion that union membership as a basis of continued employment should be neither required nor forbidden by law: the decision should be left to agreement by management and labor through the process of collective bargaining."

Rev. Dr. Walter G. Muelder, Dean and Professor of Social Ethics, Boston University School of Theology, Boston, Massachusetts:

> "The right-to-work laws are a virtual conspiracy of the crafty, the ignorant, or the misguided to subvert industrial peace, exploit men's need to work, and deluge the community with industrial irresponsibility. Right-to-work laws do not create jobs; they only victimize the worker and make his organization ineffective."

Dr. Israel Goldstein, Rabbi of Congregation B'nai Jeshurun in New York, and president of the American Jewish Congress since 1951:

"Since unions are required by law to represent all workers equally and without discrimination, a requirement which is proper, the states should not be permitted to prohibit fair and equal contributions to those same unions by workers who reap the benefits of such representations."

Rev. William J. Kelley, O.M.I., L.L.D., a lecturer at Catholic University, Washington, D. C., and one of the nation's authorities on labor legislation:

"Right-to-work laws are immoral according to Catholic social teaching. . . . All good men and women, Protestants, Jews, and Catholics, should seek by every just means to get such right-to-work laws repealed and should oppose them whenever they are proposed."

The Rev. John F. Cronin, S.S., Assistant Director, Social Action Department, National Catholic Welfare Conference, has said:

> "It should also be noted that the pressure for such legislation does not arise from workers seeking their 'rights'. Proponents of these measures are uniformly employers' organizations and related groups. Often such laws are part of a program by under-developed states, seeking to attract industry by the lure of a docile and low-paid labor force. Campaigns of this nature have been carried on in recent years with little or no attempt at concealment . . .

> "Our conclusion, then, is that on political, social, and economic grounds the case for right-to-work laws is not sound. On the contrary, the employer groups who espouse them are acting shortsightedly, even in terms of their most selfish interests."

AVERAGE WAGE LEVELS WAGE INCREASES?

VERYBODY favors a higher income level for the American L people.

WHY

Unions have tried to do something about it—and they have been successful in raising the income levels of workers' wages through collective bargaining with employers.



Back in 1936, for instance, the average hourly wage in America's steel industry was only 66c an hour. In 1956, it had risen to about \$2.50 an hour. Other unions, in other industries, have been similarly successful in lifting the wage levels in America's factories and shops, its mines and mills and stores.

Some people say: "But that doesn't do any good—increases in the cost of living eat up the increased wages."

The facts don't support that argument. Steel wages, for instance, have increased about 336% in twenty years; the cost of living during the same period has gone up about 96%. Thus, the steelworkers have received real benefits.

Another study shows that the increase in buying power of the take-home pay for average industrial workers has increased by 55% between 1939 and 1955—and that shows the average industrial worker is 55% better off despite the rising prices.

If workers are better off, is that good for the rest of the national economy?

Again, the facts say "yes."

Our democratic American economy is based on an essential need for mass markets, for mass buying power, to purchase the products that industries and farmers produce. If our working population does not have the money to buy those products, goods pile up, business slows down, factories go on short schedule, farmers find fewer markets for the things they raise.

When workers get wage increases in a community, everybody benefits indirectly. The merchant sells more goods to families with more buying power; doctors and dentists find more people with the money to spend for more adequate health care; churches, civic groups and community funds, find workers more able to contribute generously to these institutions.

Union collective bargaining agreements have also helped to serve still other people in the community. When the first big company-paid pension agreements were signed, back in 1949-50, they provided that the employer would pay the difference between social security benefits and the figure set forth in the union-management contract. That gave an incentive to industry to join with labor in seeking legislation to bring long-needed improvements in the social security benefits. Those new benefits helped everybody: retired people, in and out of the unions, as well as business enterprise.

Through their legislative activities, unions have consistently championed measures to improve governmental benefits for various groups of citizens, without regard to whether the beneficiaries are union members or not.

Thus, we've seen, social security benefits have been liberalized. So, too, have workmen's compensation plans, unemployment insurance, and minimum wages. (These latter usually affect non-union workers whose wages are in the lowest brackets.)

Unions have worked for governmental programs to spur full employment, to help the farmers, to improve governmental health programs, to aid distressed economic areas, to promote both public and private housing programs for middle- and lower-income families and many similar projects.

Union members know that what's good for America is good for American labor. They know how essential is a healthy expanding economy, in which our free enterprise system can function at maximum efficiency for all the people. They recognize that in our America, the activities of every segment of our population have a direct effect on every other group.

As AFL-CIO President George Meany said recently: American labor doesn't consider itself "a class apart" but as a "part of the great mass of American citizens." He pointed out: "We are practical enough to know that under a democracy such as we have, advance and progress must be made for the benefit of all."

WHY LABOR'S INTEREST IN THE COMMUNITY?

O^{NCE} upon a time, the men and women of American labor were folks who "lived on the wrong side of the tracks."

In our mid-century America, union people are part of the whole community. The steelworker, the newspaperman, the building tradesman, the postman, the movie projectionist, the baker—they're all pretty apt to be good union members. You'll find it difficult to distinguish the union member from the bank clerk or the schoolteacher or the lawyer. You won't find them in any one part of town—because they're part and parcel of each community.

And labor is interested in the community.

Through its Community Services Committees in most states and towns, labor takes an active role in community projects. You'll find men and women from labor serving on the board of the Community Chest and helping to make its annual drive a real success. You'll find them working with the Red Cross, the Parent-Teachers Association, the safety groups, and all the hundred-and-one organizations that function in a typical American community.



These labor people strive to help the community groups, not to dominate them. . . . They want to represent their fellow workers on organizations that reflect the whole community in order adequately to serve the whole community.

Through its national Community Service Activities, the AFL-CIO gives guidance and training to local union members on how best to work with these community groups. Staff education projects, seminars and conferences conducted by the Community Service Activities help keep union leaders aware of the need and abreast of developments in the field of community relations and welfare projects.

Through its Representative for Religious Relations, the AFL-CIO, at national and local levels, seeks to interpret labor to the people of churches in all denominations and to provide a channel of communication, friendship and cooperation between religious and labor groups.

For, American labor knows that man cannot live by bread alone . . . that America's greatness arises from its deep-seated spiritual sense, from its fundamental belief in the democratic process as well as from rich endowment of natural resources in the development of our industrial economy.



WANT MORE INFORMATION?

This little pamphlet merely skims the surface of labor's record, labor's thinking, labor's goals.

Do you want more information on any specific subject? There are lots of sources:

- 1. The national headquarters of the unions which have locals in your communities. Contact the local union officers in your home-town and ask them to place you on the mailing list of their national union's weekly, or monthly, publication.
- 2. Subscribe to the national AFL-CIO News, or the monthly American Federationist, which presents news of labor and labor's national viewpoints on a host of subjects. Ask to be placed on the mailing list of the papers of the unions that function in your community.
- 3. Contact the AFL-CIO Representative for Religious Relations.
- 4. For matters of economic information, the AFL-CIO Department of Research will be pleased to supply you with some of its economic bulletins and studies.



- 5. The AFL-CIO national Community Service Activities at 9 East 40th St., New York 16, N.Y., has material on its various programs for union community service projects.
- For labor speakers at seminars or discussion groups, contact a local union in your community or the nearest AFL-CIO regional office or the labor headquarters in your State.

Each, in its own way, will be pleased to tell you "Why Unions?" and "What Unions Do."



AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

815 16th Street N.W.

Washington 6, D. C.

GEORGE MEANY
President

WM. F. SCHNITZLER Secretary-Treasurer



COOPERATION ...

Jobs for



ERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL O

r the Handicapped

An AFL-CIO program for union-management action to provide employment for handicapped workers



AL ORGANIZATIONS



THE AFL-

MERICA'S handid merit. Our ind ment of their skills. capable workers. S

Too often the praction of only the unskiller fered a severe injured Today a new attitute the basis of all his a

The Trade Union mof the worker disable earn a living. The enactment of Workn to protect the worker fostered and support to suitable employindustrial injury or of the return to emplois likewise labor's ma

On these pages the their handicapped fe be discharged with co

L-CIO SPEAKS

nandicapped workers are entitled to a chance to prove their ur industries and trades should benefit from maximum employ-kills. Handicapped persons when placed on the right job are s. Studies have proven that they are productive and efficient.

oractice has been to consider partially disabled workers capable skilled, routine type of work. The skilled mechanic who sufinjury was offered a watchman's job on his return to work. attitude must be developed—consideration of the worker on his abilities, not rejection for his disability.

ion movement from the earliest days has recognized the right disabled by accident on or off the job to an opport nity to The labor movement has taken the lead in securing the Vorkmen's Compensation Legislation and Second Injury Funds worker who suffers injury in employment. The AFL-CIO has apported legislation to promote the return of injured workers applyment. The reemployment of persons handicapped by yor disease has always been high on the trade union program. Imployment of veterans disabled in the service of their country the service of their country the service of their country that the service of their country the service of their country the service of their country that the service of their country the service of their country that the service of the service of their country that the service of the service

s the AFL-CIO outlines the responsibility of unions toward bed fellow workers and shows how this responsibility can best with cooperation of management.

THE HANDICAPPED WORKER

The handicapped worker seeks no special privilege or favor no more than his just right, the right of an opportunity respecting and a self-sustaining citizen. He can have this only the same chance as his fellow workers to obtain gainful empl to his abilities, his interests and his ambitions.

The physically handicapped worker may need assistance a occupation in which he can perform efficiently and with saf and his fellow workers. He may need training to give him the in the job of his choice. A few may need prosthetic applia aids, which will restore them to the maximum level of physical contents.

The physically handicapped worker who is physically qualific he seeks and is properly trained in the skills required, may still a in overcoming the prejudices and indifference which block hattainment of equal opportunity. He calls upon his fellow wor ized labor to lend their support and assistance in achieviopportunity.

There are few jobs in any office, workshop or factory that reperfection. The physically handicapped worker when properly able and efficient worker. As such he should not and will substandard wages.

ER SPEAKS

favor. He asks for unity to be a selfonly if he is given employment suited

nce and finding an th safety to himself m the skill required appliances or other obysical ability.

ualified for the job still need assistance ock his way to the w workers in organchieving this equal

hat require physical operly placed is an I will not work for





Picture courtesy of National Society for Crippled Children and Adults, Inc.

Safe and producedures of any Proper placem

Proper placem job requires al Linotype opera Therefore, a we the duties of a these activities placed on jobs.

Because of ma workers were in use of what we the-barrel" lab conducted for efficiency, the over among in similar and all impaired work techniques use appears on the productive placement can be made through the regular prof any well-organized labor-management program.

accement means the right man for the right job. No single res all the faculties of the normal person. For example, a operator will not be required to run, jump, crawl, or talk, a worker who cannot do these things will be able to perform of a Linotype operator as well as the person who excels in ivities. Unnecessary physical requirements should not be jobs.

of manpower shortages during World War II, handicapped were hired on a scale never before known in industry. This hat was too frequently regarded as marginal or "bottom-of-" labor produced impressive results. Several studies were if for the purpose of measuring the production records, the the absenteeism, number of accidents and the labor turning impaired workers. The findings of these studies were and all drew the conclusion that successful employment of workers is directly dependent upon the procedures and is used in placing them. The results of one of these studies in the following page.

PRODUCTIVE ABILITY

Judging by individual output records for similar jobs, the rate of handicapped workers is slightly higher than of workers.

SAFETY

For minor injuries, the safety record of handicapped works stantially the same as unimpaired workers. For disablin handicapped workers have a significantly lower safety reunimpaired workers.

ABSENTEEISM

The absentee records of physically impaired workers and substantially the same.

SKILLS

The handicapped have the same wide range of skills, ab interests as the non-handicapped.

Based on a joint Department of Labor and Veterans Administration survey vactual work records of 11,000 disabled workers against those of 18,000 non-disperforming identical tasks in more than 100 plants.

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urvey which matched non-disabled workers



THE AFL-CIO PROGRAM

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olicy of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Organizations that every practical means shall be used to all opportunity in employment for all physically handicapped

ration will strive to increase employment opportunities for cally handicapped through collective bargaining agreements management cooperation.

of pre-employment physical examinations for any other purto determine physical abilities for a suitable job is unsound of the tolerated.

ration will strive for the extension of rehabilitation services he expansion of existing facilities and the creation of new representation of the creation of the rever needed.

ration will strive to extend the benefits of second injury to all states and to improve the laws now enacted in order second injury protection (a) to a wider range of disabilities vation of existing disabilities, (b) to workers whose disabiliion-compensation cases, (c) to veterans with service incurred

ration recognizes the wisdom of active participation in comrograms for the physically handicapped and will encourage and city central bodies to take active part in the state and mittees for the employment of the physically handicapped.

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Step 1. SECURE THE ADOPTION OF A PLANT POLICY

Through collective bargaining the local union should give special recognition to the problems of the physically handicapped and negotiate necessary contract provisions to safeguard their rights and guarantee them equal treatment.

Step 2. FORM A PLANT UNION-MANAGEMENT COM-MITTEE FOR THE PHYSICALLY HANDICAPPED

The committee should consider all problems arising in the employment, reemployment and transfer of all impaired workers, whether the physical condition arises out of on-the-job injuries, war service, or off-the-job impairments resulting from disease, injury or congenital causes.

Step 3. SURVEY PHYSICAL REQUIREMENTS OF JOBS

Practical plans for new employment, reemployment or transfer of workers call for a knowledge of the actual physical requirements of jobs. The committee should determine this requirement following an on-the-spot analysis of the job and conditions of employment.

Step 4. DETERMINE THE WORKER'S PHYSICAL ABILITIES

The disabled person's physical ability to handle the job safely and adequately should be determined for the specific job for which he may be considered and otherwise qualified. Sometimes a probationary tryout may be the practical method for final determination.

Step 5. PROVIDE THE NECESSARY TRAINING

Adequate training is an essential element in proper placement of handicapped employees. On-the-job and apprenticeship types

PROGRAM

of training should afford equal opportunity for the physically handicapped employees to acquire job proficiency. Training aid is available through Veterans Administration facilities for handicapped veterans with service incurred disabilities. Similar training is available for other eligible handicapped workers through the facilities of State Vocational Rehabilitation Agencies.

Step 6. PLACE HIM ON THE RIGHT JOB

Proper placement is the key to successful employment of physically handicapped workers. Physically handicapped workers should be required to meet the same production and safety standards as other workers—no more and no less.

Step 7. MODIFY THE JOB

Sometimes it may be advisable to make slight alterations in either machine control or duty assignment to enable a disabled worker to perform the job. This includes such minor modifications as changing a foot pedal from a right foot to a left foot operation or the addition of a stool to enable a disabled worker to sit down if the duties of the job can be performed in a sitting position.

Step 8. FOLLOW UP

The proof of satisfactory placement is satisfactory performance and progress on the job. To assure such progress one or more checks should be made by a member of the committee. Follow up and practical counsel may be necessary at frequent intervals in the first months of employment.

PHYSICAL CAPACITIES FORM

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These forms may be obtained from State Employment Service Offices THE JOB

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PHYSICAL DEMANDS FORM

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45 Vibration	80

DETAILS OF PHYSICAL ACTIVITIES:

Sits at linetype machine most of the day, reads copy, and fingers beybeard to not lines of type. Periodically walks short distances, reaches for, lifts and carries matrices, galleys of type, and pigs of type metal. Reaches for, handles, pushes, and pulls handwheels and levers and fingers gages, stope, and micromotor is setting up machine.

WRITE IT INTO THE CONTRACT

Many AFL - CIO contracts include clauses protecting the handicapped. DOES YOURS?

Real job security must be more than security for the physically perfect. Of 7,000,000 seriously handicapped persons in the United States, it is estimated that all but 3 per cent could be rehabilitated and put to useful work. AFL-CIO unions should strive to establish through collective bargaining a union-management program to assure continued employment in suitable work for their employees who become handicapped and to provide new employment for other handicapped persons seeking work.

All such protective clauses in union contracts should apply to all workers. The best protection is that which protects all workers. After all, the physically fit worker today may be the disabled worker tomorrow.

Such a program of protection for the handicapped should be made a permanent part of every collective bargaining relationship to protect AFL-CIO union members from being thrust on the human scrap heap in case of partial disability.

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NTRACT CLAUSES

eteran:

The returning veteran unable to perform his former duties because rvice-incurred disabilities shall be reinstated in such position as be within his ability to perform, and shall retain accumulated rity including time spent in the armed forces.

ld Employee:

any employee who, as a result of accident on or off the job, is le to perform his duties, shall be transferred to another position if is available for which he is qualified or can be retrained within a mable time.

ew Employee:

Union and management, through a joint committee, shall accept esponsibility to (1) determine the physical requirements for all openings and (2) give equal consideration in hiring to available icapped workers who are able to qualify for such openings.

hysical Examinations:

re-employment physical examinations shall not be made for any purpose than to determine the physical abilities of the worker. determination of the suitability of the job for the worker shall ade solely by the joint committee.

eniority:

f an employee because of physical disability is assigned to another rtment, he shall carry with him all seniority rights that he would had in his former position.

GOVERNMENT SERVICES

There are agencies and organizations in every community ticipation in the program for disabled workers is desirable. Son agencies have trained personnel who are prepared to offer te sistance in placing the handicapped. Others provide physical re and job training services. Still others through their active participation of the strength of the services are available government agencies:

STATE EMPLOYMENT SERVICES

Assistance to unions and management in setting up commutation-plant placement programs. Services include technical aid ations to unions and management in methods of making physic studies of jobs, appraising the physical abilities of handicapp placing the worker on the job, follow up and evaluation of placing to be counseling.

STATE VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION AGENCII

Available to all handicapped. Services include physical and examinations, medical and surgical treatment, artifical appliance glasses, artifical limbs, etc.), vocational guidance, retraining, to placement.

VETERANS ADMINISTRATION

Available to veterans with service connected disabilities and, un circumstances, with non-service connected disabilities. Services a vocational adjustment, education and training, tools, prosthetic medical, surgical, convalescent care and hospitalization. unity whose pare. Some of these ffer technical asical rehabilitation participation will available through

community and l aid and instrucphysical demands ticapped persons, of placement and

NCIES

l and psychiatric opliances (braces, ng, tools and job

and, under certain rices available are othetic appliances,



". . . FOR THE GENERAL WELFARE"

"The AFL-CIO is built on the trade union working for the general welfare of all peopli includes, of course, the physically handicapp lieve America's handicapped workers are echance to prove their ability. It's ability, no that counts."

"Rehabilitation, retraining and employment of cally handicapped—that is good business. investment in human beings—America's more resource."

WM.

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AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AT CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATI

815 16th St. N.W.

Publication No. 42

Washing

GEORGE MEANY President



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> GEORGE MEANY President



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WM. F. SCHNITZLER Secretary-Treasurer

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WM. F. SCHNITZLER Secretary-Treasurer



Discrimination C

By BORIS SHISHKIN

Director, Department of Civil Rights, AFL-CIO

UR labor movement is firmly committed to the policy of assuring for every American equal opportunity in every field of life. The belief that everyone in our land, no matter what his race, his color, his creed or his national origin, should have equal opportunity in every field of life is written into the very constitution of the AFL-CIO and was unanimously voted by its first constitutional convention in December, 1955, to become the mandate of AFL-CIO policy.

To translate this belief and this policy into practice, the AFL-CIO established its Civil Rights Committee, under the chairmanship of James B. Carey. The responsibility of the com-

mittee is to chart the cournecessary to carry out th this policy. And to work from day to day, provision made by the AFL-CIO for ment of Civil Rights.

The AFL-CIO has done ing these things becaus American institution. A man for the major segn American community, this devoting its energies and to help make good the American democracy, the equal opportunity in a first promise is written in ration of Independence Bill of Rights of our Cit is the law of the land,

the very American

Yet it is to proclai ciple and a law. Wh preached practiced.

Why is cern of or bor to see the princip opportunit into practi

Why sh why shoul fighting against tion?

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unions, ar fighting to not only be criminationally wrong because tion breed and leads



The chairman of the Civil Rights Committee of the AFL-CIO is Vice-President James B. Carey.

Costs Too Much

course of action out the intent of work at the job ovision has been O for its Depart-

done and is doecause it is an n. As a spokessegment of the ty, the AFL-CIO ies and resources the promise of y, the promise of n a free society. ten in our Declaence and in the our Constitution. land, woven into fabric of very rican life.

et it is not enough roclaim a prinand to ordain v. What has been ched must be ticed.

hy is it the conof organized lato see to it that orinciple of equal rtunity is put practice?

hy should labor, should unions be ting the battle inst discrimina-

is the concern of ns, and they are ing this battle, only because disination is morwrong, not only tuse discriminabreeds injustice leads to strife. It



BORIS SHISHKIN

is the concern of unions also because discrimination is a very real barrier to the advancement of the economic welfare of all wage-earners, to further which is the foremost task of unions.

Above all, it is the unions' concern because discrimination stands in the way of realizing and maintaining full prosperity for the entire American community. And the advancement of the prosperity and general welfare of the whole community is the historic task of our movement.

Yes, there has been discrimination against men, women and even children in our land, solely because of their race, the color of their skin, their religious belief and the place of their origin. Yes, such discrimination still persists in many corners of our community.

Does this discrimination hurt only those against whom it is directed, or does it hurt the whole community?

In seeking to answer this question, let us examine the evidence.

The problem of discrimination in America has been largely one of discrimination against the Negro. Today one out of every ten Americans is a Negro. There are American Negroes among them who have won great distinction in many phases of American life. Outstanding lawyers, singers, musicians and athletes are

among them. A renowned diplomat and a top officer in the federal government have won distinction on the national scene and a number have gained world repute.

Those American Negroes who have won such recognition had to do it the hard way, because for many years the color of the Negro's skin set him apart from other Americans and made it more difficult for him to open the door to opportunity.

Yet the greatest barriers to equal opportunity for the Negro were not near the top of the ladder of advancement. The most difficult obstacles were those that barred Negroes from equal access to employment, to opportunities for training in many skills and from gaining equal compensation for the performance of work of the

same quality and skill.

As recently as thirty years ago, wage differentials were being built into the pay scales of a number of our industries solely on the basis of race. In the areas where the Negro worker predominated in employment on such jobs, these wage differentials began to apply to all workers in the area and soon became geographical differentials.

Insisting upon equal pay for equal work, unions were the first to launch a concerted drive against these differ-Their early battles

fought in coal min pulp industries, in number of other in

To see what a eliminate a regiona initially brought ab tion, consider the c rates in bituminou tween 1919 and right). Here the a prevailing in the S the industry are sh age of such rates Northern portion the same year.

This comparison relationship betwee tent of unionization shop, and the rates coal miners. In was at the peak rea and extended no Northern coal field the South. In 192 sale repudiation by erators of the wag Jacksonville agree reductions cutting to 68 per cent of t

Until 1934 the the predominantly ern fields and the ion Northern field ating within a narr ionization, under th extended into the S

The AFL-CIO believes that Negroes, like other Americans,



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nat a union can do to egional wage differential, ght about by discriminatine comparison of wage minous coal mining beand 1946 (see box at the average wage rates the Southern portion of are shown as a percentrates prevailing in the tion of the industry in

arison shows an intimate between the changing exization, under the union e rates prevailing among

In 1919 unionization

ak reached by that time d not only over the I fields but also well into n 1924 came the wholeon by the Southern ope wage rates set by the agreement, with wage tting the Southern rates t of the Northern rates. the disparity between antly non-union Souththe predominantly unfields persisted, fluctua narrow range. As under the union shop, was the South between 1934

Average Wage Rates in Southern Bituminous Coal Mines Expressed as Percentage of Average Wage Rates in Northern Mines, in Selected Years, 1919—1946

YEAR										~	A	UT S	P		N RATES CENTAGE RTHERN
1919															84
1924															68
1926			0	0		0			0			0		0	70
1929		0	0	0	0			0		0	۰	0	0		80
1931									0	0	0	0	0	0	80
1933		0	0	0	0	0	0	0					0		77
1934	0	0			0	0					0		0		91
1935	0	0		0				0			0		0		92
1936-	3	7			0	0	0		0		0	0	۰	0	93
1938-	4	0						۰					۰		91
1941.	4	6													100

Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor and Bureau of Mines, U.S. Department of Interior. Because of the limitations of data, the Northern rates available between 1919 and 1933 are those for the Central Competitive area (Ohio, Indiana and Illinois). Between 1934 and 1946, Northern Appalachian. While not identical, these Northern rates are compared with Southern Appalachian. While not identical, these Northern rates are comparable.

and 1941, the differential was greatly narrowed.

With all of the Southern mines unionized—and without discrimination—after 1941, the wage differential was completely eliminated.

When, after the long and devastating depression which followed the economic collapse of 1929, the national recovery program was launched, set-

ricans, are entitled to equal access to employment opportunities.



ting minimum wages and maximum hours in industry after industry, tremendous pressure was unleashed to establish geographical differentials in the wages to be set in each industry as the legal minimum.

The counterattack against these attempts to perpetuate these differentials was once again led by organized labor. For, as labor insisted, the most destructive, the most unfair form of competition is wage competition, where one producer derives advantage

ducer derives advantage over his competitors solely from paying his workers less money, for the same work performed, than is paid by other

producers.

The producer who thus profits solely at the expense of the worker, by cutting wages below the established standard, said labor, is not engaging in fair competition. He is an exploiter. And exploitation of workers for the sake of unfair profit will not generate general economic recovery; it can only lead the whole economy downward.

Labor's fight against wage differentials growing out of discrimination has been carried on through collective bargaining ever since. Still, the non-white worker, though accorded increased opportunity, though achieving real economic progress, has not yet been accorded equal economic opportunity.

In 1954 we had 41,934,000 families, 38,170,000 white and 3,764,000 non-white. In that year the median or the average income of white families was \$4339 a year. For non-white families it was only \$2410 a year, or just over one-half of the-average white family income.

Thus the average non-white family, with annual income \$1929 below that of the average white family, had \$1929 a year less to save and to spend, that much less to contribute to the country's general prosperity, because of discrimination.

This meant an annual deficit of over seven and a quarter billion dollars. This was the amount of purchasing power cut out of the main-



Negro trade unionists on the AFL-Care A. Philip Randolph (left) and Between them is AFL-CIO Secretary

stream of national incor inevitable loss of mark duction and services this power would have susta

The direct cost of dihad to be borne and shwhole community—invesers, distributors and terms of curtailed prodand returns on investm curtailed employment of

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Rapid advances of mology call for a rising skilled and trained people the increased production the needed services.

Negroes are making pro



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FL-CIO Executive Council and Willard S. Townsend. retary William F. Schnitzler.

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of discrimination nd shared by the investors, producand workers-in production, sales vestment, and in ent opportunities.

surge forward on panding economy, its leadership as producer, it will mic opportunities olly denied to its by discrimination nce their buying make full use of roducers, as work-

of modern techrising supply of people to turn out ction and perform

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factories and workshops of America. Between 1940 and 1955 total non-farm civilian employment increased from 47,000,000 to 64,-000,000.

In the same period the number of Negroes engaged in non-farm civilian employment rose from about 3,000,-000 to about 5,500,000, considerably faster than the increase in the nation's civilian labor force as a whole.

Despite this marked progress, discrimination in employment still persists.

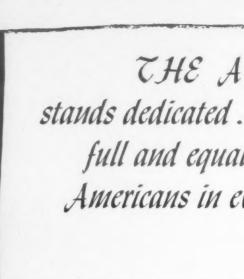
Failure to open full and equal opportunities without discrimination, on jobs which want to be done and for which skills are needed, as well as failure to provide full training facilities to all seeking opportunity, will hold us back in the progress we should be making. The cost of this failure to advance will have to be borne not by a few, not by some, but by all Americans.

A more fully trained labor force can carry the nation to new heights of productive achievement. Opportunity for all to share equitably in the nation's task and in the income made possible by productive effort is essential for progress toward a higher standard of living for all.

Racial discrimination is a source of backwardness, stagnation and poverty which threatens the economic progress of the whole community. to eradicate this root cause of a threatening reversal in our advance toward a better life for all that labor is fighting to wipe out discrimination through the AFL-CIO civil rights program.

We have seen how high, in dollars and cents, is the direct current cost of discrimination. Much higher is the cost in terms of the gains we forfeit because discrimination deprives us of these gains.

Racial discrimination is an ugly luxury which America cannot afford. The reward for wiping it out is economic advancement in which the whole community will benefit. us seize this opportunity now and make the most of it, to make our country a still better place to live.



Be sure to read regularly:

AFL-CIO NEWS

Official weekly publication

AFL-CIO AMERICAN FEDERATIO

Labor's own monthly mags spokesmen on issues of into

LABOR'S ECONOMIC REVIEW

Monthly 8-page bulletin de fronting the nation.

AFL-CIO EDUCATION NEWS AND

Eight-page monthly newsl

AFL-CIO INTERNATIONAL AFFAI

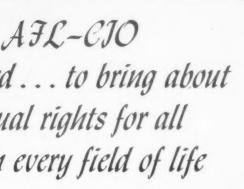
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GEORGE MEANY President



Civil Rights Resolution,
 AFL-CIO Constitutional Convention
 December, 1955

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WM. F. SCHNITZLER Secretary-Treasurer

Publication No. 43

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The AFL-CIO and WOMEN WORKERS



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INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

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AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

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GEORGE MEANY President WM. F. SCHNITZLER Secretary-Treasurer

Publication No. 44

December 1956



THE AFL-CIO POSITION IN SUPPORT OF FEDERAL EQUAL PAY LEGISLATION

At its meeting in Washington, D. C., in June 1956, the AFL-CIO Executive Council endorsed federal legislation to provide equal pay for comparable work for women workers.

It supported the principles of the Green-Rogers-Douglas Bill (H.R.6503, S.2708, 84th Congress) with an amendment providing that reliance would be primarily on administrative rather than judicial enforcement.

The achievement of equal pay for comparable work for women has long been an objective of organized labor and of many women's organizations.

The AFL-CIO action was directed toward achieving a federal law that will provide effective and flexible machinery in this field.

The Council approved the key section of the Green-Rogers-Douglas Bill, which reads as follows:

"No employer engaged in commerce or in operations affecting commerce shall discriminate between employees on the basis of sex by paying wages to any employee at a rate less than the rate at which he pays wages to employees of the opposite sex for work of comparable character on jobs the performance of which requires comparable skills, except where such payment is made pursuant to a seniority or merit increase system which does not discriminate on the basis of sex."

The AFL-CIO Convention in December 1955, in its Resolution on Women Workers recommended that the officers study the bill "with a view to taking whatever action seems appropriate." Sec.-Treas. William F. Schnitzler was chairman of a staff committee which reviewed existing state laws and proposals for federal equal pay legislation.

The proposed amendment on administrative procedure follows the pattern of a bill pending in the New York State Legislature (Assembly No. 958, Int. 943), sponsored by the New York State Federation of Labor, which empowers an administrator not only to investigate but also to attempt to adjust controversies with re-

spect to the claims.

If this fails, he is empowered on due notice to hold hearings, to make findings, and to direct the employer to pay the employee the difference between the amount of remuneration paid the employee at the inequal rate and the amount which would have been paid if there had been no such inequality, plus liquidated damages. If necessary, either the employee or the administrator may institute a civil action to recover the amount found due by the administrator.

It was felt that this type of arrangement would provide more constructive administration and greater flexibility than relying primarily on direct civil suits. Provision for hearings and consultation would enhance the educational effects of the law and promote voluntary compliance. Many grievances could be adjusted out of court, but if necessary the law would provide genuine enforcement machinery. Judicial review would provide ample protection to all involved.

Enforcement of equal pay for classifications above a minimum wage involves complicated determinations of wage relationships which are not ordinarly dealt with by local courts. The administrative approach would place the responsibility for such complex findings in the hands of trained administrators.

AFL-CIO Resolution on WOMEN WORKERS

Adopted by the AFL-CIO Convention
December 1955

Millions of working women are members of unions represented in this Convention, and both the AFL and the CIO have long fought for equal treatment of women. Our women members have fully demonstrated their firm devotion to the principles of unionism, and have contributed immeasurably to the many improvements obtained by the labor movement through collective bargaining, community activities, and political action.

Women now constitute one-third of the labor force, many of whom are employed in occupations and industries which have not had the benefits of unionism and where low wages, inadequate security and substandard conditions of work prevail.

Under such conditions, unions are essential for the advancement of economic conditions and human dignity, and we urge these women to enroll in our federation to gain for themselves high living standards and greater dignity in their work.

In the past, our affiliates have supported many types of labor legislation especially designed to safeguard women from such abuses as substandard wages, excessive hours, and unhealthy working conditions. Such legislation has reinforced collective bargaining advances and has paved the way for laws such as the Fair Labor Standards Act which give similar protection to men. However, even today in many states labor laws designed to protect women, or both men and women, are still

inadequate or altogether absent.

These protective labor laws continue to be threatened by the miscalled "Equal Rights Amendment," which organized labor has opposed. While presumably designed to give women rights equal with men, this amendment is so worded that it would place in jeopardy all the many state laws which now offer protection to women against substandard wages, hours and working conditions. Organized labor has taken the leadership in opposing this amendment which is also opposed by a large number of women's organizations as well as the U. S. Department of Labor.

The achievement of equal pay for comparable work has long been a fundamental objective of organized labor. Special efforts have been made both by collective bargaining and by legislation to achieve this objective; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, This Convention of the AFL-CIO urges our officers and our affiliates to continue working to advance the conditions of working women through collective bargaining and by the passage

of federal and state legislation.

While we shall continue union efforts to increase the earning capacity of all workers so that wives and mothers are not driven into the labor market by substandard family incomes, we recognize that increasing numbers of women are seeking jobs in order to obtain more adequate family living levels and to contribute to community affairs. We support programs that make it easier for women to earn a living without endangering their

own health or the welfare of their families,

We support elimination of restrictions on women's rights as citizens and property owners. We oppose the miscalled "Equal Rights Amendment," which would endanger long-standing federal and state legislation enacted to establish wages, hours, safety and other standards for women workers.

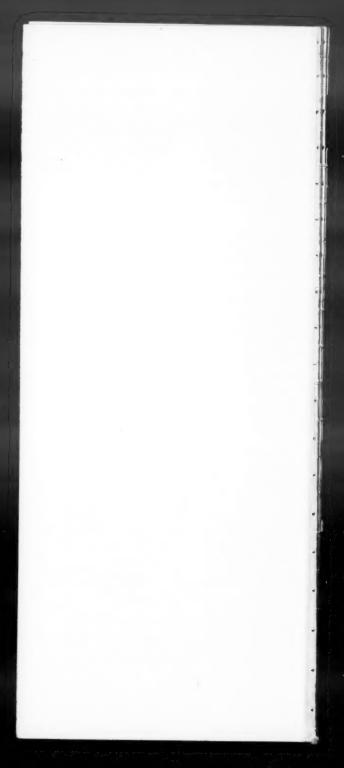
We recommend that the officers of the federation study bill H.R. 6503 providing equal pay for comparable work with a view to taking whatever action seems

appropriate.

We urge our officers and our affiliates to continue traditional union efforts to overcome discrimination against women on the job or in the community, and to support actively protection of women's rights through clauses in union contracts providing equal treatment in pay, hiring, upgrading, training, lay-offs, or similar procedures.

We urge that the Women's Bureau of the U. S. Department of Labor consider the advancement of the welfare of women in industry its first objective, as provided by law, and that the Bureau receive adequate funds to expand is work for this purpose and for constructive education on

women's rights.



Box Score of 8

BILI

SOCIAL SECURITY: Amendments by House in 1955 provided disability benefits at age 50, lowered retirement age for women workers, widows and wives from 65 to 62 years, extended aid for disabled children beyond age 18.

SCHOOL AID: Kelley bill authorized \$1.6 billion in four years for school construction. Hill bill, in Senate, proposed \$1 billion in two years.

TAXES: House in 1955 passed but Senate defeated bill to aid low-income and middle-income families by raising exemptions from \$600 to \$700 per person.

TAFT-HARTLEY: Many amendments proposed to repeal Sec. 14 (b) on state anti-union laws and make other improvements.

HIGHWAYS: Administration proposed financing roads with bond issues. Gore bill proposed "pay as we go" financing with added \$14.8 billion taxes for 13-year period.

MINIMUM WAGE: Various bills filed to raise old 75 cents an hour minimum and to broaden coverage.

HOUSING: Lehman bill proposed 2 million units a year, including 600,000 public-housing units, "middle-income" program for loans. Administration asked only 70,000 public units in two years, no "middle-income" loans.

DISTRESSED AREAS: Revised Douglas "area redevelopment" bill offered federal aid to urban and rural areas where low-income and chronic unemployment prevail.

COMPENSATION: The Administration recommended amendment of the Longshoremen and Harbor Workers Act to improve compensation for injuries. This act also sets the basic compensation for District of Columbia workers and workers on government contracts outside U.S. territorial limits.

FEDERAL PAY: Administration proposed average 5 percent pay increase for civil service and postal workers.

President had previously vetoed bill providing larger increase.

FLOOD INSURANCE: Both Administration and Democrats filed bills to create federal flood insurance system.

Administration proposed states share risk.

AFL-CIO PO

Merger convention strongly end also asked increase in old age

Convention and Executive C "national emergency" aid bill ance federal funds would not g of" anti-segregation decision.

Convention called for tax relief equity" by raising exemptions \$2,000 of taxable income, rep ing special interests. Pres. G asked "immediate" \$3 billion middle-income families and so

Elimination of evils of law is Sound labor relations law show of Wagner Act.

Endorsed new roads, urged Ding Labor Dept. to determine wage," require contractors to p

Strongly urged increase to \$1.2 coverage.

Lehman bill—in "sharp cont quate Administration proposa

"Only Douglas bill provides a sive attack" on problem of ar ment.

Bill was endorsed as "long ov side workers; also needed as " pensation law as example to CIO preferred more liberal bi

"Adequate and permanent" in "just and equitable treatment."

Convention endorsed system loss of houses, furniture, busidisasters."

84th Congress

POSITION

y endorsed these amendments: age assistance.

ve Council strongly endorsed bill, with presidential assurnot go to districts "in defiance ion.

relief when possible to "restore ions and reducing rate on first , repeal of "loopholes" favors. George Meany on July 13 llion cut for low-income and id small business.

w is needed, convention said. should be based on principles

ed Davis-Bacon section directmine area-by-area "prevailing s to pay it.

\$1.25 an hour, much broader

contrast with pitifully inadeposals—was urgently needed.

des an adequately comprehenof areas of chronic unemploy-

g overdue" in justice to dockas "model" workmen's comto the several states. AFLal bill.

t" increases are necessary for ent."

tem protecting citizens from business in "floods and other

ACTION

Passed after Senate revised to scale down to 75 and 80 percent benefits to women, except widows, at age 62; kept disability feature and others; liberalized federal grants for state old age assistance and other welfare programs.

Killed in House after Republicans ignored Eisenhower request, attached Powell anti-segregation "rider," then switched and voted to defeat measure.

No action by either House in 1956. Strong opposition of Treasury Dept., despite budget surplus, apparently would have assured presidential veto.

No action by Labor committees of either House or Senate.

Gore bill accepted, after new tax structure revised one proposed in 1955. Davis-Bacon provision included after attempts to water down were beaten.

1955 law raised minimum from 75 cents to \$1 after Administration tried to hold down to 90 cents. Senate and House subcommittee hearings on coverage in 1956, but no action.

Senate approved 150,000 public units a year, no "middle-income" program. House insisted on Administration proposal, won; bill did liberalize some loan and mortgage-guarantee features.

Senate passed bill after striking "anti-runaway industry" clause; bill died in House due to White House opposition.

Congress passed bill. Will benefit directly some 600,000 workers. House rejected move to remove District of Columbia workers from coverage.

Congress passed postal employes pay rise of 8.1 percent; civil service workers increase of 7.5 percent.

Congress passed bill authorizing \$7.5 billion, without requiring state share for first three years.

FARM: House in 1955 passed bill restoring 90 percent supports. Senate in 1956 modified this but accepted 90 percent levels from conference committee. Soil bank was proposed.

NATURAL GAS: Harris-Fulbright bill filed to eliminate federal regulation of "gas gathering."

FEDERAL RETIREMENT: Administration proposed merger of government employes' retirement system with social security system.

FARM LABOR: Bills were proposed to extend Mexican contract labor program.

IMMIGRATION: Many bills proposed revision of basic McCarran-Walter Law and Refugee Relief Act to ease restrictions that made act substantial failure.

SALK VACCINE: Bills proposed distribution free of polio vaccine; others proposed more limited distribution with families required to prove "need" for free polio shots.

WELFARE FUNDS: Senate (Douglas) subcommittee recommended drastic registration and disclosure of all employe welfare and pension funds, including both union and employer-controlled funds.

HEALTH: Administration asked higher grants for research, did not push its "reinsurance" plan as substitute for general health program.

CIVIL RIGHTS: Liberals filed bills in each House. Administration later proposed mild "compromise" measure accepted by House Democrats to get some progress.

ATOMIC ENERGY: Gore bill "directed" Atomic Energy Commission to speed development of nuclear power reactors by building six experimental projects at AEC installations.

HELLS CANYON: Morse-Pfost bill proposed federal high-level multiple-purpose dam on Snake River between Oregon and Idaho.

DIXON-YATES: Administration sought to "freeze" Tennessee Valley Authority through device of AEC contract with Dixon-Yates combine to furnish private power to TVA territory.

"A soundly conceived program families is basic to welfare of

"Removal of regulation would sumers, unreasonably swell pro-

Convention endorsed liberalize optional retirement after 30 y ment worker unions opposed m system.

Convention asked terms and equal to those offered legal ! that program be safeguarded unagreements.

Convention asked revision of Refugee Relief Act and rem damaged its operation. Execu sized need for at least interim

"Failure of Administration to ship had tragic results" arising cept" of public health responsil

Executive Council and Pres. Douglas study, said parallel a short," urged enactment of " in present session.

Convention asked national he ger federal grants for hospita research.

Convention endorsed anti-lync employment practices act. E decision against segregation, filibuster rules.

Federal government must hel putting atomic energy into pruse, "must not relinquish reinterest.

Federal government must prov river basins. Specificially incl you dam.

Convention stated, "We are p pose all efforts to weaken or more Dixon-Yates proposals.

Reprinted from AFL-CIO NEWS, Sat



gram to raise income of farm e of trade unionists."

would increase prices to conll profits."

alized retirement formula and 30 years of service. Governsed merger with social security

and conditions for Americans gal Mexican migrants; asked ed under general international

n of basic law, extension of removal of restrictions that executive Council later emphaerim improvements.

n to provide adequate leadersing partly from "narrow cononsibilities.

Pres. George Meany praised llel Administration bill "falls of "adequate disclosure law"

al health insurance plan, bigospitals, medical schools and

i-lynch, anti-poll tax and fair t. Endorsed Supreme Court ion, asked repeal of Senate

t help carry through task of to practical everyday civilian sh responsibility" for public

provide leadership to develop included federal Hells Can-

are proud of TVA" and "open or cripple." We want no als.

, Saturday, August 4, 1956, Issue

Pres. Eisenhower vetoed 90 percent supports bill. Administration twice raised support levels and finally accepted second bill with "soil bank" plan it earlier opposed.

Congress passed bill but Pres. Eisenhower vetoed on ground of "arrogant" practices of some lobbyists.

Proposals for merger were beaten. Retirement benefits of all kinds were greatly liberalized.

First "pro-labor" amendment in years approved requiring government confer with American workers as well as employers in arranging import of "legal" migrant workers.

Senate passed compromise bill liberalizing Refugee Relief Act and providing for "pooling" of unused quotas under McCarran-Walter Act. Failed in House on "pooling" issue without going to floor.

Congress in 1955 voted \$30 million for distribution of vaccine to states—enough to meet needs of one-third of children and expectant mothers. Distribution not limited to "needy." Another \$30 million was authorized in 1956.

Douglas bill failed to get action from either Senate or House committees.

Congress extended Hill-Burton Act for grants to hospitals, raised funds, also raised funds for research far above Administration proposals and established new system for federal grants to private research institutes.

Administration did not push "compromise" bill until late in session; it passed House but Senate leadership of both parties refused to invite last-minute filibuster and bill died.

Senate cut Gore bill to authorize three or four, instead of six, plants but rejected move to make plan permissive rather than mandatory for AEC. Killed in House, 203 to 191, when Administration bitterly opposed measure.

Senate killed bill, with Administration pressing hard against it, by 51 to 41 vote. Corollary effect was to kill Administration-backed Fryingpan-Arkansas water-diversion plan.

New Joint Congressional Atomic Energy Committee, Democrat-controlled, voted in 1955 to "rescind" earlier approval. Administration cancelled contract, now argues in court whole thing was illegal.

AFL-CIO FILM-A-MONTH PLAN



The New Streamlined
Way of
Using Films
EASY, INEXPENSIVE, EFFICIENT

Take time now to plan your films for the months ahead. Fire-alarm bookings often cannot be filled. The Film-A-Month plan makes films available on a reduced rental basis, too. Here is how it works:

- 1. You agree to take a total of 9 films during a 12-month period. (We suggest you omit the summer months and possibly December if your meeting night falls near the holidays.)
- 2. You pay a total of \$15.00 for the series . . . less than \$2.00 per film.
- 3. You may select the films from our specially prepared FILM-A-MONTH selection described on the inside pages or you may substitute any film listed in our catalogue, "Films for Labor," as available through our library. It is important to note, however, that at least one film must be selected in each of the following catagories: Building Unionism, Civil Liberties and Civil Rights, General Welfare, Political Education, and World Affairs. This will help give your program a good balance.
- 4. You may have two films during one month or arrange your schedule in any way you desire, just so long as you use the 9 films within 12 months.
- 5. Films are shipped to arrive several days in advance of your showing to give you an opportunity to preview. Discussion materials are included with most shipments.

FILMS FOR "FILM-A-MONTH" PLAN

(All films listed are 16mm sound)

Indicate below the dates of showing for the 9 films desired. Please remember that AT LEAST ONE FILM MUST BE SELECTED IN EACH CATEGORY. We reserve the right to revise your schedule if it does not conform with this policy. Substitutions from our catalogue, "Films for Labor", may be indicated in the blank spaces. (Further descriptions of these films will be found in "Films for Labor").

NAME OF FILM Date Showi	
BUILDING UNIONISM	The Search. B&W, 25 min. Demonstration and explanation of various types of automated machines.
The Grievance. B&W, 32 min. Step-by step procedure in processing a grievance.	Who Will Teach Your Child? B&W, 24 min. Shows why good teachers are important to our children.
Injustice on Triel. B&W, 20 min. Labor's case against the misnamed "right-to-work" laws.	Your Social Security. B&rW, 18 min. Shows who is covered by social security, how death benefits and retirement income are determined.
The Shop Steward. B&W, 22 min. The new steward of a Steel Workers' local learns about a steward's problems and how to solve them.	Security new dental postulation and tolerance and the security and the sec
Strike in Town. B&W, 38 min. The effects of a strike threat on the union, the company, and the community.	POLITICAL EDUCATION
Union at Work. B&W, 20 min. A comprehensive account of how a union works—on picket lines, board meetings, in union halls and homes of textile workers.	How We Elect Our Representatives. B&W, 10 min. The process of registering and voting.
With These Hands. B&W, 50 min. A cloak operator, about to retire, recalls the history of the ILGWU and the part he played in it.	Political Parties. B&W, 13 min. Organization of a community cam- paign on precinct level, collection of money, doorbell ringing, etc. Pressure Groups. B&W, 20 min. Operation of pressure groups, both
	good and bad at the state level. You Can Do It. B&W, 10 min. The problem of indifference, incon-
CIVIL LIBERTIES & CIVIL RIGHTS	venience, illness, and ignorance which keep half our population out of politics.
Brotherhood of Man. Color. 10 min. Cartoon film describing man's likenesses regardless of race, creed, or color.	You Can Win Elections. B&W, 25 min. How an independent voter can increase his political effectiveness by becoming an active campaign worker.
Due Process of Law Denied. B&W, 29 min. Cast in traditional Western story style and shows the consequences of mob violence.	You the People. B&W, 21 min. Part of MGM's "Crime Does Not Pay" series tells the story of a mayoralty election in which a crooked
For Foir Play. B&W, 30 min. How a white machinist becomes con- cerned because a colored machinist can't get a job and what he does about it.	city machine fights the independent candidate.
Joe Davis American. B&W, 13 min. Need for a national Fair Employment Practices law.	
Sound of a Stone. B&W, 27 min. A teacher is faced with a whisper- ing campaign because he is falsely accused of assigning a subversive book.	Assignment Children. Color. 20 min. Danny Kaye tours Asia with UNICEF teams and explains the work of this agency in helping the world's children.
You Con't Run Away. B&W, 30 min. Shows a Negro being arrested and about to be tried for a murder he did not commit.	Fote of a Child. B&W, 20 min. Conditions in an under-developed area of Latin America.
	Free Labor Goes Forward. B&W, 20 min. Pictures the 1955 ICFTU meetings in Vienna.
GENERAL WELFARE	New South Asia. B&W, 30 min. How the newly independent nations of Asia are working through the UN to raise their living standards.
Farewell Oak Street. B&W, 20 min. Before and after scenes at a slum clearance project show the value of public housing programs.	People's Charter. B&W, 17 min. Reviews events that led to the organization of the UN.
King's "X". B&W, 30 min. How credit unions developed and how they operate.	Round Trip. B&W, 20 min. Importance of world trade in raising the world's living standard.
Common Ground. B&W, 13 min. The interrelation of prosperity for the farmer and the worker.	
TURN THE PAGE	Film Division AFL-CIO Dept. of Education 815 16th St., N.W., Washington 6, D. C.
TO ORDER POSTERS	We have indicated 9 films we wish and the dates on which we wish to use them. Enclosed is our check for \$15.00. (Make checks payable to William F. Schnitzler, Treas., AFL-CIO.) Please bill.
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Presents

"Injustice on Trial"

A 16mm 20 minute film presenting labor's case against the misnamed "Right - to - Work" laws.



Lights, camera, and sound stand by during the filming of "Injustice on Trial" as Producer Martin Lencer confers with veteran character Actor Charles Evans and Robert Bice who plays the part of a worker who changes his mind about unions. The film features an AFL-CIO union cast.



* Fight "Right-to-Work" Laws With This Film *

. . . In States where "right-to-work" laws exist to show the harmful effects of this legislation and to spark campaigns for its repeal.

. . . In states where "right-to-work" legislation is threatened as a weapon in the fight against its passage.

. . . In states where there is currently no threat

to alert members to the dangers of such laws and to point out how they may be indirectly affected by them since "right-to-work" laws are often a factor related to the run-away shop.

Schedule showings at union meetings, for school groups, church groups, legislative committees, civic and fraternal organizations.





The case for the people is presented to the jury by Evans in his role as attorney. The film dramatizes the injustice of the misnamed "right-to-work laws". Father William J. Kelley, former chairman of the N. Y. State Labor Relations Board; Rabbi Israel Goldstein, President of the American Jewish Congress, and the Rev. L. B. Mosley, pastor of the First Baptist Church of Pittsburgh testify in opposition to them.

A dramatic moment comes when Robert Bice, playing the part of a worker takes his grievance to the foreman and finds he gets nowhere. Bice soon learns the value of unions to workers.

The film gives convincing evidence that "right-towork" laws operate against the best interests of the people. It demonstrates that the entire community suffers when "right-to-work" laws lower living standards.

815 Sixteenth Street, N.W. AFL-CIO Department of Education Washington 6, D. C.

prints of the film, INJUSTICE ON TRIAL. (\$125 for color; \$75 for black and white.) Please send us on a long-term, indefinite lease basis color prints; black and white

Please book INJUSTICE ON TRIAL for our showing on (give

alternate dates). Only black and white prints available for single rentals (\$2.50 per showing.) (Please make checks payable to William F. Schnitzler, Sec.

Treas., AFL-CIO.) ☐ Enclosed is our check for \$ ☐ Please bill

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Mr. Fraud-the "Right-to-Wreck" Man. 14 minute color filmstrip with 16", 33 1/3 rpm record. Purchase: \$15. Rental: \$5.00.

Explains the meaning of union security, shows how it benefits labor-management relations, and presents labor's arguments against "right-to-work" laws.

The Case Against "Right-to-Work" Laws. 1955. 171p. \$2.00 (paperbound).

Detailed explanation of why state "rightto-work" legislation is a threat to good industrial relations and economic progress.

The "Right-to-Work" Controversy. 1956. 8p. 10¢.

The January AFL-CIO Economic Review explains union security, shows the benefits it has brought, and the harmful effects of "right-to-work" legislation.

What's Behind the Drive for "Right-to-Work" Laws. 1955. 32p. 15¢.

Shows that workers support the union shop and that it benefits both them and management. Exposes the fallacies behind arguments put forth by proponents of "right-to-work" legislation.

For information on a special 13 minute television version of INJUSTICE ON TRIAL, write to Harry Flannery, Public Relations Department, AFL-CIO, 815 16th St., N.W., Washington 6, D.C. This version is for TV use only.

LABOR EDUCATION

Today and Tomorrow

By JOHN D. CONNORS

Director, Department of Education, AFL-CIO

WORKERS' education is as old as the labor movement itself. From Samuel Gompers and the other "readers" selected to read to their fellow-cigarmakers—on a wide variety of topics—to today's program of hundreds of separate educational projects involving AFL-CIO organizations seems a long journey. But actually the growth in workers' education has been rapid, and it is accelerating all the time.

Only a dozen years ago not a single state federation of labor or state industrial union council had an education department. Today nineteen state central organizations have education directors.

Twelve years ago only a handful of the national and international unions had education directors. Today fully one-half of the 139 international and national unions affiliated with the AFL-CIO have education departments, with most of the others assigning to a top officer responsibility for union education.

Dozens of city central organizations, operating through education committees, now carry on continuing education programs. Usually these take the form of weekend institutes and classes for the delegates. Literally thousands of locals conduct ongoing education programs for their officers and members throughout the year, through their own education committees. So important is the local's education committee that it can well be considered the cornerstone of all trade union education.

Today the AFL-CIO Department of Education handles an ever-growing number of requests for aid in planning programs. These requests come from national and international unions, state and city central organizations and local unions. Federal and industrial locals are serviced directly: locals affiliated with an inter-



JOHN D. CONNORS

national or national union are serviced through their international, where the overall group has an education program.

The form of the projects varies widely. They range from national education conferences, through regional and state resident schools, sectional and city-level institutes and trade council seminars, to local union classes. They include training for international representatives, unions' business representatives, and officers of state and local centrals, and range through continuing, inmeeting classes for the membership. New-member orientation courses and steward training are always popular projects.

Subjects reflect the growing scope of organized labor's interests. A basic goal is helping trade unionists understand the history and aims of the labor movement. Traditional bread-and-butter subjects, such as collective bargaining and grievance pro-

cedure, are usually included, as are such tool topics as public speaking and parliamentary law.

Educational projects include consumer guidance and studies of medical costs and facilities. Political action and the facts behind the issues are of particular importance, with the voting records of candidates forming the basis for these discussions. Social problems such as inter-group relations, housing and community service work are gaining in popularity as study subjects.

The study of basic economic concepts is a usual agenda item. A subject of growing concern is that of problems of the aging member and his family. One of the paramount topics in workers' education today is the study of world affairs—the struggle of liberty against Communist totalitarianism and the role of the free trade unions in this life-or-death contest.

How are these projects conducted? It is easier to say how they are not carried on. They are not carried on by pure lecture or mere distribution of reading lists.

THE projects are conducted in whatever form and with whatever techniques are best suited to the organization to be served. The hallmark of workers' education is flexibility. Standard forms are the resident school on a campus or at a summer camp, the weekend institute and the discussion session in the union hall.

One local may be faced with the need for a good location for its project—and a good one can usually be found. Another local may have a work-shift problem where duplicate or triplicate programs must be arranged to serve all of the members. Yet another may have a membership scattered geographically and so must experiment with mailings and



The purpose of classes and other forms of workers' education is to serve the members by strengthening their unions.

other communication media coordinated educationally through periodic meetings. A small city central or local may not be able to afford a movie projector—and ways to meet this need can be found.

Workers' education people improvise and experiment constantly. They use buzz sessions, debates and role playing. They arrange lectures, open forums and panel discussions. They hold conferences, seminars and discussions based on specific readings, or radio or television programs which are integrated into their project. Literature mailings, locals' newsletters, labor newspapers and varieties of timely charts, graphs and posters are utilized-and they can be made attractive. Cooperation with the public library can serve the members in a variety of ways.

PILMS, filmstrips, slides, records and tape recordings all can play an important part in a labor education program—where properly used as aids to discussion. Like all devices and techniques, audio-visual aids have a single justification—to aid discussion. It may not be wrong to measure a project's success by the de-

gree of participation of those in attendance.

Most of the thousands of trade unionists working full or part time in labor education see their programs as an integral part of their own organization's total program. Labor education is a tool to be used for the good of the member of the trade union. It can be turned to many uses, as the list of topics mentioned above suggests.

Workers' education is an instrument of policy which serves the individual member by strengthening his or her union. Accordingly, each program should start with a clear understanding of the problems and policies of the group it is meant to serve. As it progresses, it must be constantly re-evaluated to be sure it is advancing the policy of the organization and the well-being of the member. Like the labor movement of which it is a part, workers' education has one reason for existence—to serve the member.

In addition to the substantial time and effort being devoted to labor education by the trade unions of the AFL-CIO, there is a major program of union education carried on by the universities. Few important universities or colleges today fail to carry on some work in this area. Across the land, municipal, state and private colleges hold evening classes and periodic conferences for trade unions or for labor and management jointly. In the Midwest, farmers are sometimes invited to participate with employers and unions.

The major academic programs, however, are those of the universities with special staff assigned to work in the field of union education. These specialists hold resident schools on campus, arrange weekend institutes and hold extension or off-campus classes on an increasing scale. Some prepare literature and other materials as well as audio-visual aids.

The universities with the most extensive and experienced programs are Rutgers, Cornell, Pennsylvania State, Illinois, Roosevelt, Chicago, Wisconsin and the University of California at Los Angeles. Recently their activities have been assisted by a national Inter-University Labor Education Committee. In every case, the university programs operate with the active assistance of a union-appointed

Labor Advisory Committee. These committees have come to be considered an essential of an effective university-sponsored labor education program.

The role of the AFL-CIO Department of Education in all of this activity is to assist affiliated organizations in developing their own educational programs. In addition, the Department has responsibilities in public education, vocational education and apprenticeship training, with the liaison jobs these imply. It cooperates with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and appropriate agencies of the United States government in furthering the education programs of free trade unions in other countries. A special effort is made to inform our entire membership on the aims of the AFL-CIO itself.

All of these functions are important, and some have dramatic results. It is a happy fact, for example, that well over 100 scholarships are offered by AFL-CIO state and city central bodies and locals. Scholarships of the state central organizations are usually awarded to graduating seniors of private and public high schools—on the basis of examination contests—to help students continue their education in college.

An important dividend of this program is the study of trade unionism it encourages in the high schools, since examinations are based on labor history, union structure and the like. This year, for example, hundreds of high schools and several thousand students studied the labor movement and took part in these contests, literally from Massachusetts to Oregon.

As important as are these functions, however, the greatest part of our time in the Department of Education is devoted to assisting affiliated organizations to develop their own education programs.

Programs often begin by consultation with the officers and staff of the affiliates, the Department assisting them in planning their programs. As the clearing house for labor education information, we have available the experience of other organizations so that new programs can build on it rather than start from scratch. Detailed planning is usually long before any given project is announced.

As planning progresses, the AFL-

CIO film library of approximately 200 titles is at the disposal of the affiliated organization. In addition to labor movies, there is a wide selection of filmstrips on topics of interest to members. Lesson plans, manuals, discussion guides and course outlines are made available, as are other AFL-CIO publications.

Members of the Department staff may be assigned to teach in the project once it is ready for implementation. In some cases, staff members of other AFL-CIO Departments also serve as instructors in their own subject areas. Suggestions for the all-important follow-up and carry-over are advanced.

In order to keep affiliates abreast of developments in workers' education, a monthly publication, Education News and Views, is mailed to affiliated organizations.

That is—in outline—where trade union education stands today in the United States. It is a significant, concrete and large-scale effort.

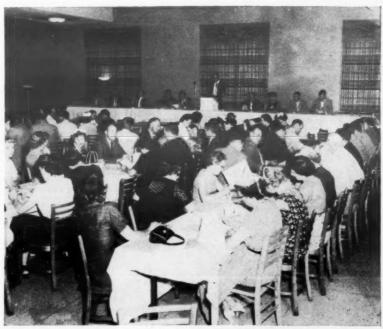
As in the past, the job for trade union education will be determined by the members. No one can decide that this or that should be given priority as a subject. The members will determine what is needed and what must be done in the light of the circumstances they face.

We can only offer a few suggestions as to what will probably be some of the decisions that the members will make through their duly elected representatives and in their conventions.

The ideal is a department of education in each and every national and international union and in each state central body. Indications are that the affiliated organizations may all recognize and assume this as a responsibility in the not too distant future, since more are adding education specialists to their staffs all the time. Even after the completion of the mergers of the state central bodies, however, we realize that some will not have the money to add an education director at once.

It is in the states with scattered membership and inadequate finances that special work will be needed. Spadework, followed by some seed-planting and continuing cultivation, will be needed to serve the members of AFL-CIO unions in these areas. Not only are the state and city centrals unable to solve their need for education individually in some areas but international unions, typically, have the same problem in the same areas. Their membership is scattered and sparse in some regions.

Happily, there is an answer to this



City and state central bodies frequently cooperate in conducting week-end labor institutes.

problem. It appears to lie in interstate cooperation between state centrals on a regional basis. Both the former AFL and the former CIO had successful experiences in this sort of operation. Accordingly, it is now being expanded, with the aid of the AFL-CIO Department of Education and Department of Organization, through the regional offices of the AFL-CIO.

The particular aid of the AFL-CIO is offered to those state central organizations which wish to co-sponsor schools or other projects on a regional basis. This provides them leadership training facilities and stimulation for local activities, of a type they could not command or provide individually.

The goal of an education department in each state central body remains unchanged. The goal of an education committee in each local is advanced.

The content or subject of future workers' education projects will, in all likelihood, include most of the bread-and-butter topics in vogue today. In addition, however, we may be sure that there will be expanded consideration of certain others.

O NE of the most important topics will continue to be that of the great fact of the merger of the former AFL and the former CIO. Merger and all the benefit it implies nationally for the trades and industries, and for each state and city, will be given full consideration.

Automation and, perhaps transcending it, the question of industrial uses of atomic power will become topics attracting even greater interest in trade union education in the immediate future. They will attract interest because of their overwhelming importance.

How does automated production differ from mere mechanization? What will new sources of power and/or fully automated production mean in retraining, in distribution of purchasing power, in leisure-time activities, in orientation and operation of trade unions?

These questions and others will be pondered and studied and discussed by workers all over the country in the years immediately ahead.

A clearer understanding of the political issues and of the citizen's duty to participate in democratic government—at every level—will continue to hold high priority.

Perhaps even more important than these vital questions are the basic considerations of how we, as workers, can contribute to liberty and peace, in the United States and in the world. Workers' education will, in all probability, increase its consideration of human and inter-group relations within this country—the study of equal social justice, under law, and how to attain it.

We will need and want to know more of our fellow workers and their aspirations, whether they are the workers enslaved by reactionary

CIO film library

Communist tyranny or our brother free trade unionists.

Some of these projected studies may seem a departure from the traditional business of bread-and-butter labor education. They are not. On the contrary, they are directly and immediately the "bread-and-butter" concern of all workers. International understanding, particularly, is of paramount concern to every American trade unionist. Thus, in considering these questions on a broader and ever-increasing scale, the AFL-CIO education programs will be directly serving the members of unions and their families and their country.

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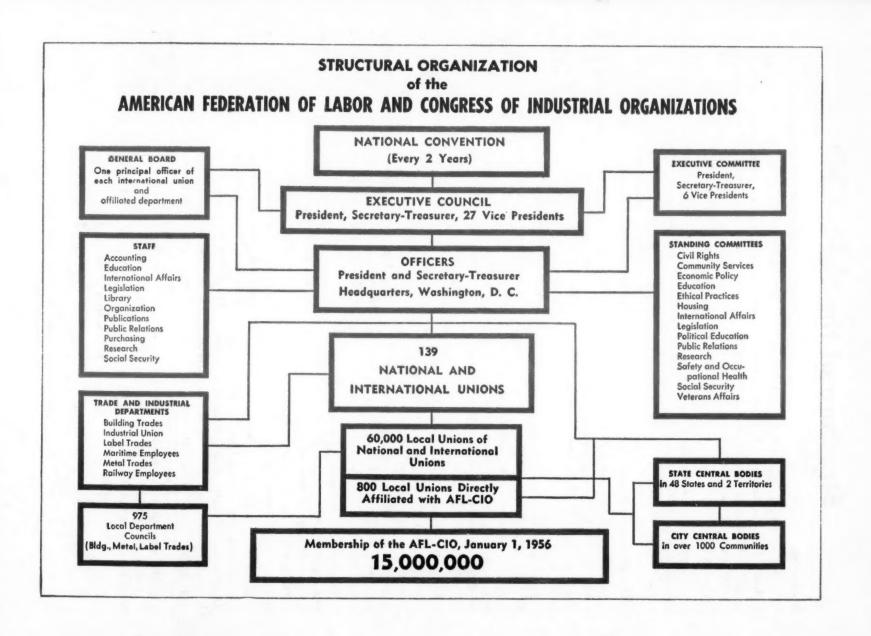
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Structure of the AFL-CIO

Membership

The American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO) is made up of 139 different national and international unions, which in turn have more than 60,000 local unions.

The combined membership of all the unions affiliated with the AFL-CIO, as of January 1, 1956, was 15,000,000 workers.

Affiliated Organizations

In addition to the national and international unions, the AFL-CIO has state and city central bodies and special trade and industrial departments.

There are state central bodies in each of the 48 states and in Alaska and Puerto Rico. The state bodies, composed of and supported by the different local unions in the particular state, function to advance the state-wide interests of labor and represent labor on state legislative matters.

Similarly, in each of more than 1,000 communities, the local unions of different national and international unions have formed city central bodies, through which they deal with civic and community problems and other local matters of mutual concern.

The trade and industrial departments are separate organizations within the AFL-CIO which seek to promote the interests of specific groups of workers which are in different unions but have certain strong common interests.

Many of the national and international unions are affiliated with one or more of the six such departments: Building and Construction Trades, Industrial Union, Maritime Trades, Metal Trades, and Railway Employees. The sixth, the Union Label and Service Trades Department, seeks to promote consumer interest in union-made products and union services by urging the purchase of those products which bear the union label.

Policy Determination and Application

The basic policies of the AFL-CIO are set by its convention, which is its highest governing body. The convention meets every two years, although a special convention may be called at any time to consider a particular problem.

Each national and international union is entitled to send delegates to the convention, the number of delegates determined by the size of the union. Other affiliated organizations are entitled to be represented by one delegate each.

The governing body between conventions is the *Executive Council*, which is made up of the federation's President, Secretary-Treasurer, and 27 Vice Presidents, all of whom are elected by majority vote of the convention.

The Executive Council carries out policies laid down by vote of the convention and deals with whatever issues and needs may arise between conventions. It meets at least 3 times a year,

The executive officers of the AFL-CIO are its President, George Meany, and Secretary-Treasurer, William F. Schnitzler. They are responsible for supervising the affairs of the federation.

The President appoints a number of standing committees on particular subjects and directs the committees and staff departments in providing services to labor through organizing, legislative, international, public relations, educational, economic research and other activities.

There are two other official bodies:

- (1) The Executive Committee, made up of the President, Secretary-Treasurer and 6 Vice-Presidents, meets every two months to advise the executive officers on policy matters.
- (2) A General Board, made up of the Executive Council members and a principal officer of each national and international union and each trade and industrial department, meets at least once a year to consider policy questions referred to it by the officers of the Executive Council.

American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations George Meany, President William F. Schnitzler, Secretary-Treasurer Washington 6, D. C.

